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CONTENTS.

PARTS I, II, III.

A Contribution to the History of the Ancient Family of Woodbury, communicated by ROBERT S. RANTOUL,	1
Early Settlers of Rowley (continued),	43
Half-mile Stone, Wenham,	71
Inscriptions from the Old Burying Ground, Wenham (continued),	72

PARTS IV, V, VI.

Negro Slavery in Massachusetts; portions of a paper read before the Beverly Lyceum, April, 1833, by Robert Rantoul, Senr.,	81
Inscriptions from the Old Burying Ground in Dodge's Row (North Beverly), copied by WELLINGTON POOL, . . .	109
Sketch of Mrs. William Jarvis of Weathersfield, Vt., by Mrs. Mary Pepperell Sparhawk Jarvis Cutts, edited by CECIL HAMPDEN CUTTS HOWARD,	123
An "Epicedium," composed in 1752 by Rev. John Cleaveland of Chebacco (now Essex), in Ipswich, Mass., by E. P. CROWELL,	140
Inscriptions from the Old Burying Ground at Lynnfield Centre, copied by JOHN T. MOULTON,	146

Pay Roll of Capt Jno Dodge's Company of Guards, found among the papers of Enos Gallop, 1834,	157
Salem Military Company — Names of the Volunteer Artillery Corps,	160

PARTS VII, VIII, IX.

Gleanings relative to the family of Adam Hawkes, one of the early settlers of the third plantatlon of Massachusetts, con- tributed by NATHAN M. HAWKES,	161
Early Records of the Church in Topsfield, communicated by JOHN H. GOULD,	181
Sketch of Mrs. William Jarvis (continued),	206
Genealogy of the Allen Family of Manchester, Mass., from the earliest settlement to the year 1886, by JOHN PRICE,	223

PARTS X, XI, XII.

Our New Domain,	241
A History of Methodism in Salem, by JAMES F. ALMY,	275
Allen Family (continued),	302
Notes and Queries,	313



HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XXIV. JAN., FEB., MARCH, 1887. Nos. 1, 2, 3.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT
FAMILY OF WOODBURY.

COMMUNICATED BY ROBERT S. RANTOUL.

No less than nineteen towns and one or more counties, located in fourteen different states of the Union, bear the name of WOODBURY. It is a name which fills no inconsiderable space in the library catalogues and in the dictionaries of authors. It is the name of an ancient, numerous, widespread and substantial family. Risdon, writing before 1640, cites the Woodburys as having been among the conspicuous families of southern Devon, and Polwhele, writing later and evidently following the same authorities, says of the Damarells of Stoke Damarell, near Plymouth, "This family was connected with many distinguished houses, such as Woodbery," and others.¹ Possibly it may be able to claim amongst its sons so interesting a character as that old knight, Sir Ralph de Wodeburg of Not-

¹ See Tristram Risdon's *Survey of Devon*, p. 207; also Richard Polwhele's *History of Devonshire*, Vol. III, p. 450.

tingham, whom the chronicle exhibits buckling on his armor for the Welsh wars which gave Edward the Plantagenet, first of the sovereigns of England, undisputed dominion over that Celtic province, and his infant son, first of the long line of heirs of England, the title of Prince of Wales.²

Later it produced such a man as John Woodbury, the pioneer of Cape Ann; four years in New England before the arrival of Endecott; first envoy to the mother country; first constable of Salem; the "father Woodbery" of our early records, to whom one of the five farms of two hun-

² From 1267 to 1284, Llewellyn ap Gryffith, the acknowledged Welsh chief, was constantly invading England and inflicting incalculable losses upon the southern counties. This chief died in battle, and the unruly principality at last succumbed in 1284. The spirit of the times is well embodied in these burning words which the poet Gray puts into the mouth of his Welsh bard:

"Ruin seize thee, ruthless King!
 Confusion on thy banners wait;
 Though fanned by Conquest's crimson wing
 They mock the air with idle state

 Helm nor hauberk's twisted mail,
 Nor e'en thy virtues, Tyrant! shall avail
 To save thy secret soul from nightly fears,
 From Cambria's curse — from Cambria's tears!

 Weave the warp and weave the woof,
 The winding-sheet of Edward's race!
 Give ample room and verge enough
 The characters of Hell to trace!"

In July, 1277, the writs for military service, for the fifth year of Edward I, show Radulphus de Wodeburg', knight, performing duty under a summons from the constable of England, returnable at a muster at Worcester on the octave of St. John the Baptist; and again, in a record of "Wages of Knights and Esquires in the Welsh Wars" for 1282-4, the tenth and twelfth years of Edward I, Sir Ralph appears in the following entry: "Friday, 19th June, for Sir Ralph de Wodeburg, with four horses and trappings from Monday, 15th June, to the vigil of St. John the Baptist, 9 days, XLV shillings wages." And in the "Fine Rolls" of the thirteenth year of Edward I (1285) Henry de Woddebur (described in "Testa de Nevill" as "*filius et heres Rad'*") appears as executor of the will of Rad.' de Wodebur. But Robert Thoroton in his *Antiquities of Nottingham* (1777) cites the "Pipe Roll" for the sixth year of Richard I, and names one Ralph de Wudebure who in that year (1195) gave account of twenty marks for having the king's good will.

dred acres each, "by the great pond side," was voted by the colony in 1635.³

In our own day it can claim men of such eminence as the Honorable Peter Chardon Brooks of Boston, with his distinguished descendants bearing the names of Adams, Frothingham and Everett, as well as the Reverend Phillips Brooks, a grandson of his brother.⁴ And it may

³ The Honorable Charles Levi Woodbury, formerly United States attorney for the district of Massachusetts, has lately printed an admirable monograph upon the "Old Planter," to which and to its distinguished author I am largely indebted. The honorable position in which John Woodbury's name occurs in the Town Records of Salem, notably in the contract with John Pickering in 1638 for the enlargement of the "meetinge howse" where he signs next after Endecott and is followed by Hathorne, Leech and Conant, gives some hint at the estimation in which his neighbors held him. See Hist. Coll. Essex Institute, Vol. IX, pp. 81-2.

*Gave sub/Publa Egrebuto
To: Endecott
Go woodbur
will Hatforn*

Fragments of Woodbury genealogy, tracing branches of the family since John Woodbury's arrival in Massachusetts in 1624, may be found in "The Old Planter in New England," above cited, and in Benedict's History of Sutton, Mass., Cochrane's History of Antrim, N. H., Cogswell's History of New Boston, N. H., Woodbury's History of Bedford, N. H., Merrill's History of Acworth, N. H., Stark's History of Dunbarton, N. H., Savage's Genealogical Dictionary, Vol. IV, Fiske's Genealogy of the Fiskes of Amherst, Dwight's Dwight Genealogy, Babson's History of Gloucester, Mass., Stone's History of Beverly, Mass., N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., Vol. VII, pp. 187, 322, and Hist. Coll. Essex Institute, Vol. I, *et seq.*

⁴ For a sketch of Peter C. Brooks, reprinted from the N. E. Hist. General Register, Vols. VIII and IX, contributed by Edward Everett to "Hunt's Lives of American Merchants," see Vol. I of that work, pp. 133-133; and for genealogical matter, see Brooks' History of Medford, Bond's History of Watertown, Vol. II, pp. 726-7, and Proceedings Mass. Historical Society, Vol. XVII, pp. 98-100. Mr. Brooks' maternal grandfather, the Reverend John Brown of Haverhill (H. C., 1714) was a great-grandson of John Woodbury, the "Old Planter," through his son Peter, known as "Sargent" and "Deacon" Peter.

claim another distinguished son in the gallant young soldier, Lieutenant Colonel Hodges of Salem, who was killed at Petersburg, Virginia, July 30, 1864, and who, having been commissioned as major November 7, 1862, is thought to have been the youngest officer who left Massachusetts with that rank during the War of the Rebellion.⁵

But the most conspicuous of all those who have borne the name was also a man of our own time, the Honorable Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire, Governor and twice Senator of his state; Secretary of the Navy and of the Treasury under Jackson; and the successor of Judge Story as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.⁶

I shall be able further to establish the interesting fact

⁵ Lt. Col. John Hodges, of the 59th Massachusetts Regiment of Infantry, was born at Salem, Dec. 8, 1841, and left Harvard College, at the outbreak of the war, to serve the country. His maternal grandmother was Mehetable, a daughter of John and Hannah (Woodbury) Batchelder, who was a daughter of the fourth Peter Woodbury, and therefore a great-great-granddaughter of the first Peter known as "Sargent" Peter and "Deacon" Peter. Lieut. Col. Hodges was commissioned Major of the 50th Massachusetts Regiment at the age of twenty years and eleven months, and in that capacity commanded a brigade at Port Hudson. See *Harvard Memorial Biographies*, Vol. II, pp. 285-293, and Report of Adjutant General of Massachusetts for 1862, p. 456.

⁶ Judge Woodbury, at the time of his death in Sept., 1851, was the probable candidate for the Democratic nomination for the presidency, which, falling the next year to General Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, resulted in the election of the latter. Judge Woodbury's father, who was a man of mark in New Hampshire, was born at the old homestead in North Beverly "by the great pond side," a picture of which will be found in the monograph on the "Old Planter," p. 81. He removed with his parents, when a child, to the neighborhood of Amherst, N. H. He was a great-grandson of John Woodbury the "old planter" through his son Peter. See "Writings of Levi Woodbury, Political, Judicial and Literary," three vols., 1852; also Woodbury and Minot's Reports for First Circuit, 1847-1852, 3 Vols.; "An Eulogy pronounced at his funeral at Portsmouth, N. H.," Sept., 1851, by Robert Rantoul, jr.; also Loring's "Hundred Boston Orators," pp. 660-64; "International Magazine," Vol. IV, and "National Portrait Gallery," Vol. II. The admirable likeness of Judge Woodbury which precedes this paper is from a diminished copy in marble of the bust by Hiram Powers. The head itself, which is in my possession, was turned on a lathe from the life-sized original, by the Blanchard process for turning irregular forms, described in Harper's Magazine for 1881, Vol. LXIII, p. 257. I had hoped to produce this sun-picture by the much-admired process known as Woodburytype, but finding it ill-adapted to the purpose, I have availed myself of another method employed by the Helotype Printing Company of Boston.

that for eight completed centuries, and probably for a very considerable fraction of the thousand years which preceded them, the name of Woodbury has maintained an unbroken hold upon a portion of the soil of Devon.

Let me dismiss at once, as briefly as may be, the matter of spelling. I shall use the letters WOODBURY, except in cases where it seems better to reproduce some quaint, archaic orthography, because most of the persons now living, who bear the name, use that combination of letters; because the maps, hand-books and railway guides of the day so designate the localities I am to speak of; and because, upon the whole, it represents, as well as any, the sound of the name and the varied modes of spelling which the records exhibit. There is no conceivable way of expressing the sound in written characters which has not been practised in those illiterate ages when the pen was not vaunting itself mightier than the sword, when there were no dictionaries and no newspapers, nor any other common standard of spelling, when reading and writing were costly accomplishments to all but the priesthood, and when even royal personages did well if they could affix a legible signature, by way of sign-manual, to a decree or charter. The Honorable Charles Levi Woodbury tells me he has the name in more than forty variations. His impression is that the "Old Planter," on the whole, preferred WOODBURY.⁷

If the name may legitimately begin with either the let-

⁷See "An Old Planter in New England" pp. 95-98, where the matter is discussed with a good deal of curious learning. Also, Benjamin Thorpe's "*Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*" pp. 608-10. Also note to very learned preface of "Bosworth's Anglo Saxon Dictionary," p. xviii. Also "Reflections on Names and Places in Devonshire, London, 1845;" Isaac Taylor's "Words and Places;" Devonshire Domesday," pp. 44-46.

The Criminal Legislation of a later time put a premium upon this accomplishment of reading and writing which is known in modern phrase as "benefit of clergy." At Exeter, in the fortieth year of Elizabeth (1598), seven culprits were "branded and set free, being able to read," who would otherwise have been hanged for thefts as eight others, who could not read, were treated in the same year for the same offences.

ters *Wude*, *Wud*, *Wode*, *Wod*, *Wodde*, *Woode*, or *Wood*, and end with either the letters *bury*, *biry*, *bry*, *birig*, *bere*, *beare*, *beer*, *bery*, *berie*, *burie*, *bur*, *burg*, or the like, and we find all these forms, the philologist will see at a glance what a generous choice of interpretation as well as of spelling is open to him.

The Domesday spelling (A. D. 1085-86), viz., *Wodeberie*, Latinized *Udeberga* and *Udeberia*, and the three spellings found in a Saxon Chronicle (A.D. 1072-1103) viz., *Wudeburg*, *Wudeburge* and *Wudebirig* are the earliest forms known to me. The syllable *Wode* or *Wude* would seem to be referable to a Saxon origin, and to associate itself readily with the family of words meaning *mad*, *furious*, *frantic*, to which belongs "Odin" or "Woden" the Norseman's wrath-god or Gothic Mars.⁸ And the terminal syllable *burc*, *birg*, or *bury*, the letters *y* and *g* being always freely interchangeable in these dialects, would seem to mean a stronghold, castle, fort or earthwork on a hill, easily allying itself with the German *berg* or *burg* and furnishing one of the most common endings for the name of a large town to be found in England. The broad license practised in the spelling of this terminal syllable is well illustrated by Sir William Dugdale in his "Antiquities of Warwickshire" where he speaks of "Rugby" as called "Rocheberie" in Domesday, and interprets this ancient form of "Roxbury" as meaning "*Roche*, rock; *Berie*, a court or habitation of

⁸The word *Wood* has retained this meaning as late as Shakespeare's time. Thus in "Two Gentlemen of Verona," Act II, Scene 3, "O! that the shoe could speak now like a *wood* woman." And in "A Midsummer Night's Dream," Act. II, Scene 1,

"Thou told'st me they were stolen into this wood,
And here am I, and *wood* within this wood,
Because I cannot meet my *Hermia*."

And in Henry VI, Part One, Act. IV, Scene 7:

"How the young whelp of Talbot's, raging *wood*,
Did flesh his puny sword in Frenchmen's blood!"

The Saxon root survives in *Wednesbury*, a famous battlefield in Warwickshire, and in *Wednesday*, the Anglo-Saxon *Wodnesdæg*; also in *Wodensburge* and *Wodensdike* in Wiltshire. See Camden (A.D. 1586), 3d edition, pp. 101-127.

note." No chance collection of letters could have found its way into such general favor as this termination *bury* enjoys. Amongst the larger towns of England I find no less than fifty-eight whose names end in *bury*, and most of these in the southern counties; and if the list were extended so as to include the obvious modifications of *bury* already alluded to, the number might be doubled. If we are to look for the origin of this terminal syllable among the Danes or Norsemen rather than among the Saxons, such works as "Reflections on Names and Places in Devonshire" and Taylor's "Words and Places" are of great assistance. The last named author cites, as Norse names found near Plymouth, *Langabeer*, *Beardon*, *Beer Alston*, as well as *Bury* and *Beara*, both near water-ways, and all these he associates with *byr*, the Danish word for water. But what is more to our purpose is this: Taylor finds that fortified camps, whether of British, Roman, Saxon or Danish construction, are very commonly marked with this suffix *bury*. In Wiltshire alone he finds military earthworks to the number of twenty-five, now or lately in existence at places whose names end in *bury*, as well as one at Bury Wood, and the sites of six others of British or Saxon origin are named, which have been utilized in the erection of Norman castles.⁹

I find in England at the present time several localities bearing the name of Woodbury. In the centre of Dorsetshire, near Bere Regis, is an ancient circular camp of about ten acres, "tripple trencht, with ditches and ramparts deep and high," on a hill "whereon is kept a considerable fair and market [*feria mercatoria*] established in the time of King John" (1199-1216). The "Wodeburyhyll fair" is mentioned in the valuation of the manor and hundred of

⁹See "Words and Places," Chap. VIII, p. 104, also Chap. X, p. 178.

Bere in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII (1509-1547) and survives to-day. In 1332 Wodbury was named among the estates on which the Prioress and Convent of Esebourne held a claim in Dorset. Close by was Dorchester, the seat of the Dorchester Company, where the Reverend John White lived and ministered, whence John Woodbury departed for America, and where Endecott, who sailed from its harbor in 1628, is thought to have been born.

In Somersetshire also, a county likewise bounding Devon on the east, and north of Dorset, we have an estate bearing the name of "Wodebergh Hamlet," inventoried in *Inquisitiones post mortem*, for the year 1304 and again in 1418, spelled Wodeberwe, in 1437, spelled Wodeberewe, and in 1443. It figures also in a suit at law in 1318. This may or may not be identical with the *tumulus* described at the head-waters of the Exe, from which Roman coins have been unearthed, and now called Woodborough, supposed to be identical with the *Udeberga* of the Exon Domesday. John Woodbury, the "Old Planter," came from Somersetshire.

In Wiltshire again another *tumulus* of the same character is called Woodborow, and the lexicographers tell us that the termination *berry* (Anglo-Saxon *beorh*) is corrupted from barrow or burrow, a heap or hillock. This Wiltshire estate had manorial rights. The *Maneria et Ecclesia de Wodeberg* are mentioned in *Rotuli Finium* in 1258, and again in *Inquisitiones post mortem* in 1278, and ten times thereafter ending with the year 1430, under the new forms of "Wodberwe," "Wodebirghe," "Wodebore," "Wodeborgh" and "Wodeberwey." Conveyances appear in 1330, 1346 and 1364 in the Exchequer *Originalia*. We see the last of it in Queen Elizabeth's time (1558-1603), when the estate of "Woodburgh" or "Woodborough" dis-

appears in the Court of Chancery. But as early as 1227, Johannes de Wudeberg', of Wiltes, the earliest John Woodbury, by the way, who has yet been discovered, was acquitted, by a jury of the vicinage, of the accidental killing of his eldest son, while castigating an unruly ox in ploughing.¹⁰ The Dammorys had estates called "Wodepyry," "Wodepury" and "Wodpiry" in Wiltes and Oxfordshire, and the Wiltshire Gazetteers still give us a parish of Woodborough.

Of the Nottinghamshire estate we know little except that it seems to have been held of the honor of Peverell. In *Rotulus Cancellarii* for Nottingham, one Galf' de Wudebure sustains an adverse judgment for the sum of two and one-half marks in 1202. On March 15, 1205, one Rad' de Wudebure', probably the grandfather of our old friend Sir Ralph, whom we left with his foot in the styrrup, starting out to fight the Welshmen, was licensed to sell eight acres of his woodland in Wudebure', so it might be sett off without injury to the Royal Demesne, as appears from *Rotuli Patentium de Terris Normannis datis* and *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, for the sixth year of King John. In 1275, Radulphus de Wodeburg' appears as assessor of the counties of Nottingham and Derby, and at the end of the century *Testa de Nevill* names Henr' de Wodeburgh, *fil' & heres Rad'i de Wodeburgh*, as holding half a Knight's fee in that name in Nottingham. The manor of Woodborough in Nottingham was in the Court of Chancery in the time of Elizabeth (1558-1603) and there is a parish of Woodborough to-day which Robert Thoroton, in 1677, took to be identical with the *Udeburgh* of the Exon Domesday.

¹⁰ An interesting account of the proceedings in the case may be read in mediæval Latin in "*Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati*." Anno 11° Henr. III.

Of the Woodbury estate in Hampshire still less has come to light. In 1297, "Wodeburgh Villa" appears in *Inquisitiones post mortem* for that county, and William de Alba Marlia or Daumerle had died seized *in capite* of lands thereabouts in 1289, which reappear in the records in 1336. This is the family of Damarell, which Polwhele says intermarried with the Woodburys of Devon. Their ancestor, says Lysons, held seventeen manors at the time of the Domesday survey. In 1321, a successor to Sir William's name and title, probably his son, was taken in arms against Edward II, having espoused the fortunes of the Earl of Lancaster and the barons then in rebellion, and was granted his life and enlarged from duress and pardoned, on payment of forty shillings and the giving of a bond for good behaviour and an oath to perform military service to the king when required. He was summoned January 7, 1325, under the condition of this pardon, to perform military duty in Guyenne, beyond seas, under the command of the Earl of Warrenne, and to report at a muster at Portsmouth, on Sunday next after Midlent, March 24, 1325.¹¹ Some William de Albemarle was summoned by the sheriff of Devon, the year before, under the name and style of "Willielmus Daumarl de Wodeburi, Man-at-Arms," to attend the Great Council at Westminster on Wednesday next after Ascension.

A pretty good account can be given of "Woodbury Hall" or "Court" in the west of Cambridgeshire, from the time of Edward I (1272-1307). From that time on, this manor was, says Camden who wrote in 1586, the seat of the Babington family who held it for many generations. In 1476, it was inventoried, together with Gamelyngey, in the name of *Margareta Taylard, Vidua*. From these it passed to

¹¹ The "War Summons." painted by George Leslie, R. A., of London, now in the possession of the Essex Institute, has an interest in this connection.

Delves and Sheffields, being named in the records of the Chancery Courts of Elizabeth's time as "Lands in Woodburie and the manor of Woodburie," and again as the "Manor of Woodbery and a messuage and 150 acres of land near to the same," the estate having been sold during that reign by Edmund Lord Sheffield, the same influential statesman and member of the Plymouth Company who, in 1623, issued and signed the original patent for the settlement at Cape Anne now hanging on the walls of the Essex Institute. [See Thornton's "Landing at Cape Anne."] In the reign of Charles I (1625-1649) the estate passed to Sir John Jacob and so by purchase and through female heirs to the Earl of Macclesfield who held it at the close of the last century. It now (1886) belongs to Sir Williamson Booth, Baronet. Close by it is Gamlingay, the elegant seat of Sir George Downing, Baronet, founder of Downing College, Cambridge.¹² That Willielmus de Wodeburg, knight, who is accredited with performing military duty in July, 1277, in the writs and returns of military summons for the fifth year of Edward I, seems to have been a Cambridgeshire Woodbury.

In Worcestershire again we have another Woodbury Hill, with its camp known as "Owen Glendower's Camp," but, says Camden, probably older. Gough's edition of Camden gives a plan of this camp. It is single-trenched and encloses an area of about twenty-seven acres. It is nine miles northwest from the city of Worcester. Here Glendower with his force of Welsh and French skirmished

¹² He died at Gamlingay, in 1749. He was a grandson of that Sir George of unsavory memory, who was the first Salem graduate of Harvard College, a member of the first class ever graduated there, and the son of Emanuel Downing who lived on the site of Plummer Hall and married the sister of Governor Winthrop. From Sir George, last-named, Secretary to the Treasury in 1667, Downing street, Whitehall, London, took its name. See Lysons' "*Magna Britannia*," Vol. II, pp. 200-201, Gough's Camden, Vol. V, p. 527, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. I, pp. 28-31.

with Henry IV for eight days in 1405, with a loss of two hundred men.

We now come to the County of Devon, which I suppose to be the original habitat of the Woodbury family, because I find the name existing here at an earlier date than elsewhere, and more extensively identified with the soil. Two several Woodbury localities exist in Devon. The chief of these, of which I shall speak first, includes a parish, a manor, and a fortified hill or castle. It is the earliest spot known to me with which the name has been associated. It has borne the name of Woodbury, and no other, since the Norman Conquest. It has every appearance of having borne it much longer. If Westcote and other high authorities are right in supposing that family names, where they are identical with names of places, have been derived from those of places,¹³ then it is fair to presume that the family name Woodbury, whatever it may mean, is derived from this locality by the side of the river Exe. Accordingly, I shall devote some space to as accurate an account as I can give of this interesting region.

With a single exception the earliest mention of it within my reach occurs in a Saxon Chronicle the date of which is fixed by the allusion it contains to the Bishop Osbern. This "Osbern" or "Osbert," who was probably a brother of the fighting Earl of that name, though church grandees bore arms in those days, was a partisan of the Conqueror and was consecrated as Bishop in 1072 and died in office in 1103. The passage in the Saxon Chronicle, which, it is to be regretted, cannot be reproduced in all its quaint originality of phrase and written character, begins thus :

¹³For a discussion of this subject see Lysons' "*Magna Britannia*," Vol. VI, prefatory "general history of Devonshire," p. lxxxii, *a*, and a note from Thomas Westcote, who wrote in 1630. The learned author of the *Magna Britannia* hazards the opinion that not one estate in the County of Devon remains at the time of his writing (1822) in the possession of a descendant of any person who held it at the time of the Domesday Survey.

"On Criste's naman, & Sēs Petrus apostolus, an gild-scipe is gegaderod on Wudeburge lande."¹⁴

Paraphrasing the original in the language of to-day, the Saxon record continues—"And the Bishop Osbern and the Canons within St. Peter's monastery at Exeter have adopted the same society in fellowship along with the other brethren [*gegylðan*]. They will now, as an acknowledgment, pay to the Canons yearly, for every hearth, one penny at easter; and also for every departed gild-brother, for every hearth, one penny as soul-scot,¹⁵ be it a man, be it a woman who belongs to the gildship, and the Canons are to have the soul-scot and to perform such service for them as they ought to perform. And here follow the names of those who are in the gildship."¹⁶

While I am obliged to treat this as the earliest established date, save one, at which an allusion to Woodbury can be quoted, I am led to suppose, partly from the tone

¹⁴ These guilds or gildships "gathered in the name of Christ and Saint Peter" were associations for mutual protection and relief formed under Saxon laws promulgated as early as the time of the great King INE, of glorious memory, who reigned in Wessex from A. D. 688, "for thirty-seven winters." But Thorpe thinks that guilds, which became so common among the Saxons, were of Roman origin, and very ancient. For an exhaustive treatment of the whole matter, consult Benj. Thorpe's "*Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*," pp. 618, 10; Rev. Geo. Hickes' (Dean of Worcester) "*Dissert. Epist.*," pp. 18-25; Sharon Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons," Book II, Chap. X; Dr. Lappenberg's "History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings," translated by Thorpe, Vol. I, p. 36, Vol. II, p. 333; Kemble's "Saxons in England," Vol. I, p. 249, and Edward A. Freeman's "Old English History." See, also, "Freeman's Norman Conquest," Vol. IV, p. 254.

¹⁵ Mass-money. This word "scot," (sometimes "shot") survives in the familiar phrase "scot free." "Scot and lot" is rather obsolete now, but it was good enough English for Sir Jack Falstaff.— See Shakespeare's Henry IV, 1st Part, Act V, Scene 4. "'Stblood! 'twas time to counterfeit or that hot termagant Scot had paid me scot and lot too." Also, Act V, Scene 3, "'Though I could 'scape shot-free at London, I fear the shot here: here's no scoring but upon the pate."

¹⁶ Some of the names which follow are Leofric, Ealdwine, Alfric, Eadmar, Osgod Godric, Godwine. The record proceeds "In Wudeburgland there is also another gildship gathered to Christ and St. Peter, and they pay at Martinmas from every hearth one penny to St. Peter's monastery for the Canons, and also every soul-shot, for every hearth, one penny. And these are the names of the men:" Alwyne, Theodric, Rytel, Edwine, etc.

in which so eminent a local antiquary as Shortt has written, that the period at which the name of Woodbury attached itself to this region midway between Exeter and Exmouth, was of a high antiquity. Lysons begins his notice of the "Manor of Woodbury" by saying that it "was part of the royal demesne and had been settled on Editha, consort of Edward the Confessor," who reigned from 1042 until the conquest, but he cites no authorities and gives no dates.¹⁷ And the Exeter Domesday states that Gytha held it at the decease of the Confessor, A. D., 1066. At some time before these dates — how long before I must leave the reader to conjecture — either in the Saxon, the Roman, or possibly in the earlier British period, the place had acquired a name whose modern equivalent is that of the Woodbury family.

In quoting at some length from the learned works of W. T. Peter Shortt, A. M., entitled "*Sylva Antiqua Iscana*" and "*Collectanea Curiosa Antiqua Dunmonia*," I shall at once exhibit what is known of the Roman or earlier British origin of the castle at Woodbury and possibly throw some new light on the derivation of the name. He says, — "This very interesting work, completely unique in form, and altered and enlarged as occasion required, was probably an outpost of some note in the latter days of the Roman Empire, against the Saxon pirates." Here the learned author introduces and discusses a full-page lithographic plan of the work and adds: "It is the opinion of an intelligent friend who visited the camp lately that these out-works may have been added in much later times; that the small, original, oval camp was greatly enlarged on the southeast and strengthened on the northwest and that as a whole, after the introduction of firearms (probably when the first

¹⁷ See Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, Vol. VI, pp. 571-2.

Lord Russell, Earl of Bedford, on his march to relieve Exeter in August, 1549, gave the rebels who besieged that city so signal a defeat at Woodbury) it was rendered more secure by the addition of out-works on the south-south-west and north sides. There is a spring flowing from a bed of red sandstone formation just without the fosse. The origin of Woodbury," says this author, without qualification, "is the British *Vydhieu* or *Guydieu*, meaning wood, and the Saxon *byrig*. Hence the *Vodii* and *Udiæ* (woody territory) of Ptolemy."¹⁸

In another passage, commenting on the "*Alauna*" mentioned in Ravennas, Shortt continues: "the *alauna Sylva* at Woodbury Hill is from the British *ALAUN-IU*, evidently signifying the full river or *plenus amnis*. There was also a Woodbury Hill in Worcestershire, says Camden. The Woodbury of Devon was probably once a pebbly sea-beach, upheaved by igno-aqueous agency and so were many other hills in the neighborhood. Woodbury camp or castle overlooks a great extent of country; to the east, the Quintock Hills and the Isle of Portland; to the south, Berry Point and the rocky heights of Dartmoor. I visited it May 16, 1836. It is of an oval or frying-pan shape, now planted, as well as its fosses, with fir trees by Lord Rolle. Its area is five acres. Woodbury, as connecting the inland with the maritime camps, was, it is said, of most preëminence during the time of Constantine the Great, (306-337) when the Saxons began to invade the shores of Britain and

¹⁸ Exeter was besieged for thirty-five days in 1549, the ecclesiastical revolution under Henry VIII being not yet forgotten, by the men of Devon and Cornwall who rose in defence of the "old religion." I shall not follow Shortt in his examination of the works of Ptolemy, the Alexandrian geographer, who wrote about Britain in the second century; of the anonymous British geographer Ravennas, of the seventh century; nor of the "*Antonini Itinerarium*," a sort of Domesday Survey ordered by Julius Cæsar, B. C. 44, the fifteenth and last *iter* of which ends at Exeter, the Excester or *Castra* on the Exe. *Byrig*, in Saxon, means a city.

their depredations had arrived at such a height that it was deemed necessary to appoint an officer entitled 'Count of the Saxon shore,'—*Comes Saxonici Littoris*,—and dignified with the appellation of *Spectabilis*, 'the Honorable,' to guard against these pirates."

To some extent a military character has thus clung about the spot from the first. It seems to have been a position of military value as late as the ecclesiastical disturbances of 1549, and in the apprehension of a French invasion in 1798 Woodbury Castle was chosen for a camping ground for several regiments. A park of artillery was planted within the old entrenchments. The same thing happened under like circumstances in 1803, and to-day the spot is a favorite parade for the reviews of the militia of Devon. A single *vallum*, about five hundred feet in length and about half as wide, encloses it within the ramparts, and Lysons says there are *tumuli* near it, and he thinks it of British origin.¹⁹

The natural features of this spot have been frequently described. A recent writer speaks with enthusiasm of several of them. "The extensive views and bracing air, mixed with the aromatic odor of wild thyme and heath cannot fail to exhilarate the spirit;" and again, "The bogs on the common, which is at the top of the ridge, are covered with beautiful yellow flowers of bog-asphodel and

¹⁹ See Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, Vol. VI, pp. ccxiii and cccl. Another eminent authority, Lewis of Honiton, had addressed to the Society of Antiquaries in 1780 a Memoir in which he traced the chain of camps which he supposed Roman stations, afterwards occupied by the Danes, between Honiton and Exeter. Of these he finds that Woodbury and Hembury seem not to have assumed the form appropriate to any particular people, but to have taken shape altogether from local circumstances. The high hills of this region are to this day covered with fortifications known as "Dane Castles" and Risdon supposes them to have been erected by the Saxons against the Danes, who greatly infested this county, and that Woodbury Castle was one of them. The Danes were most troublesome from 980 to 1016, but Alfred the Great defeated them at Exmouth, as early as 897.

white, downy heads of cotton-sedge. The geologist should not fail to note the water-worn pebbles on the ridge, derived from an extensive pebble-bed which crops out on the summit of the range of hills and yields the pebbles which form the beach at Budleigh-Salterton." This writer adds "The ancient earth-works are still in excellent preservation and planted with trees which occupy the summit of the hill. This is called Woodbury Castle and was originally a British work. It was called *Alauna Sylva* by the Romans."

Risdon had spoken thus in 1630 of the place which he calls Woodberg and Woodbury. "Upon the Top of a Hill in the waste ground the Remains of an old Fortress, environed with great Ditches and Banks of Earth, remain to be seen," and he names Woodberie in the list of "Towns and Places which be priviledged and free from Tax and Toll, such as we, in common speech, call custom-free by ancient Demesne." Polwhele, writing in 1797, devotes some space to a detailed account of the locality, from which an extract must suffice. He says, "Of the Hills between the Clyst and the Otter, Woodbury is the most remarkable. To the northeast we see from Woodbury, Blackdown and the Quantock hills, and through a clear atmosphere the isle of Portland; to the south and west, Berry Head and a great part of Dartmoor; and returning from the extensive survey to the nearer distances we observe the river Exe at our feet,—a beautiful line of light,—the richly cultivated grounds that adorn its banks,—and lastly the sea itself. The Parish is four and one-half miles long and three and one-half broad, lying on a gentle declivity and bounded by the river Exe to the west. The soil is the common red clay of Devon. Several streams

rise in Woodbury. This Parish abounds with oak, elm and ash and the roads are good, consisting of gravel and pebble-stones. Woodbury Castle, that crowns the common, gives a noble effect to the prospect. From it could be seen the Roman intrenchment on Windmill hill in Farringdon. There are eight villages in the parish. The farm houses are seventy. Upwards of seventy paupers are monthly relieved and the number of inhabitants amounts to 1,500."

Partly from Polwhele, partly from the Reverend George Oliver's "Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon," and partly from original sources I learn that the parish church which stands on a knoll near the centre of the parish, stood there as early as 1205, that upon the death of Sir William Bonville in 1407, who left funds for a belfry, the church was rebuilt with a stately campanile tower and dedicated to St. Swithin and reconsecrated in 1409 by Bishop Stafford. The church profits and rentals had been granted by Bishop Marshall at some unknown date to the twenty-four vicars of the Cathedral at Exeter "in consideration of the fatigue which they had to undergo in performing the Divine office by day and by night," and the grant was confirmed by Bishop Brewer in 1217. The church is of durable stone with a slated roof. It is eighty-five feet in length, forty in width, and twenty feet high. The tower, which is eighty feet high, is square, has two strong buttresses at each corner, and has on its top sixteen battlements, with a weather-cock. It contains six deep-toned, musical bells, five of them bearing date respectively, A.D. 1605, 1624, 1629, 1677 and 1737. The sixth has no date but bears a prayer to the Virgin, cast in the metal in old English characters. The church-yard is near an acre. The living in Polwhele's time was a vicarage with twenty acres of glebe and a residence

in the gift of the Custos and College of Vicars Choral in Exeter Cathedral. The rectory is the property of these Vicars who are impropiators, and the officiating clergyman, a perpetual curate. The parsonage house is about one-fourth of a mile from the church, — an old building not annexed to the curacy. There is, says Polwhele, "a modus for cyder in the parish at 3d. a hogshead, and for hay, 4d. an acre; for a cow that has a calf, 3d.; for one milked without a calf, 3d." The parish registers date from a period not long after the dissolution of religious houses in 1539. The record of baptisms begins September 20, 1557; that of burials, in November, 1575, and that of marriages in November, 1582, but neither of them contains any trace of the family name of Woodbury. The parish contains a commodious court house and prison for the use of the county magistracy. In addition to the parish church it has at Gulliford, one of its eight villages, a Unitarian chapel, and a Free Church built in 1851 at another, as well as a meeting house supported by the family of Thomas Huckell Lee, Esquire, of Ebford House, near Lymptone. Religious differences seem not to have ceased to agitate this parish with the discipline administered by Earl Russell in 1549. The Dissenters had a chapel at Woodbury from which a much-revered pastor was ejected as a non-conformist, upon the restoration of Charles II (1660) and the "Act of Uniformity" which soon followed. As lately as 1850-52, a Puseyite agitation seems to have invaded this staid old community, which I find alluded to in an interesting letter printed in the History of Bedford, New Hampshire, from the late Colonel Isaac O. Barnes, who married a sister of Judge Levi Woodbury, describing his visit to the parish of Woodbury, in Devonshire, in the summer of 1850. He says that the

curates of the neighborhood were "high-church" in their proclivities, while the people were all of the opposite persuasion. And this difference culminated two years later in a very singular controversy, and a pamphlet printed at Exeter in 1852, bearing on its cover the following astounding title :

INTONING :
OR THE POSSIBILITY OF
SAYING PRAYERS
WITHOUT MAKING
A SLOW PROTRACTED NOISE :
Duly considered in a correspondence between
THE CHURCH WARDENS AND INCUMBENT OF
WOODBURY ;
WITH THEIR MUTUAL APPEALS TO THEIR ORDINARY,
AND HIS REPLIES THERETO.

The parish of Woodbury is approached by rail at a single point. It has a station of the London and Southwestern Railway on the river-side about two miles from the Castle and this is known as Woodbury Road Station. No Woodburys are to be found living in the neighborhood, nor buried there since the period within which "Decay's effacing fingers" still permit us to read the "sermons in stones" that lie scattered amongst the churchyard mould. No trace of Manor House nor Knightly Hall remains, with which the name of Woodbury can be connected — no stately effigy, no storied urn, no bronze memorial nor cloistered vault to show that such a race had ever been. And we are as completely thrown back upon our unaided fancy

to reproduce the stirring scenes and romantic incidents of the times of the Conquest and of the Crusades,—of the recalcitrant Barons and the weak King John,—as though no Domesday Survey had ever catalogued each ox and sheep, cotter and serf and mill and plough upon that old domain; as though no castellan of “our Castell of Excester” had ever signed himself “Lord of Woodbiry by ye Kinge’s grant;” as though no Baron summoned for high treason as “de Wodbyry, Miles,” had ever defied King John and been restored to his estates by his son and successor Henry III; as though the Manor of Wudebury had never been held *in capite* of the King (in the language of the *Rotuli Clausi* for the tenth year of Edward III) upon a fine or rental of three barbed arrows and one oatmeal cake of the value of half a farthing, to be rendered as often as the king should go hunting in the forest of Dartmoor.²⁰

²⁰From the *Placita de Quo Warranto* for the year 9-10 of Edward I, it appears that in the year 1282 the title to Woodbury Manor was put in issue by the erection of a gibbet and stocks thereon, a mode of asserting baronial rights in vogue as late as the French Revolution and resorted to among others by Voltaire at Ferney, and also by the claim of an assize of bread and ale and of free warren and of the power of life and death generally, and William Albemarle de Wodebery was summoned to Exeter to show by what right he set up these claims of seigniority. He satisfied a jury that he and his ancestors had held from a time “*a quo non existat memoria*.” And it appears from a list of Devonshire fees and holdings in Testa de Nevill (1216-1307) that, through their ancestor Geoffrey, the family had held since Henry I (1100-1135): “*Galfridus de Alba Mar tenet Manerium de W’debir cum pertinentijs, in capite de domino Rege, per servicium unius militis, de dono Regis H. primi antecessoribus suis per idem servicium*.” And it further appears from the same source that some “de Wodebery” had been in default in this condition of furnishing for forty days a knight accoutred at his own cost, and hence some of their dignities had been forfeited accordingly. “*Sergantia Reginaldi de Alba Marlia in Wodebery pro qua debuit invenire domino Regi unum servientem equitem et armatum per xl dies super custum proprium in exercitu suo alienata est in perpetuitate*.” All this just after the death of King John. How far these matters connect themselves with the disturbances which resulted in the signing of *Magna Charta* by that unhappy monarch, under a sort of duress, June 15, 1215, I cannot determine. But Henry III came to the throne in 1216, and among the first acts of his

But whatever mystery may enshroud the origin or the final disappearance of the famous family so long identified with the Manor of Woodbury, the history of that ancient estate is perfectly well made out from the Norman Conquest down to the time of the departure of the "Old Planter," John Woodbury, to take his part in the planting of New England. Before twenty years of his usurpation were complete, William the Conqueror had procured to be made, through a royal commission, an exhaustive inventory of the realm of which he had so unceremoniously possessed himself, and this has been sacredly preserved, and forms to-day the basis of all land tenures in a large part of England. It has been well described by Lowndes as "the most ancient record in the Kingdom and the register from which judgment was to be given upon the value, tenure and services of the land therein described," and by Taylor as "one of our most precious national posses-

reign we find him making haste to restore the *status quo ante bellum*. For we read in *Rotuli Litterarum Clausurarum* for the first half year of Henry III "*Regin' de Albemarl' rediit ad fidem et servicium nostrum*." Having thus renewed his allegiance, Sir Reginald is to have instant seizin of all his inheritance in Devonshire such as his father, Geoffrey, had on the day of his treason to King John,—"*die qua recessit a fide et servicio domini Regis J. patris nostri*."

Before the end of the century the Lords of Woodbury seem to have been in full favor. The writs for 1277 show *Willelmus de Alba Marl'* (and *de Aubemarl'*) of Devon represented in the expedition of that year against "Lewelin, Prince of Wales" by the service of half a knight's fee in Wodebir performed by *Reginaldus de Houleham, Serviens*, on his behalf. And ten years later the same William is commissioned by Edward I, one of the Conservitors of the Peace for the County of Devon. Testa de Nevill covers the period from 1216 to 1307, and records in his list of Knights' Fees, held in the County of Devon, one held by *Will'us de Wodebere* in Wodebere, of the honor of Gloucester, and one held by *Regin' de Alba Mara* in Wodebire, "*de domino Rege*." I find from the writs for 1316, that the *Villa de Wodebury* with *Notewille* and *Limeneston*, "*quæ sunt membra ad eandem*," were still among the King's possessions in Budleigh Hundred, and that *Galfridus Daumarle* was Lord of them all. And in 1337 it appears from the *Rotuli Clausi* that the Manor of Wodebyry had been held of the King, by William the son of William de Aumarle upon the nominal fine and rental named in the text, and a life interest for the life of William senior seems at that time to have been given to the parson ("*persona ecclesiæ*") of the church of Alvardeston.

sions ; a unique treasure, the like of which no other land can show." This remarkable survey is called "Domesday Book,"—perhaps a corruption of *Domus Dei*, because the two originals were early deposited for safety in the Cathedrals at Exeter and Winchester. The copy known as the Exeter or Exon Domesday is thought to be the earlier, since it is fuller in detail. The other, the Exchequer Domesday, more condensed but covering substantially the same matter, is thought to have been prepared from the returns embodied in the first, and to have been intended as the final and official form of this most interesting work. The survey was completed in the years 1085–6, the last year of William's life and reign. I am fortunate in being able to present to the curious reader an exact reproduction of the passage in the Exchequer Domesday which relates to the Manor of Woodbury.²¹ The great record is divided first by counties. Then under each county we have in subdivisions the names of the manors and other estates held by the King and those claiming under him by royal gift, and by the church, and then follow the estates of other persons of various degrees of consideration. Under the general head

²¹ The fac-simile introduced corresponds with the original in size and in every particular save color, being executed by a process which cannot err. Of course the ink of Domesday is faded and the vellum upon which it is engrossed is tinged with age. The capital letters in Domesday are picked out in vermillion and the proper names, such as "Wodeberie" and "St. Michael," seem to be emphasized by a line running through, rather than under them, which is of the same strong color. I omit the long catalogue of the copious Domesday literature which has accumulated mainly since the reign of George III, because the eighth centennial celebration of the completion of the Survey has just occurred and has produced a new crop of studies, commentary, criticism and discussion, soon to appear in print, which may be expected to supersede to some extent the older works. It will perhaps suffice to cite Sir Henry Ellis' "General Introduction to Domesday Book;" Robert Kelham's "Domesday Illustrated;" Rev. R. W. Eyton's "Key to Domesday," and the Devonshire Historical Association's "Devon Domesday." Some valuable observations will be found in Charles Gowen Smith's "Translation of Domesday for Lincolnshire," pp. xiii to xlviii and 261–8.

of "DEVENESCIRE, TERRA BALDWINI, VICE COM'ITIS," sixth in a list of nine estates reserved by the Conqueror himself [REX WILLELMUS TENET] to his own use [TERRA REGIS] under a subcaption which reads "HÆC SUBSEQUENTIA MANERIA TENUIT GHIDA, MATER HERALDI COMITIS," we have the following entry :

~~Wodeberie~~ T. R. E. geldat p. x. hid. tra. v. xxxv.
 car. In dñio fr. ii. car. 7 vi. serui. 7 xxx. uilli. 7 xxi. bord. cū
 xx. car. Ibi molin redd. vii. solid 7 vi. den. Ibi. xxx. ac. p̄a.
 7 ccc. ac. pasture. Silva. i. leu l̄g. 7 dim leu lat.
 Redd. xxiii. lib ad pensu. Ante Balduin. xviii. lib.
 Ecclesia tenet ecclesiam huius cū. i. hida 7 una 6 7 dim ferling. Valet xx. sol.

Amplifying this much condensed statement into the barbarous Latin of the period, it reads thus :

"Wodeberie T. R. E. [tempore regis Eduuardi] geldabat pro x hidis. Terra est xxxv carucis. In dominio sunt ii carucæ et vi servi et xxx villani et xxii bordarii cum xx carucis. Ibi molinus reddens vii solidos et vi denarios. Ibi xxx acræ prati et ccc acræ pasture. Silva i leuca longitudine et dimidia leuca latitudine. Reddit xxiii libras ad pensum. Ante Balduinum xviii libras.

"Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis tenet ecclesiam hujus Manerii cum i hida et una virgata et dimidio ferling. Valet xx Solidos."

From the Exeter Domesday I extract the following, transmuted like the former passage into the corrupted Latin of the time :

"Udeberia. Rex habet i Mansionem quæ vocatur Wodeberia quam tenuit Guitda ea die qua rex Eduuardus fuit vivus et mortuus et reddidit gildum pro x hidis. Has possunt arare xxxv carrucæ. Inde habet rex v hidas et ij carucas in dominio. Et uillani v hidas et xx carrucas.

Ibi habet rex xxx uillanos et xxij bordarios et vj servos et ij roncinos et xv animalia et iiij porcōs et lx oues et i molendinum qui reddit vij solidos et vi denarios i leugam nemoris in longitudine et dimidiam in latitudine et xxx agros prati et ccc agros pascuæ. Hæc reddit xxij libras ad pensum et quando Balduinus recepit xvij libras.

"Inde habet abbas Sancti Michaelis de Monte ecclesiam et terram quam tenuit sacerdos ea die qua rex Eduuardus fuit uiuus et mortuus. Hoc est dimidia hida et i uirga et dimidium ferlinum et ualet per annum xx solidos cum communi pascua."

From all this the Latin scholar, though he might have found very serious difficulty in deciphering the barbarous contractions, elisions and omissions of the original manuscript, will very readily gather that the Manor of Woodbury during a portion of the reign of Edward the Confessor, which covered the period from A. D. 1042 to 1066, and on the day of his decease, was in the possession and enjoyment of the Countess, sometimes called Queen Gytha, Ghida, or Gueda, the mother of Earl Harold who fell at Hastings, herself a sister of the King of Denmark. That it then had a mansion and paid tax for ten hides to the Dane-geld. That it embraced as much land as could be cultivated with thirty-five ploughs. Five hides of the land and two ploughs belonged to the King in demesne, and the villeins or farm-hands had the other five hides and twenty ploughs. Of these villeins or farm-hands the King had there thirty, with twenty-two bordars, or cotters, and six serfs or house-servants. It had a mill which rendered seven shillings and six pence, and it was stocked with two pack-horses, fifteen head of cattle, four swine and sixty sheep. It comprised thirty acres of meadow or mowing land, three hundred acres of pasture, and woodland one leuga or league in length and half as wide. The Manor

was, under the Normans, doomed for twenty-three pounds by weight of metal, but before the time of Baldwin it only paid eighteen pounds. This Baldwin who raised the taxes seems to have been no other than Earl Baldwin de Sap, one of King William's generals at Hastings, a favorite who married a niece of the Conqueror and was by him created hereditary sheriff of Devon and was required by the King's order, out of the perquisites of this lucrative "Sherriffewicke of Devenescire," to build Exeter Castle.²²

This famous record concludes by stating that the abbot of St. Michael *de Monte* had the right of presentation to the church of the Manor, and held the lands which were in the occupancy of the priest on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead—the last day of his life. These were worth yearly twenty shillings with common of pasture. There seems to be a question whether the Saint Michael's referred to was the church of St. Michael *de monte*, on the coast of Cornwall, or the earlier, greater and richer St. Michael *de monte in periculo maris* across the channel, the famous Norman monastery of the eighth century, built on a storm-lashed, isolated rock, three hundred feet high and accessible only at low tide, of which the Cornish St. Michael's was a dependency before 1085 and to which the Manor of Budleigh, Roger Conant's birthplace, adjoining Woodbury, in fact belonged.²³

²² See Freeman's "Norman Conquest," Vol. IV, pp. 99-108; Vol. V, pp. 490-494, Appendix A. The microscopic scrutiny, to which Woodbury Manor and every other estate covered by the Domesday survey was subjected by the Conqueror, will be found to justify the complaint of the contemporary Saxon Chronicler of 1085,—“So very narrowly he caused it to be traced out that there was not one single hyde nor one yard of land, nor even an ox nor a cow nor a swine was left, that was not set down in his writ.”

²³ Pole writing before 1635 says, p. 94, “Budleigh, whence the whole hundred hath its name, was sometye belonginge unto y^e Abbey of St. Michael *de Monte in Periculo Maris*,” which Kelham in his “Domesday Illustrated” has described as a magnificent Benedictine Abbey, romantically situated on a rock three hundred feet high, covered with the sea twice a day, much resembling its namesake on St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, annexed to it by Robert Earl of Moreton and Cornwall before 1085. See “Dugdale's Monasticon,” Vol. II, p. 949 and “Alien Priories,” Vol. I, p. 145.

After the death of William the Conqueror (1087), I find no trace of Woodbury Manor until the reign of his second son Henry I, who succeeded William Rufus, A. D. 1100. Sir William Pole says of Woodbury, "This mannor did Kinge Henry I give unto *Rogerus de Maunsdevilla*, Castellan of his Castell of Excester." So then the Mandevilles were the ancestors (*antecessores*) from whom Geoffrey Daumerle or Damarell proved his title in the time of Henry III, and William Damarell in the time of Edward I. "Stephan de Maunsdevilla, his sonne," continues Pole, "wth y^e licens of Kinge Henry II, granted y^e same unto Will^m Carbonell and Roger de Maunsdevill confirmed y^e grant of Stephan, his father, unto Will^m, sonne to y^e said Will^m Carbonell." Doubtless the elder William had married a daughter of Mandeville. Both the Mandevilles and the Carbonells were known after the fashion of the times, as *de Woodbury*. Here then was a "distinguished house" of *de Woodbury* with which the Damarells might have connected themselves, as Polwhele says they did, and in this he follows Risdon's remark about the ancient Lords Damarell, "a name that dispersed itself into many families, as Woodberg, . . ." But Pole leaves no doubt on the point. He shows "Mabill, y^e daughter of Carbonell," married unto Galfride de Albamarlea, who became "Lord of Wodbiry" in the reign of Richard I (1189-1199).⁽²⁴⁾ Through a long line of descent carefully traced by Pole and quoted by Polwhele, which I will not insert, the manor came, on the death of Sir William Damarell, Knight, "wh^{ch} died Anno 36 of Kinge Edward III [1363] leaving issue Marg'et, wife of Sir Will^m Bonvill of Shute,

²⁴ This was "Cœur de Lion," the first Sovereign of England who fought in the Crusades. See Mills's "History of Chivalry," Vol. I, p. 252.

Knight," to the Bonvills. The Bonvills shared the common fortunes of those

"Brave days of old
When Knights were bold
And Barons held their sway,"

and after them we hear little of the Manor of Woodbury. In 1449, William, Lord Bonville was summoned to parliament as Baron Bonville. He was beheaded after the battle of St. Alban's, 1461, by Queen Margaret of Anjou for having espoused the cause of Edward IV. His only son had died in battle at Wakefield a few months before, and his granddaughter and heiress was married to Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset. Her son Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk and Marquis of Dorset, possessed the Manor of Woodbury in 1554, when he lost his estates and his head in an attempt to place that ill-starred beauty, his daughter Lady Jane, on the throne of England. "And soe," continues Pole of the Manor of Woodbury, "beinge escheated into the Crown, John Pridaux, Sergeant-at-law, purchased the same, and it is nowe [1604-1635] the land of Sir Thomas, his grandchild."

But while the records give us little further trace of a Woodbury Manor or a Woodbury family in the ancient parish since Edward III (Lysons says the "Damarells of Woodbury" became extinct through failure of issue male, in the reign of Edward III) another Manor in the Parish of Woodbury comes into notice whose history is full of interest. This is the estate now known as Nutwell Court, and formerly as Notewille, and Notewell, thought to be a corruption of "Neot's Well," the Saxon word for a well being *wille*. Oliver de Dinham seems to have held it as early as Henry II (1154-1189) and Geoffry Dammerle de Woodbiry, Knight, in the Reign of Edward

II (1307–1327), but in the time of Richard II (1377–1399) it seems to be again in the possession of a *Johannes de Dynham, Miles*, together with Woodbury Manor and Villa and a long list of other estates. Pole has said of it, "Nutwell was long tyme sithens given by y^e ancestors of Dinham unto y^e priory of Dinham or Dynam, in little Britayne, and, after y^e resummyng of y^e lands y^t aliens held, restored unto Sir John Dinham, whoe bwylded a fayre howse and dwelled there." He then traces its descent, through Sargeant John Prideaux, the same who purchased Woodbury Manor on the attainder of Suffolk, and says he "hath left it for the dwellynge howse of his posterity and nowe [1604–1635] it is the mansion howse of Sir Thomas Prideaux, Knight."²⁵ Tristram Risdon has described it at about the same period. "In this parish of Woodburys is Nutwell, sometime a castle, but when it came to the Lord Dynham" [John Dinham, born 1430, probably at Nutwell; by Henry VII made Lord High Treasurer, Knight of the Garter, etc.; died 1502] "he altered it and made it a fair and stately dwelling-house. It lieth very low by an arm of the sea, so as the high floods rise almost to the House. It is open only to the West, being defended otherwise with little Hills. This Nutwell Court (which signifies a mansion-house in a seigniory) came to the family of Prideaux and is now the dwelling of Sir Thomas, Knight, etc." Lysons, Polwhele, and the Reverend John Prince give further account of this famous old manor. Says Prince in his "Worthies

²⁵ Of these Prideauxs was undoubtedly that Brigadier General John, son of Sir John Prideaux of Devonshire, baronet, who was killed in the trenches before Niagara in the "old French war," July 19, 1759. He had been entrusted by Pitt with the difficult task of reducing Fort Niagara, then one of the most formidable works in the country. See Drake's "American Biography."

of Devon"²⁶ written before 1697: "Nutwell in the Parish of Woodbiry is about six miles south from Exeter on the east side of the river Exe, just opposite to Powderham Castle, which stands on the west."²⁷ This writer follows the authorities I have cited and speaks of the "little hills that semi-circle it," and of the spring tides which "at high flood rise almost to the outer gate of the house, unto which is belonging a very handsome chappel adjoyning to a spacious dining-room at the east end thereof."²⁸

The Earl of March, soon after crowned as Edward IV, was engaged, in 1460-1, in a sanguinary effort to wrest

²⁶ "Lives of Most Famous Divines, Statesmen, Swordsmen, Physicians, Writers and other eminent persons, natives of that most noble province, from before the Roman Conquest down to the present age, are memorized in an alphabetical order out of the most approved authors both in print and manuscript." All this and more on the title page of the "Worthies of Devon" with the following admirable motto, which I have seen elsewhere on the arms of Edward Chester, and the author's quaint if inelegant rendering of it.

*"Nam Genus et Proavos et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
"Vix ea nostra voco!"*

OVID, *Metam.*, Lib. XIII.

"Those mighty glorious things
"Our ancestors have done
"But ha'n't performed ourselves
"We scarce may call our own."

²⁷ Powderham Castle is and has long been the seat of the Earls of Devon. When it was besieged by the Parliamentary forces during the Commonwealth, Nutwell was garrisoned for that army also. The river Exe, flowing between them, is a mile wide at this point—an arm of the sea. Rev. Hugh Peters' "Relation" of the fall of the Royalist Stronghold is as follows: "Powtheram Castle taken, 1646, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, with the Governour, Major, 120 officers and common souldiers, 5 barrells of Gunpowder, great store of Match & Bullet & all the Prince's army & ammunition therein. 40 horse taken in pursuit of the enemy, Lord Wentworth's letter, the Scout-Master General's letter and other letters that were sent from Prince Charles unto the King."

²⁸ Since Edward III (1327-1377) the Dinham's have held Nutwell and have always been Knights and always named John, and accordingly "being denominated from this their seat," have been continuously known as Sir John Dinham of Nutwell. The family was French and had a "Castel Dinant" in Brittany. An Oliver de Dinant "came into this realm in assistance of William the Conqueror." Lord Dinham dying in 1502 without issue, the estate passed to Sergeant John Pri-deaux, and so to its present owners.

from Margaret of Anjou, consort of the imbecile Henry VI, the supremacy of England. During the varying fortunes of the struggle his partisans were once reduced to the extremity of secreting the young prince in the neighborhood of Exeter, and with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick in his suite he repaired to Nutwell. Perhaps this is the most notable event in the history of that manor-house, although for centuries (Lysons, Vol. VI, pp. iv-xx) the Welsh and the Danes vied with each other in making life uncertain in the southern country, and the Wars of the Roses and of the Revolution surged about its walls, and later still, in 1688, William of Orange landed at Torbay and marched by on his way to Exeter to proclaim himself King of England. The event is chronicled in the "Worthies of Devon" where it appears that these august fugitives were brought safely into Devonshire and "hid themselves awhile at this gentleman's [the last Sir John's] house at Nutwell." This and other services so far endeared him to the young prince and the Duke of York, his father, that upon the accession of the former he found himself in high favor at court, and ultimately rose to be Lord High Treasurer of England. In the twelfth year of Edward IV, we find him "retained to serve the King in his fleet at sea with 3,580 soldiers and mariners," and three years later again, "for four months with 3,000 men."

As late as Charles I [1625-1649], says Pole, the title of Nutwell was still in Sir Thomas Prideaux, and about 1660, Sir Henry Ford, twice Secretary of State for Ireland under Charles II, a famous wit and *bon vivant* of his day, purchased, says Prince, "the Manor or part of the Manor of Woodberry and therein Nutwell Court and Barten, which he made the place of his future abode. He died here about the sixty-fifth year of his age and lieth interred

in the parish church of Woodberry unto which his house belongeth."

About 1700 this now famous seat seems to have belonged to a son of Sir Henry Pollexfen, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and through an intermarriage with the Drakes to have come to Sir Francis Henry Drake, the collateral representative and heir of Sir Francis Drake, the great admiral of Queen Elizabeth's reign, circumnavigator of the globe, and destroyer of the Armada.²⁹ Drake left no issue. There is at Nutwell Court a portrait of the old Sea-fighter, represented as wearing the miniature of Elizabeth, which was given him by that Queen herself. This very miniature, the work of Vincentio Vincentini, is, with other relics, in the possession of the present occupant. Nutwell is embowered in trees and shrubbery in the midst of a park of seventy-six acres and is to-day the seat of Sir Francis George Augustus Fuller Elliott Drake, Baronet. A sister of Sir Francis Henry Drake was the wife of a famous military hero, Lord Heathfield,³⁰ and Sir Francis, dying in 1794, left Nutwell Court to his nephew,

²⁹ Carew, a contemporary eulogist, applied to Drake words which would seem to be the antitype of one of Webster's best known and most admired periods, in speaking of "that liquid line, wherewith (as an emulator of the Sonne's Glorie) he encompassed the world."

³⁰ The Right Honorable George Augustus Elliott, Lord Heathfield, Baron Gibraltar, was a very conspicuous figure at the close of the last century. He was a most accomplished soldier. His education comprised a university course at Leyden, a military course in Vauban's *Ecole Royale* and volunteer service in the army of Prussia. All this before his eighteenth year, which found him in the engineer corps at Woolwich, and soon after he was acting as adjutant in the horse-grenadiers. In the service of Germany, which he entered next, he was wounded at Dettingen, and after several promotions he became aid-de-camp to King George II. He created the first corps of light dragoons, known as "Elliott's Light Horse." After many marked distinctions he was, at a most critical period, made Military Governor of Gibraltar, and there, with a mere handful of men, withstood for the four years from 1779 to 1783 the combined fury of the French and Spanish attack. The skill and spirit displayed in this crisis have had few parallels. Closely shut up; threatened with famine and disease as well as continuous assault; the little gar-

the second Lord Heathfield, but it has reverted to and still remains in the Drake family.

I shall close this paper with a brief allusion to another estate in Devonshire known from 1243 to this day as Woodbury Court. It lies at Plymtree, an hour's drive from Exeter, and doubtless was once the seat of some cadet branch of the Woodbury family, although the rector of the parish assures me that it has not been the property of any person bearing that name since the fourteenth century. The parish register of Plymtree covers the period from 1538 to 1648 and no trace of such a family appears there. Lysons says the Court "gave name to a family," and spells the name Woodbeare. Pole says of "Woodbeere near Plymtree," "Will^m de Woodbeare held *anno* 27 of Kinge Henry 3 [1243] & *anno* 24 of Kinge Edw. [1296] Robert de Woodbear; from Woodbeare by Julian (de Woodbeare) it came to Will^m Daunay & contynewed unto Kinge Henry 4 tyme, y^t John Dauney left it unto his daughters." Pole traces the estate to a much later day when it came to an heiress "whose daughters' husbands dismembered the same amongst the tenants and others." There seem to be now a higher or upper Woodbury, a

rison was stimulated by his faith and controlled by his will until the complete mastery he gained over the natures of the men whose fate was in his hands, and the success which resulted, made him the hero of the hour. The first man in the fortress to greet the morning sun and the last to retire, alert and unwearied, a model for everybody of abstemiousness in food and wine, habituated to severe exercise and rigid discipline, generous to others as he was pitiless to himself, it was found impossible to starve out a position with such a commander, or to capture it by surprise, or to weaken it by disease. The eyes of Europe were watching his achievement and its final triumph won him every honor. A grand historic painting of the "Siege of Gibraltar," by John Singleton Copley, Lord Heathfield being the central figure and giving orders for the rescue of some drowning sailors from a hostile frigate wrecked by his guns, may be seen in the recently formed gallery of the City of London at Guild Hall, and a portrait of Lord Heathfield, summoned by the Spanish commandant to deliver up the keys of the fortress in 1782, one of the noblest works from the brush of Sir Joshua Reynolds, hangs at the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square.

lower Woodbury and a middle Woodbury. Polwhele, quoting Pole, adds of Plymtree parish, "it seems to be disfranchised in the upper part, Woodbeer claiming one part, Little Woodbeer another and the Dean of Exeter another. . . . Towards the northeast part of the parish is an old mansion called Woodbeer Court. . . . The mansion house is built of cob and thatched, the walls being above four feet thick. It is surrounded with gardens and orchards and high walls and has a dreary appearance, resembling those mansions of old said to be haunted with ghosts and spectres. It is let to a farmer."³¹

Later travellers have described it differently, and the photographic views before me give the old mansion, surrounded with its fresh Devonshire sward, shrubbery and hedge rows and its ample barns, anything but a dreary aspect. In restoring an old porch a few years ago the material at that point was found to be very small sun-dried brick, which carries its origin back to a very remote date.

³¹The church of St. John Baptist at Plymtree is gothic and is one of the finest and most ancient, besides being the chief, in the Deanery. Nicholas Monk, a brother of the famous general and soldier of fortune, George Monk, was Rector here in 1625-1643. It is a stone structure of eighty by thirty-five feet, with roof of slate, and a square, ivy-mantled tower sixty feet high and crumbling with age. It consists of a nave and chancel at the angle of which traces of a confessional are still to be made out. It has four bells, two of them extremely old and bearing mottoes cast in their metal; the others showing only their dates. One motto reads, in old British characters,

"Protege, Virgo Pia!

"Quos Conboco, Sancta Maria!"

a universal prayer which has been roughly rendered:

"Holy Virgin! Prosper all

"Whom, with brazen lips, I call!"

and the tower bears on its western corner a mutilated statue of the Virgin and Child. There are scraps of stained glass in this little village church and the screen, which dates from Henry VII, is famous. Beautifully carved and gilded, its lower panels present figures of various Saints painted in the manner of the illuminations of ancient popish missals and manuscripts of the early church. They are the delight of art-students, are often photographed and painted, and have been thought of sufficient art-value and archaic interest by the present rector to justify him in the publication of an illustrated volume depicting and describing them. For a full account of Plymtree, see Polwhele, Vol. III, pp. 262-5, Lysons, Vol. VI, pp. 417-18, Mozley's "Henry VII, Prince Arthur and Cardinal Morton," pp. 4, 137-9.

It is a quaint, low-roofed old farmhouse with rambling passage ways, rough, hand-hewn rafters and a prodigious kitchen, and shows many traces of its extreme antiquity. "The house," says the present rector, "is so substantially built that it is likely to last little changed for centuries more. There are but two estates in the parish of more value and importance."

I would be glad to designate some single spot as certainly, or at least presumably, the birthplace of John Woodbury, the pioneer, but this I am unable to do. Further research may yet bring to light the needful facts. I state what I know, and leave the wide and inviting field of conjecture to those who have a fancy to wander in it. What is known on this point is briefly told. "Humffrey", the son of the "Old Planter", made a deposition in 1680, the last year of his life, from which it appears that he was living in "Summersetshire" in 1624, when his "father John Woodberye did remove for New England," and that he "then travelled with him as far as Dorchester." An estate of Wodebergh and a family of Daumerle or Damarell, have been traced in Somerset from 1304. Burlescombe, a Devon parish just on the border of Somerset, shows more Woodburys on its register from 1580 to 1632 than any spot yet found in England. It is the next parish to Halberton where John de Albemarle was a landholder in 1256, and to Ash or Esse, where Pole finds Julian de Woodbeare holding an estate in 1346 as well as at Plymtree, and where Testa de Nevill shows Will'us de Wodebere holding a Knight's fee at some date between 1216 and 1307. Sir John Popham, the famous Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who was so deeply interested in the New England venture, had "a stately dwellinge howse" five miles away, as well as another at East Budleigh. There were John Woodburys taxed here at the end of

Elizabeth's reign and the beginning of that of King James. And wherever there were Woodburys there were Johns. In 1355-7, John de Wodebur appears in the Roll of Archers on Foot for ninety-one days' service. It was then that three armies were marshalling for France and the army for Guyenne under the Black Prince fought September 19, 1356, the decisive battle of Poitiers in which the English foot-archers did such fearful execution on the French, and in which King John of France was taken prisoner. In 1390 the "de" in these names is falling into disuse³² and we have plain John Wodebury recovering £10 and costs at an assize in that year, the thirteenth of Richard II, in an action for disseizin near Teignmouth. In 1407, Johannes Wodbury signs a bond in administration on the estate of Thomas Gorges, and in 1525 and 1543 one or more Johns Wodebury, Woodbeare, Woodbayre and Woodbirre are taxed as domiciled between Exeter and the Somerset border.

The Burlescombe family also bore other common Woodbury names besides John, such as William, James or Jacob, and Nicholas; in fact, the neighborhood swarmed with them. Close by Burlescombe is South Petherton where the Old Planter's brother William, who followed him to New England before 1631 and became the progenitor of a numerous and distinguished family in Maine and New Hampshire, intermarried with Elizabeth Patch, January 29, 1616. In 1618, their son Nicholas, in 1620, their son William, and in 1622, their son Andrew, were baptized in the same parish, and all these came with their parents to Salem. The Assize Rolls for the twenty-second year of Henry III

³²As late as 1343 one "William *de* Wodyabera with William his son" is litigating at the Devon Assizes over an estate within a half hour's walk of Woodbeare Court and, in 1370, "William Wodebere, the son of William" [having dropped the Norman *de*] was still engaged in litigation over a portion of the same disputed acres.

show us an earlier William de Widebergh or Wudber who seems, in 1237-8, to have been in too active sympathy with the church militant. He is complained of with four others, one of whom is Parson John of Hambury, "for that they took the complainants and detained them and carried off their belts and their horns and the corn of two acres of land." "William de Widebergh came into court and was in mercy." But the King's Bench records for 1248-9 show this same William in the estimable character of peacemaker, for he settles a family feud by buying out his kinsman Roger, the son of Richard de Wodeburghe, and pays him twelve marks of silver for a quit-claim of his land in Wydebyrre. This may be the William who in 1276 set up a gallows in the beautiful Manor of Lustleigh, near Exeter, with other claims of lordship all of which were challenged in court, but I do not know the issue. In 1527 and 1581 Woodburys bearing the name of William were still paying taxes near Exeter.

The name Nicholas Woodbury, which appears in the tax and subsidy lists of the neighborhood from 1327 to 1543, seems to have been borne in the former year by a representative of the family, Nicholas de Wodebury, whose inclinations were somewhat iconoclastic and who was not as careful as William of the "belts and horns" had been, a century before, to indulge his pugnacity in the interest of the church. We find him arraigned at the Easter Week Assizes for the nineteenth year of Edward II (1326), with a number of co-respondents of eminent respectability, charged with disseizing the Abbot of Tor of twenty-six acres of land with appurtenances. Next, we find him at Hilary Term among thirty defendants, charged by the Abbot of Tor and Benedict, a brother Canon, with grossly assaulting the latter, and at Michaelmas Term the case

still drags along, being still further aggravated and embarrassed by the subsequent pounding and general maltreatment administered, during its progress, to still another Canon of Tor Abbey. This Tor Abbey, a little south of Exmouth, was a monastery of the order of monks calling themselves Præmonstratensians and, if anything could palliate the offence committed, it would seem that such a name as that ought to be taken into consideration.

In the Burlescombe parish records, the first John mentioned is *Johannes Woodberye*, who intermarries with Joanna Humffreys, June 21, 1596. Humffrey, the Old Planter's son, it is asserted, upon what authority I do not know, was born in 1607, 8, or 9,—evidently conjecture and not the testimony of an English record. The temptation is very strong to regard this *Johannes* of Burlescombe as the father, and Joanna Humffrey as the mother of Humffrey Woodberye. But on the one hand we are confronted with the fact that the name Humffrey does not then appear in the family for the first time, for among other instances there is a summons against *Umfredum de Wodyber* in the King's Bench for the thirteenth year of Edward I (1285). On the other hand it should be known that one "Joanna, wife of John Woodberye" was buried at Burlescombe, June 5, 1601. John and Joanna are both names of frequent occurrence there and this last named Joanna may have been another than Joanna Humffreys. Or the birth of Humffrey Woodbury may have been erroneously placed too late. If born before 1601, his journey to Dorchester, to see the Old Planter off for New England in 1624, would seem to have been a more natural, because a more helpful proceeding than if he were born in 1609. For sentimental journeying was not in vogue with the Devonshire roundheads of those days. We have only to

await the facts and welcome new light, prepared to abandon, if we must, this Burlescombe entry as the veritable record of the marriage of the Old Planter.

I must leave it to others to trace out the record of this sturdy Devon family since their appearance in New England. The story does not lack incident. Early intermarriages with Conants, Thorndikes, Reas, Putnams, Herricks, Trasks, Batchelders and Dodges show that they were careful to mingle theirs with as good blood as the little colony afforded, and town and parish records in Beverly and other homes of their adoption show that the blood did not degenerate. John, the pioneer, spoken of with a certain kindly reverence not often to be looked for in official records, as "brother Woodbry" and as "father Woodbry," though by no means an elder in years, did what one resolute man could do to defeat the ambition of Richelieu and to give us a New England instead of a New France between the Hudson and the Bay of Fundy and, having accomplished this, died full of honors if not of years in 1641. Humphrey, the son who came with him from Somerset on his return in 1628, lived long and well and dying forty years later left behind him a numerous and worthy progeny, losing a son with the "Flower of Essex" at Bloody Brook, in 1675, and another dying in 1690, on his way home from "Phips's wild crusade against Quebec." Peter, another son of the Old Planter, born just before his father's death, left many and well-known descendants and was the Deacon Peter and Sergeant Peter of the town and parish records. For the rest there have been thrifty farmers among them, hardy fishermen, shrewd and fearless captains of trading craft, ingenious mechanics and inventors, successful master-builders, estimable doctors and clergymen, public-spirited citizens, honest neighbors.

Some have spun out at home the quiet, uneventful life of the New England Deacon; others have died abroad, by flood and field on every sea and shore. "Taken by the French while fishing," — "Lost with seven men and two boys at sea," — "Died in captivity," — "Missing abroad for a long while," — "Lost on a home voyage from the West Indies," — or the "Carolinas" — "Died from wounds on board H. M. King George's Frigate Apollo," — "Fell overboard and drowned in the waters of Virginia by the breaking of a thole-pin while rowing in James River," — "Died in the French and Indian War," — "Killed at Canton, China," — "Died on passage from Coast of Africa," — "Lost in the Bay," — "Washed overboard from Ship Columbia on homeward passage from Liverpool" — "Died in Mill Prison," —³³ such are some of the sadly suggestive epitaphs to be read by scores in the short and simple annals of this stalwart, coast-reared stock. Few "enterprises of great pith and moment" were set on foot in the colony except a Woodbury was of the party, and they seem to have been ready early and late, whether in humble or conspicuous station and whatever might betide, to bear a man's part. Two Beverly Woodburys piloted the little fleet to the capture of St. John's and Port Royal in the New England Expedition of 1654. And a full century later a Beverly Woodbury stood by the side of Wolfe as he fell in victory upon the plains of Abraham, and wore that day a sword which is still an heirloom with his

³³It is recorded of "Madame Andrew" Woodbury that yellow fever destroyed her husband and four children in a few weeks in 1757, and her negro man and two negro infants in 1762. The "Widow Mary" Woodbury's "Negro man Cuff" had died in 1761 and in 1769 she sold her ten years old "negro boy Portius" to Mr. Bartlet for forty pounds. Robert Mingo, a negro slave from whom Mingo Beach is thought to have taken its name, was in 1707 the property of Thomas Woodbury of Beverly. The number of slaves in Beverly in 1754 was but twenty-eight, so the Woodburys seem to have had a partiality for that sort of chattel movable.

descendants. The man who lost a thumb while at the wheel of the Frigate "Constitution" during the first action of the War of 1812, in which she captured and destroyed H. B. M. Frigate "Guerriere," was a Woodbury of Beverly. And it was reserved for the Honorable Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire, Jackson's Secretary of the Navy, to pen orders which opened to our commerce the ports of Siam, brought the weak-headed Bourbon, who was playing at kingcraft at the time in Naples, to a sense of his obligations to our insulted flag, and inspired the craven cut-throats of Sumatra, who had just massacred a portion of the crew of the "Friendship" of Salem at Qualla Battoo, with a salutary terror which made navigation and traffic safe from that day on, even in the Indian Archipelago. In our intervals of prosperity and peace the name of Woodbury has made itself known in poetry, literature and music, in mechanics and engineering, in philanthropy and religion, in politics and law. In the great civil war, I do not know how often it may be traced among those serried lines of headstones which guard, on so many a well-contested field, the "bivouac of the dead." But I find in the historian of the "Burnside Expedition and the Ninth Army Corps," and of the First and Second Rhode Island Volunteer Regiments, a Beverly Woodbury who was actively engaged at Bull Run, in July, 1861, with the Rhode Island First, of which, as early as April 18th, he had been commissioned chaplain, and another Beverly Woodbury in the Sergeant who rose to be commissioned by Governor Andrew a Lieutenant Colonel, September 20, 1864, and in a New Hampshire Woodbury the Major General who was engaged as engineer on the defences of Washington in 1861-2, who commanded the Engineer Brigade before Richmond and Fredericksburg in 1862-3,

and who was Chief Engineer of the Department of the Gulf for 1863-4. And I find it easy to believe that the old blood is as young and lusty yet as it was in that earlier age when, seen through the hazy atmosphere of a romantic past, some Sir Ralph or Sir Reginald, on his heavy Norman charger, comes clattering over the draw-bridge of his castle moat, plume and pennant dancing in the breeze, his three blood-red, rampant lions freshly blazoned on his blue and silver shield, the crimson rose of Lancaster blushing at his belt, and his doughty retainers, each in complete steel, all marshalled at his back.

EARLY SETTLERS OF ROWLEY, MASS., INCLUDING
ALL WHO WERE HERE BEFORE 1662.
WITH A FEW GENERATIONS OF THEIR DESCENDANTS.

BY GEO. B. BLODGETTE, M.A.

[Continued from page 309, Vol. XXIII.]

TENNEY.

108 Thomas Tenney, brother of Deacon William¹⁰⁹, had an acre and a half house-lot, 1643. He brought with him wife Ann, who was mentioned as "sister" in the will of Dea. Thomas Mighill⁷⁰. She was buried 26-7mo., 1657. He married (2) 24 Feb., 1657-8, Elizabeth, widow of Francis Parrat⁷⁹.

He was styled "ensign" and died in Bradford, 20 Feb., 1699-700.

Children by wife Ann :

108-1 John², b. 14-10mo., 1640; m. Mercy Parrat⁷⁹⁻⁴.

108-2 Hannah², b. 15-1mo., 1642; m. (before 1667) Joseph Johnson of Haverhill.

108-3 Mary², b. 17-4mo., 1644; m. 22 Nov., 1664, Thomas Hardy of Bradford.

108-4 Thomas², b. 16-5mo., 1648; m. Margaret Hidden⁴⁵⁻³.

108-5 James², b. 15-6mo., 1650; m. Abigail Lambert⁶²⁻⁸.

108-6 Daniel², b. 16-5mo., 1653; m. Elizabeth Stickney.

108-1 John Tenney (*Thomas*¹⁰⁸) born 14-10mo., 1640; married 26 Feb., 1663-4, Mercy, daughter of Francis Parrat⁷⁹. She died 27 Nov., 1667. He married (2) in Merrimac Village, 2 Dec., 1668, Susannah Woodbury of Beverly. She died in Bradford, 9 April, 1716, in her 68 year (gravestone) (see will of her mother Elizabeth Woodbury, Hist. Coll., Vol. IV, p. 235).

He bought land in Bradford, 1664. He then styled himself of "Rowley;" he was of Bradford, 1669.

Children, by wife Mercy, born in Rowley :

108-7 Sarah³, b. 17-8mo., 1665; m. in Bradford, 23 July, 1684, Capt. Philip Atwood of Bradford. She died 2 April, 1739, in her 74th year (gravestone in Bradford). He died 13 April, 1722, in his 64th year (gravestone in Bradford).

108-8 Samuel³, b. 20 Nov., 1667; lived for a time with his great uncle William¹⁰⁹. He settled in Bradford and was deacon of the church there. He m. ———, Abigail, dau. of Deacon Joseph Bailey. She died in Bradford, 28 Nov., 1689. He m. 2nd, in Bradford, 18 Dec., 1690, Sarah Boynton¹²⁻⁹. She died 3 April, 1709, in her 38th year (gravestone in B.). He m. 3rd, ———, Hannah ———.

The history of the First Church in Bradford, recently published, speaks of him as a man long remembered for the peculiar sweetness of his Christian character. He was a fine singer and led the service of song for twenty-five years. His house stood near where T. H. Finney now (1886) resides and there he died Feb. 3, 1748, in the 81st year of his age.

108-4 Thomas Tenney (*Thomas*¹⁰⁸) born 16-5mo., 1648; married 8 Sept., 1680, Margaret, daughter of Andrew Hidden⁴⁵. I find no mention of her death.

He died 7 Aug., 1730, "an old man" (Chh. R.).

Children :

108-9 Margaret³, bapt. 13 Nov., 1681; m. 30 Dec., 1701, Jacob Barker⁶⁻²¹.

108-10 Ann³, b. 26 Aug., 1683; m. 23 Oct., 1704, Aquilla Jewett⁵⁴⁻²¹.

108-11 Sarah³, bapt. 24 May, 1685; m. 17 Dec., 1705, Thomas Tenney¹⁰⁸⁻²⁴.

108-12 Elizabeth³, b. 23 April, 1687; m. 23 May, 1710, John Sawyer⁹³⁻⁹.

108-13 Hannah³, b. 27 Jan., 1689-90; (probably m. Jeremiah Ellsworth³³⁻³).

108-14 Samuel³, b. 21 Aug., 1692; m. (about 1712), Ann Cressey. She died 22 Dec., 1717. He m. 2nd, 18 Dec., 1718, Sarah Duty. He died 6 Feb., 1746-7, "suddenly" (Chh. R.).

108-15 Ruth³, b. 26 Feb., 1694-5; m. 1 Oct., 1718, Samuel Duty.

108-16 Mehitable³, b. 29 July, 1699; m. 5 Feb., 1722-3, Jonathan Shepherd.

108-5 James Tenney (*Thomas*¹⁰⁸) born 15-6mo., 1650; married 3 Oct., 1684, Abigail, daughter of John Lambert⁶²⁻¹. She died in Byfield Parish, 3 March, 1756, "aged abt 90 years" (Byfield Chh. R.). He died ———. Children :

108-17 James³, bapt. 2 Aug., 1685.

108-18 Abigail³, b. 12 Dec., 1688; m. in Newbury, 31 Aug., 1715, Robert Cole of "Great Britain."

108-19 John³, b. 6 April, 1692; d. in Byfield Parish, 29 Jan., 1772, in his 80th year.

108-20 Hannah³, b. 4 April, 1695; m. in Newbury, 1 Dec., 1717, Nicholas Cheney of Newbury.

108-21 Gershom³, b. 19 May, 1698.

108-22 Benjamin³, b. 26 Jan., 1703-4.

108-23 Philip³, b. 25 Nov., 1706.

108-6 Daniel Tenney (*Thomas*¹⁰⁸) born 16-5mo., 1653; married 21 July, 1680, Elizabeth, daughter of Lieut. Samuel Stickney (see Stickney Family, p. 443). She died 12 June, 1694. He married (2) ———, Mary ———. He may have been the Daniel Tenney whose intention of marriage with Elizabeth Woodman was published 27 May, 1712, and she may have been the widow Elizabeth Tenney who died 5 Sept., 1749, "over 80." I suppose his home was in Byfield Parish, Rowley, and that he died there. I have not been able to determine much concerning the family of Thomas¹⁰⁸ or any of his descendants.

Children, by first wife, born in Bradford :

108-24 Thomas³, b. 28 May, 1681; m. 17 Dec., 1705, Sarah Tenney¹⁰⁸⁻¹¹.

108-25 Daniel³, b. 8 June, 1684; d. 2 Dec., 1689.

108-26 Sarah³, b. 28 Nov., 1687.

108-27 Daniel³, b. 2 March, 1689-90.

Children by second wife, born in Rowley :

108-28 John³, b. 14 Oct., 1696.

108-29 William³, b. 23 Oct., 1698; m. ———, Mehitable Pearson⁵⁰⁻⁴⁹.
She died 1 March, 1774, "almost 79" (Byfield Chh. R.). He died ———.

108-30 Richard³, b. 3 April, 1701.

108-31 Ebenezer³, b. 12 Aug., 1703.

108-32 Mary³, b. 24 Oct., 1705.

109 Deacon William Tenney, brother of Thomas¹⁰⁸, had an acre and a half house-lot in the second division lying between the lots of Mark Prime on the north and Thomas Miller on the south, with the east end on the street. He was ordained Deacon of our church 3 Feb., 1667-8. His wife was Katherine. He died 5 Aug., 1685 (see inventory). His will, dated 3 Aug., 1685, mentions : wife (unnamed) and four daughters, Elizabeth, Mary, and Ruth as married, Sarah as unmarried, also nephew Samuel Tenney to have £20 if he "stay with his aunt till he arrives at the age of 21 years" (Essex Probate).

10 May, 1698, widow Katherine Tenney, then of Bradford, sold to James Bailey and Samuel Prime the house-lot in Rowley, where her late husband formerly dwelt, of about one and a half acres bounded "on ye East end on ye Town Street, on ye North side on land of ye said Prime, on ye West on ye brooke that runs through ye town and on ye South on land of Mr. Woodman" (Essex Deeds 12: 118). Widow Katherine died in Bradford, 13 Oct., 1700.

Children :

109-1 Elizabeth², b. 9-2mo., 1643; m. ———, ——— Woodbury of Beverly.

109-2 Mary², b. 24-7mo., 1646; m. ———, Thomas West of Bradford.
He died 23 Dec., 1720, in his 90th year (gravestone in B.).

She died 12 May, 1731, in her 85th year (gravestone in B.).

An interesting mention of her appears in our Church Record.

- 109-3 Samuel², b. 6-2mo., 1650; buried 5 Aug., 1660.
 109-4 Sarah², b. 15-2mo., 1652; buried 10 April, 1653.
 109-5 Ruth², b. 16 March, 1653-4; m. in Bradford, 3 May, 1678, William Hardy of Bradford.
 109-6 Sarah², b. 20-7mo., 1656; m. 22 July, 1687, John West, prob. of Bradford, but of Ipswich, 22 Feb., 1691-2 (Essex Deeds, 5 Ips., 535).

THORLEY.

110 Richard Thorley had a two acre house-lot, 1643. He sold his property in Rowley to Capt. John Johnson⁵⁹ and was of Newbury, 1651, with his wife Jane.

(This name is now written "Thurlow").

Children born here :

- 110-1 Lydia², b. 1-2mo., 1640.
 110-2 John², b. 19-5mo., 1644.

He had other children, among them :

- 110-3 Martha², who m. 27 Nov., 1662, Lieut. John Dresser³⁰⁻¹.

TILLISON.

111 John Tillison had an acre and a half house-lot in the second division about 1645. He soon removed to Newbury and was there 1655. It is doubtful if he actually resided here.

TODD.

112 John Todd, not of the first, but was here very early, probably 1648. He brought with him his wife Susannah. Her maiden name may have been Hunt. She is mentioned as "sister" in the will of Mary, wife of John Grant³⁵⁻¹. Ann, wife of Thomas Wood¹¹⁶, is also men-

tioned as "sister." They are both mentioned as being about 60 years old in 1697 (see affidavit on file with will of Mary Grant in Essex Probate). John Todd kept the "Ordinary" (Book of Grants, 37).

He died 14 Feb., 1689-90. His will, dated 13 Feb., 1689-90, proved 25 March, 1690, mentions: wife (unnamed); sons John, Timothy, Samuel and James; daughters Mehitable, Ruth and Mary who have had their portion; also "Brother hunt" (Essex Probate 3: 227). His widow Susannah died 18 Nov., 1710 (see Thomas Wood¹¹⁶).

Children:

- 112-1 Mehitable², b. 10-11mo., 1649 m.¹ ———.
- 112-2 John², b. —12mo., 1655; buried —12 mo., 1655.
- 112-3 Ruth², b. 11-2mo., 1657; m. in Ipswich, 1 May, 1678, Samuel Hunt of Ipswich.
- 112-4 Mary², b. 10 June, 1659; m. ———.
- 112-5 John², b. ———, 1661; m. Elizabeth Brocklebank¹⁶⁻⁷.
- 112-6 Susannah², b. 5 Sept., 1664; buried 15 Nov., 1664.
- 112-7 Thomas², b. 3-10mo., 1665; not mentioned in father's will; probably died without issue; was the widow Rachel Todd who m. in Ipswich, 15-8mo., 1684, Joseph Goodhue, a widower, the widow of this Thomas?
- 112-8 Timothy², b. 2 May, 1668; was in the Canada Expedition, 1690; probably died there and without wife or child, as I find receipts of his brothers for their shares of his estate (see Essex Deeds 66: 92).
- 112-9 Samuel², b. 9 July, 1670; m. widow Priscilla Bradstreet.
- 112-10 James², b. 8 Feb., 1671-2; m. Mary Hopkinson⁴⁹⁻⁸.

112-5 John Todd (*John*¹¹²) born ———, 1661; married 14 March, 1684-5, Elizabeth, daughter of Capt. Samuel Brocklebank¹⁶⁻¹. She died 5 April, 1725, in her 64th year (gravestone). He married (2) 12 July, 1725, Jemima, widow of William Bennett and daughter of Capt. Philip Nelson⁷³⁻¹. He died 21 Feb., 1740-1.

¹ Goodman Center was son-in-law of John Todd before 1687 (Chh. R.).

His widow Jemima married (3) 21 Dec., 1742, Ebenezer Parsons of Gloucester, and died in Gloucester, 25 April, 1752, in her 66th year (Gloucester Record).

Children by wife Elizabeth :

- 112-11 Hannah³, b. 12 Jan., 1685-6; m. 16 March, 1708-9, John Dole.
- 112-12 John³, b. 16 April, 1688; m. Ruth Lunt.
- 112-13 Elizabeth³, b. 15 Sept., 1690; m. (pub. 19 May), 1711, Nath'l Donnell of Boston.
- 112-14 Samuel³, b. 9 May, 1693; m. Lydia Coffin.
- 112-15 Mary³, b. 21 Sept., 1696; m. 4 April, 1715, Joshua Jewett⁵⁵⁻³⁷.
- 112-16 Thomas³, b. 29 April, 1699; d. 11 Jan., 1700-1.
- 112-17 Thomas³, b. 18 Aug., 1701.
- 112-18 Joseph³, b. 26 Oct., 1704; m. Ann Toppen.

Children by wife Jemima :

- 112-19 Joshua³, bapt. 18 Sept., 1726.
- 112-20 Jane³, bapt. 2 Feb., 1728-9; d. 7 April, 1734.

112-9 Samuel Todd (*John*¹¹²) born 9 July, 1670; married 26 April, 1694, Priscilla (Carrell) Bradstreet, widow of Nathaniel. She died 25 May, 1725, in her 63rd year (gravestone). He married (2), published in Ipswich, 11 Dec., 1725, Sarah Newman of Ipswich.

He died 20 Nov., 1743. His will, dated 24 Jan., 1742, proved 5 Dec., 1743, mentions: wife Sarah; daughter Susannah, wife of John Johnson; son Daniel to whom most of the estate is given and who is named executor (Essex Probate 25: 178). His widow Sarah died 1 Sept., 1758 "in her 81 year" (Chh. R.).

Children :

- 112-21 Samuel³, b. 2 June, 1696; d. 6 Feb., 1741-2; unm. His will, dated 14 Sept., 1741, proved 15 March, 1741-2, mentions: brother Daniel Todd, sister Mary, wife of Daniel, and nephew William, son of Daniel (Essex Probate 25: 6). Value of estate £835.00.

112-22 Abner³, b. 12 July, 1700; m. Abigail ———.

112-23 Susannah³, b. 25 Sept., 1702; m. 7 June, 1726, John Johnson⁵⁹⁻⁶.

112-24 Daniel³, b. 20 June, 1706; m. Mary Newman.

112-25 Priscilla³, bapt. 20 June, 1708; d. 27 June, 1708.

112-10 James Todd (*John*¹¹²) born 8 Feb., 1671-2; married 22 June, 1699, Mary, daughter of Jonathan Hopkinson⁴⁹⁻². She died 10 Nov., 1749, in her 81st year (gravestone). Her will, dated 20 May, 1741, proved 25 Dec., 1749, mentions: sons Jonathan and Jeremiah; daughters Mary Payson, wife of Eliot; Hannah Boynton, wife of Nathan; Mehitable Dole, wife of Edmand; and Ester Todd (Essex Probate 29: 44).

He died 17 June, 1734, in his 63rd year (gravestone) "of the Palsie" (Chh. R.). His will, dated 9 April, proved 8 July, 1734, mentions: wife Mary and children as below (Essex Probate 21: 142).

Children:

112-26 Mary³, b. 15 April, 1700; m. 7 Nov., 1722, Eliot Payson. She died 8 Sept., 1758, in her 59th year (gravestone).

112-27 Esther³,
 112-28 An infant³,
 } twins; b. 10 } d. 26 Oct., 1772, aged 71 yrs.; unm.
 } Mar., 1701-2; } d. 11 March, 1701-2, "unbaptized"
 } (Chh. R.).

112-29 Jonathan³, b. 28 Dec., 1704; m. Hannah ———.

112-30 Jeremiah³, b. 17 March, 1707-8; m. Joanna Kilborn⁶⁰⁻²⁸.

112-31 Mehitable³, b. 3 Aug., 1711; m. 12 Sept., 1735, Edmand Dole. She died 24 July, 1779, aged 68 years.

112-32 Hannah³, b. 23 May, 1714; m. 10 Aug., 1738, Nathan Boynton¹²⁻⁵³.

112-12 John Todd (*John*¹¹²⁻⁵, *John*¹¹²) born 16 April, 1688; married 23 Feb., 1715-6, Ruth Lunt. She died 19 Sept., 1732. He married (2) in Ipswich, 16 Feb., 1734, Abigail (Perley) Jewett, widow of Aaron Jewett⁵⁵⁻⁴². She died 1 Sept., 1768. His intention of marriage with widow Mary Warner of Ipswich was published 7 Jan., 1769.

He died 18 Sept., 1770, "by a fall down stairs, æt. 83" (Chh. R.). His will, dated 16 May, 1766, proved 30 Oct., 1770, mentions: wife Abigail; daughters Ruth Jewett, Mary Palmer and Elizabeth Pearson; sons John, Thomas, Daniel who is given one-half real estate, and Samuel and Benjamin have the other half; son Daniel executor (Essex Probate 46: 185).

Children, by wife Ruth:

- 112-33 John⁴, b. 27 Feb., 1716-7; m. 11 Jan., 1741-2, Abigail dau. of Samuel and Ruth (Lee) Parsons of Gloucester. She was born in Gloucester, 26 July, 1721.
- 112-34 Ruth⁴, b. 8 Feb., 1719-20; m. 28 Oct., 1736, Purchase Jewett^{55 27}.
- 112-35 Daniel⁴, b. 12 Jan., 1721-2; d. 21 March, 1735-6.
- 112-36 Mary⁴, b. 5 Sept., 1723; m. 4 Dec., 1744, Stephen Palmer⁷⁸⁻²³.
- 112-37 Elizabeth⁴, b. 11 July, 1725; d. 21 June, 1736.
- 112-38 Thomas⁴, b. 6 Dec., 1728; m. 22 March, 1753, Susannah Hibbert. She died 9 Aug., 1753. He m. (2) in Bradford, 22 Oct., 1754, Elizabeth Carlton of Bradford.
- 112-39 Ebenezer⁴, § twins; b. 27 § d. 9 Sept., 1731.
- 112-40 Infant⁴, ¶ Aug., 1731; ¶ d. 27 Aug., 1731.

Children by wife Abigail:

- 112-41 Sarah⁴, bapt. 11 Jan., 1735-6; d. 30 April, 1736.
- 112-42 Elizabeth⁴, b. 9 May, 1737; m. 10 Dec., 1760, Samuel Pearson.
- 112-43 Daniel⁴, b. 11 Oct., 1739; m. 7 Aug., 1770, Jane, dau. of Jonathan Pickard⁸²⁻³². She died 11 Dec., 1826, aged 86 years. He lived in the house now (1887) standing on the corner of Central and Bennett streets. He died 30 March, 1824. His children were *Mary*⁵, *Jane*⁵, *Abigail*⁵ and *Daniel*⁵.
- 112-44 Samuel⁴, b. — Feb.; bapt. 7 Feb., 1741-2. He served as drummer in three campaigns in the Revolutionary War and died at Albany, Vermont, — June, 1840, aged over 98 years (see Gage's Hist. Rowley, p. 282).
- 112-45 Benjamin⁴, b. 15 Oct., 1744; m. 15 July, 1773, Elizabeth Saunders. He was then of Newbury, though soon of Rowley. He died 22 July, 1823, aged 79 years. She died 14 July, 1836, aged 82 years. His house in Rowley was on the westerly corner of Main and Hammond streets.

112-14 Samuel Todd (*John*¹¹²⁻⁵, *John*¹¹²) born 9 May, 1693 ; married in Newbury, 28 March, 1717, Lydia, daughter of James Coffin of Newbury. She died 7 Feb., 1719-20, in her 27th year (gravestone in Rowley). He married (2) in Newbury, 21 March, 1722-3, Elizabeth Toppen of Newbury.

His home was in Newbury and he died there. His will, dated 3 March, 1740-1, proved 25 May, 1741, mentions : son Nathaniel Todd, "whom I had by my first wife, to have all that land in the town of Wells in the County of York called 'Cogs-hall' which land I lately purchased of my Brother Richard Toppen ;" wife Elizabeth to be executrix and have all the estate in Newbury and Rowley, etc. ; children Samael, Moses, Thomas, Elizabeth and Sarah (Essex Probate 25 : 4 and 5). Value of estate by inventory £2621-18. His widow Elizabeth married in Newbury, 20 Oct., 1741, Samuel Bailey of Newbury.

Children, by wife Lydia, all born in Newbury :

112-46 Nathaniel⁴, b. 15 April, 1718.

112-47 Brocklebank⁴, b. 24 Sept., 1719.

Children by wife Elizabeth :

112-48 Samuel⁴, b. 19 Jan., 1723 ; m. in Newbury, 27 Nov., 1747, Elizabeth Perkins of N.

112-49 Moses⁴, b. 14 March, 1726 ; m. in Newbury, 20 Sept., 1744, Elizabeth Sweasey of N. He died in Seabrook, 5 Sept., 1796 (Newburyport Record).

112-50 Thomas⁴, b. 31 Oct., 1727.

112-51 Elizabeth⁴, b. 16 Feb., 1729.

112-52 Sarah⁴, b. ———.

112-18 Doctor Joseph Todd (*John*¹¹²⁻⁵, *John*¹¹²) born 26 Oct., 1704 ; married in Newbury, 2 Nov., 1727, Ann Toppen of Newbury. She died 17 May, 1732. He married (2) 7 May, 1733, Elizabeth, daughter of Ephraim Nelson⁷³⁻²⁴.

He died in Bristol, England, ———, 1744 (Gage).

His widow Elizabeth married (2) 22 Sept., 1748, John White of Wenham (see will of Ephraim Nelson⁷³⁻²⁴).

By the return to the Court of Sessions for Essex County, 1743, Joseph Todd with his wife Elizabeth and children Joseph, Elizabeth and Susanna were warned out of Rowley. This is the only record found of these children.

Child :

112-53 Nelson⁴, b. 15 Nov., 1744; m. 25 Dec., 1770, Hannah, daughter of John Jewett⁵⁵⁻⁶⁰. She died 8 June, 1778. He m. (2) 8 Aug., 1780, Hannah Bailey³⁻⁴⁷. She died 9 July, 1804, aged 51 years. He died 20 Dec., 1821.

112-22 Abner Todd (*Samuel*¹¹²⁻⁹, *John*¹¹²) born 12 July, 1700; published 19 Feb., 1723-4, to Elizabeth Worcester of Bradford. He married —, Abigail —.

He died 21 April, 1737, aged 37 years. His will, dated 9 April, 1737, proved 16 May, 1737, mentions : wife Abigail who is named executrix, daughters Priscilla and Martha (Essex Probate 22 : 27).

His widow Abigail married (2) 11 April, 1738, Dr. Philip Fowler of Ipswich, as his third wife. She died in Ipswich, 28 Dec., 1783, aged 84 years.

Children baptized in Byfield Parish :

112-54 Priscilla⁴, b. 16 Jan., 1724-5; m. 10 May, 1744, Abraham Foster (or Fowler) of Ipswich.

112-55 Martha⁴, bapt. 17 Jan., 1730-1; died soon.

Baptized in our Second Parish, now Georgetown :

112-56 Martha⁴, bapt. 29 Oct., 1732; d. 11 Jan., 1737-8, aged 5½.

112-57 Abner⁴, bapt. 15 Jan., 1737-8; d. 15 Oct., 1749, "by a fall from a tree," aged 12.

112-24 Daniel Todd (*Samuel*¹¹²⁻⁹, *John*¹¹²) born 20 June, 1706. He married 6 Feb., 1728-9, Mary Newman, probably daughter of his father's second wife. She died 1 Aug., 1771.

He died 6 Oct., 1782, aged 76 years.

Child:

112-58 William⁴, b. 12 Dec., 1729; m. 24 Jan., 1754, Ednah, dau. of Capt. Geo. Jewett⁵⁵⁻⁷⁵. She died 31 Jan., 1810, aged 80 years. He died 8 Dec., 1815, aged 86 years (gravestone). His home was the house in Rowley now (1887) owned by Woodbury Smith, Esq. His children were: I *George*⁵, b. 1 Dec., 1754. II *Daniel*⁵, b. 17 March, 1757; d. 31 Aug., 1839, aged 82 years (gravestone). III *William*⁵, b. 18 July, 1759. IV *Moses*⁵, b. 22 July, 1761; d. 5 Oct., 1764. V *Mary*⁵, b. 15 Sept., 1763. VI *Elizabeth*⁵, b. 26 Nov., 1765. VII *Hannah*⁵, b. 18 Sept., 1767; d. 1 April, 1774. VIII *Ednah*⁵, b. 6 Oct., 1769. IX *Moses*⁵, b. 2 July, 1772.

112-29 Jonathan Todd (*James*¹¹²⁻¹⁰, *John*¹¹²) born 28 Dec., 1704; married ———, Hannah ———. She died 21 April, 1774, in her 67th year (gravestone).

He died 29 March, 1775, in his 71st year (gravestone). His will, dated 4 April, 1766, proved 2 April, 1776, mentions: wife Hannah; sons James; Asa; Nathan, who has the homestead; and daughter Mary Todd (Essex Probate 51: 267).

Children:

112-59 Sarah⁴, b. 16 March, 1729-30; d. 24 March, 1733-4.

112-60 James⁴, b. 4 May, 1732; m. 7 Dec., 1756, Ann Sawyer, dau. of Ezekiel⁹³⁻¹². She was born 28 July, 1736 and died 19 Aug., 1813, aged 77 years. He died 17 June, 1808, aged 76 years.

112-61 Jonathan⁴, bapt. 27 April, 1735; d. 8 May, 1735.

112-62 Jonathan⁴, bapt. 18 April, 1736; d. 29 April, 1736.

112-63 Asa⁴, b. 10 March, 1737-8; m. 30 May, 1765, Elizabeth, second dau. of Col. Thomas Gage. She died 23 July, 1776, in her 34th year (gravestone). He died 14 Nov., 1795, aged 56 (of Gloucester).

112-64 Nathan⁴, bapt. 7 June, 1741; m. 26 March, 1776, Jane Scott, daughter of Joseph⁹⁷⁻²⁷. She died 2 March, 1830. He died 25 June, 1808, aged 67. His home was at "Kittery," in Rowley, near the house now (1887) owned by Samuel Searle, Esq.

112-65 Mary⁴, b. 22 April, 1746; m. 8 Sept., 1768, Moses Scott, son of Joseph⁹⁷⁻²⁷. He died 8 Dec., 1817, aged 75 years. She died 30 Aug., 1828, aged 84 years.

112-66 William⁴, bapt. 24 May, 1752; d. 26 May, 1752.

112-30 Jeremiah Todd (*James*¹¹²⁻¹⁰, *John*¹¹²) born 17 March, 1707-8; married 27 Sept., 1739, Joanna, daughter of Joseph Kilborn⁶⁰⁻⁹. She was born 7 Dec., 1717, and died 10 May, 1807, aged 89 years.

He died ———.

Children :

112-67 Eben⁴, bapt. 14 Dec., 1740; d. 25 Dec., 1740.

112-68 David⁴, b. 7 Oct., 1742; m. (pub. 21 Sept.) 1765, Sarah Haskell of Ipswich. He died 15 July, 1811, aged 69 years. She died 12 April, 1825, aged 79 years. His home was the farm in Rowley now (1887) owned by Samuel Searle, Esq.

112-69 Jeremiah⁴, b. 27 Nov., 1745.

112-70 Eben⁴, b. 2 Sept., 1748; m. in Ipswich, 9 Oct., 1781, Huldah, dau. of Sampson Kilborn⁶⁰⁻³⁴. She died 23 Feb., 1787, "in child bed." He died 20 June, 1786, "aged 39 years."

112-71 Joanna⁴ b. 10 Oct., 1750; m. (pub. 14 Nov., 1787) Purchase Jewett of Ipswich. She died 9 Dec., 1825, aged 82 (?).

112-72 Jonathan⁴, b. 4 March, 1752; m. (pub. 7 Aug.) 1778, Sarah Pickard. She died — June, 1838, aged 84 years. He died 2 Dec., 1801, aged 49 years.

112-73 Joseph ⁴ ,	} twins; b. 27 April, 1754;	{ m. 4 Nov., 1779, Mercy Smith. He lived in the house on Central St. lately owned by Wm. Moody. He died 6 Aug., 1838, aged 84 years.
112-74 An infant ⁴ ,		

TRUMBLE.

113 John Trumble, freeman 13-3mo., 1640, had an acre and a half house-lot, 1643; succeeded Francis Par-rat⁷⁹ as Town Clerk, 1655, and so continued until his death. He brought with him wife Ellen who died before 1650.

He married (2) —6mo., 1650, Ann, widow of Michael Hopkinson⁴⁹. He was buried 18-5mo., 1657. His family received pay after his decease for his "keepeing of a scoolle".

His widow Ann married (3) 1 March, 1658-9, Richard Swan¹⁰⁷.

Children by wife Ellen :

113-1 John², b. about 1639; m. Deborah Jackson⁵¹⁻⁴.

113-2 Hannah², b. 14-12mo., 1640.

113-3 Judah², b. 3-4mo., 1643; removed to Conn. and there raised up a large family (see Savage's Gen. Dict., Vol. IV, p. 337).

113-4 Ruth², b. 23-2mo., 1645; m. 15 July, 1664, Samuel Perley of Ipswich.

113-5 Joseph², b. 19-3mo., 1647; m. Hannah Smith¹⁰⁰⁻⁴.

Children by wife Ann :

113-6 Abigail², b. 10-10mo., 1651; m. —, Deacon Joseph Bailey of Bradford. He was only son of Richard⁴ and he died in Bradford, 11 Oct., 1712. She died in Bradford, 17 Nov., 1735.

113-7 Mary², b. 17-4mo., 1654; m. 30 May, 1678, Joseph Kilborn⁶⁰⁻².

113-1 Deacon John Trumble (*John*¹¹³) born probably in Roxbury about 1639; married 14 May, 1662, Deborah, daughter of William Jackson⁵¹; was ordained Deacon of our church 24 Oct., 1686, and was Lieutenant of the military company, 1689. He died — March, 1690-1. The inventory of his estate was taken 20 Mar., 1690-1, and his widow Deborah was appointed administratrix, 22 April, 1691. She died 20 Nov., 1709.

Children :

113-8 John³, b. 3-12mo., 1666; buried 26 July, 1667.

113-9 Deborah³, bapt. 2 July, 1671; died soon.

113-10 Mary³, b. 13 March, 1673-4; m. 18 Jan., 1697-8, John Nelson⁷³⁻⁷.

113-11 Judah³, b. 30 July, 1676; m. Elizabeth Acy²⁻⁷.

113-12 Deborah³, bapt. 10 June, 1683; d. 5 June, 1704.

113-5 Joseph Trumble (*John*¹¹³) born 19-3mo., 1647; married 6 May, 1669, Hannah, daughter of Hugh Smith¹⁰⁰.

He sold his homestead to Daniel Wicom, 4 June, 1675

(Essex Deeds, 5 Ips., 154), and soon removed with his family to Connecticut. He was dismissed from our church 24 May, 1680, to the "Church of Christ at Springfield" and died before 1687. It was his widow Hannah who married John Strong, *not* his daughter, as shown by the following extract from our Church Record: "Hannah Strong sometime the wife of Joseph Trumbl, & daughter to Br Smith now wife of Goodm: Strong dismissed to the Church of Xst at Winsor Novemb 1 1687."

Children born here:

113-13 John³, bapt. 27 Nov., 1670.

113-14 Hannah³, b. 9 May, 1673.

113-15 Mary³, bapt. 28 March, 1675.

He had others born in Connecticut.

113-11 Judah Trumble (*Deacon John*¹¹³⁻¹, *John*¹¹³) born 30 July, 1676. He married 11 Nov., 1698, Elizabeth, daughter of John Aey²⁻². She died ———. He married (2)² ———, Judith ———. She died in Ipswich, 19 June, 1749 (Ips. Rec.). 10 May, 1714, the town voted Judah Trumble overseer of the poor; 7s. per week for keeping John Jackson (Book No. 1: 90).

He, then of Rowley, was a witness to the will of John Dresser, 22 Jan., 1735 (Essex Probate 22: 1).

He died in Ipswich, 29 Sept., 1751 (Ips. Rec.).

Children:

113-16 Mary⁴, b. 23 March, 1700-1; m. 15 Dec., 1726, Joseph Goodhue, junior, of Ipswich.

113-17 Hannah⁴, b. 20 Dec., 1705; m. 20 Jan., 1725-6, Daniel Johnson⁵⁹⁻⁸.

² See Haverhill Records for marriage of a Judah Trumbull to Grace Foster, 18 Jan., 1732-3. They had a child Mary, born 1 Sept., 1735; died 29 July, 1736. It may have been Judah¹¹³⁻¹¹

WICOM.

114 Richard Wicom had an acre and a half house-lot 1643. In 1661, he gave all his estate to his son John in consideration of support of self and his wife Ann during life; in the deed he mentions his son Daniel as having received enough already (Essex Deeds —).

He was buried 27 Jan., 1663-4. His widow Ann was buried 25 Aug., 1674.

(Called Richard *Nalam* in Gage's Hist., p. 130).

Children :

114-1 Daniel², b. in Eng. (about) 1635; m. Mary Smith¹⁰⁰⁻².

114-2 Thomas², b. —; buried 6 July, 1660.

114-3 John², b. (about 1647); m. Abigail Kimball.

114-1 Capt. Daniel Wicom (*Richard*¹¹⁴) born in Eng., 1635; married 14 Oct., 1658, Mary, daughter of Hugh Smith¹⁰⁰. She died 29 Jan., 1690-1. He married (2) 11 Nov., 1691, Lydia, widow of Lieut. Abel Plats⁸³⁻² and daughter of James Bailey³. She died 24 Nov., 1722, aged 80 years (gravestone). He was a carpenter, and captain of the military company. He died 15 April, 1700, aged 65 years (gravestone). In the division of his estate the court assigned one-third to widow Lydia, the remainder to only son Daniel, he to pay his three sisters, Frances Johnson, Rebecca and Martha Wicom, etc. (Essex Probate 7 : 14 and 54 and 55).

Children, all by wife Mary :

114-4 Mary³, b. —; buried 1 Feb., 1660-1.

114-5 Sarah³, b. 27 Dec., 1661; died before 1700 without issue.

114-6 Daniel³, b. —; m. Sarah Hazen.

114-7 Mary³, b. 11 Nov., 1667; died before 1700 without issue.

114-8 Thomas³, bapt. 14 July, 1672; died before 1700 without issue.

114-9 Frances³, b. 29 March, 1675; m. 31 May, 1694, Samuel Johnson⁵⁹⁻⁵.

114-10 Rebecca,³ b. 7 Dec., 1677; unmarried 1700.

114-11 Martha³, b. 6 March, 1679-80; m. 15 Jan., 1701-2, Daniel Hardy of Bradford.

114-12 Hannah³, b. —; d. 24 Feb., 1689-90.

114-3 John Wicom (*Richard*¹¹⁴) born about 1647; married 14 May, 1673, Abigail Kimball.

He was of Newbury 5 Sept., 1702 (Essex Deeds, 4 Norfolk, 70). He died 1 April, 1715, aged 68 years (gravestone in Byfield Parish).

Children :

114-13 Ann³, b. 1 April, 1674.

114-14 Abigail³, b. 10 March, 1675-6; m. 2 Dec., 1702, Richard Clark²²⁻⁵.

114-15 John³, b. 28 Nov., 1677; buried 12 June, 1679.

114-16 Mary³, bapt. 18 Jan., 1679-80; m. 24 Jan., 1699-700, Jonathan Jewett⁵⁴⁻²⁰.

114-17 Mehitable³, b. 5 Sept., 1682; m. (pub. 26 May) 1703, Joshua Woodman, jun., of Newbury.

114-18 Sarah³, b. 29 Aug., 1688; m. in Newbury, 15 Nov., 1715, Zachary Boynton¹¹⁻¹⁰.

114-19 Thomas³, b. 6 May, 1692; m. in Newbury, 16 Jan., 1718-9, Hannah Hale. He m., 2nd, in Newbury, 1 April, 1728, Ann Bailey³⁻²⁸. They lived in Newbury. His estate was divided 3 April, 1731; widow Ann, son William⁴, daughters Hannah⁴, Anna⁴ and Sarah⁴ each received a portion (Essex Probate 19: 132). His widow Ann m. —, Daniel Tenney.

114-6 Daniel Wicom (*Capt. Daniel*¹¹⁴⁻¹, *Richard*¹¹⁴) born ——. He married 27 June, 1690, Sarah, daughter of Edward and Hannah (Grant³⁵⁻²) Hazen⁴⁴. She was born 22 Aug., 1673, and died 9 April, 1706, "in her 33rd year" (gravestone). He married (2) —, Jane —.

17 Feb., 1712, he conveys land in Rowley to his son-in-law James Barker, who is to pay £3 each to Daniel's five daughters, viz. : Mary, Hannah, Hephzibah, Elizabeth and Priscilla (Essex Deeds, 4 Norfolk: 33).

Children by wife Sarah :

- 114-20 Mary⁴, b. 4 June, 1691; died soon.
 114-21 Sarah⁴, b. 27 June, 1694; m. 7 May, 1711, James Barker⁶⁻²⁵.
 114-22 Mary⁴, b. 15 Jan., 1696-7; m. 3 July, 1719, James Jarvis of Newbury. She died 30 April, 1726.
 114-23 Hannah⁴, bapt. 12 March, 1698-9; m. 5 Aug., 1718, Jonathan Crosby of "Oyster River."
 114-24 Hephzibah⁴, b. 22 April, 1701; m. 17 April, 1722, Amos Stickney (Stickney Genealogy).
 114-25 Elizabeth⁴, bapt. 19 Dec., 1703.
 114-26 Priscilla⁴ (Hannah on Town Record), b. 9 April, 1706; m. in Boxford, 19 Oct., 1724, Nathaniel Danforth (County Rec.).

Child by wife Jane :

- 114-27 Daniel⁴, b. 22 April, 1712; d. 25 June, 1713.

WILD.

115 William Wild, "carpenter," had an acre and a half house-lot 1643. He was first of Ipswich and again of Ipswich, 1661, and probably much earlier.

WOOD.

115 Thomas Wood married 7-4mo., 1654, Ann ——— (see John Todd¹¹²).

She died 29 Dec., 1714. He was buried 12 Sept., 1687. He was about 40 years old 1675, and called John Todd "brother" (C. C., Vol. 23 : 27-8-9).

Children :

- 116-1 Mary², b. 15-1mo., 1655.
 116-2 John², b. 2-9mo., 1656; m. Isabel Hazen.
 116-3 Thomas², b. 10 Aug., 1658; m. Mary Hunt.
 116-4 Ann², b. 8 Aug., 1660; m. 15 Jan., 1678-9, Benjamin Plummer (called "Mary" in record of marriages, but "Ann" was the mother of his children).

116-5 Ruth², b. 21-5mo., 1662; m. 16 Jan., 1680-1, Capt. Joseph Jewett⁵⁵⁻⁸.

116-6 Josiah², } twins; b. 5 } m. Sarah Elithorp³²⁻¹¹.

116-7 Elizabeth², } Sept., 1664; } did she m. Capt. Joseph Boynton?

116-8 Samuel², b. 26 Dec., 1666; m. Margaret Elithorp³²⁻⁸.

116-9 Solomon², b. 17 May, 1669; m. 15 Oct., 1690, Mary Haseltine.

They settled in Bradford and had children born there.

116-10 Ebenezer², b. 29 Dec., 1671; m. Rachel Nicholls.

116-11 James², b. 22 June, 1674; d. 18 Oct., 1694.

116-2 John Wood (*Thomas*¹¹⁶) born 2-9mo., 1656; married 16 Jan., 1680, Isabel, daughter of Edward Hazen⁴⁴.

He was of "ye village" (now Boxford) 20 June, 1680, and of Bradford, 13 Feb., 1683-4.

Children (first four baptized in our church).

116-12 John³, bapt. 20 June, 1680; died soon.

116-13 Hannah³, b. 20 Jan., 1681-2; m. in Bradford, 14 July, 1702, James Bailey³⁻¹³.

Born in Bradford :

116-14 John³, b. 13 Feb., 1683-4.

116-15 Priscilla³, b. 27 Aug., 1686.

116-16 Edward³, b. 7 Sept., 1689; m. in Newbury, 23 Dec., 1713, Mary Spofford of Rowley. He was then of Bradford.

116-17 Thomas³, b. 28 Nov., 1691.

116-18 Samuel³, b. 18 Nov., 1693.

116-19 Joseph³, b. 5 May, 1696.

116-20 Ebenezer³, b. 8 Sept., 1698.

116-21 Bethiah³, b. 19 Jan., 1702-3.

116-22 Richard³, b. 30 Jan., 1705-6.

116-3 Thomas Wood (*Thomas*¹¹⁶) born 10 Aug., 1658; m. 6 June, 1683, Mary Hunt.

He was buried 1 Dec., 1702. His estate was divided 25 May, 1713; all his children except Nehemiah were then living (Essex Probate).

In our church record is the following: "Sept^r 18 1726 Mary Davis formerly ye Relict of Tho. Wood dismissed to ye chh. in Mansfield."

Children :

- 116-23 Mary³, b. 29 Aug., 1684; m. 16 July, 1701, James Dickinson²⁹⁻¹².
 116-24 Thomas³, b. 28 Sept., 1686.
 116-25 Nehemiah³, b. 14 July, 1688; d. 4 Aug., 1688.
 116-26 Ephraim³, b. 13 Oct., 1689; was of Concord, Mass., 26 June, 1713 (Essex Probate 11: 15).
 116-27 Samuel³, b. 31 May, 1692.
 116-28 Elizabeth³, b. 8 April, 1694.
 116-29 Mehitable³, b. 18 Dec., 1695.
 116-30 Ann³, b. 11 April, 1700.
 116-31 Hannah³, b. 21 May, 1703.

116-6 Josiah Wood³ (*Thomas*¹¹⁶) born 5 Sept., 1664; married 5 March, 1685, Sarah Elithorp³²⁻¹¹. She died 9 Jan., 1688-9. He married (2) 17 Oct., 1689, Mary Felt.

They were dismissed 15 Jan., 1710-1, from our church to Concord.

Child by wife Sarah :

- 116-32 Joseph³, bapt. 18 Sept., 1687.

Children by wife Mary :

- 116-33 Samuel³, b. 4 Nov., 1691.
 116-34 Sarah³, b. 15 Feb., 1692-3.
 116-35 James³, b. 9 April, 1695.
 116-36 Mary³, b. 28 Jan., 1698-9.
 116-37 Josiah³, b. 14 March, 1700-1.
 116-38 Ruth³, b. 4 June, 1704.
 116-39 Elizabeth³, b. 26 May, 1706.
 116-40 George³, b. 13 Aug., 1708.

116-8 Samuel Wood (*Thomas*¹¹⁶) born 26 Dec., 1666; married 21 Jan., 1688-9, Margaret, daughter of Nathaniel Elithorp³²⁻¹. He died "comeing from Canady," 25 Nov., 1690.

³ By the records two persons named *Josiah Wood* were here at the same time, one having wife Margaret and children: I Benjamin, b. 22 Sept., 1689; II Jacob, b. 7 April, 1703. The Church Record mentions the father of this last child as "Josiah sen."

His widow Margaret married (2) 19 Aug., 1691, Jonathan Harriman³⁷⁻⁴.

Child :

116-41 Thomas³, b. 4 Nov., 1689; m. Sarah How.

116-10 Ebenezer Wood (*Thomas*¹¹⁶) born 29 Dec., 1671; married 5 April, 1695, Rachel Nicholls.

They were dismissed 14 July, 1717, from our church to Mendon :

Children born here :

116-42 James³, b. 28 April, 1696.

116-43 Ebenezer³, b. 6 Dec., 1698.

116-44 Jonathan³, b. 2 Nov., 1701.

116-45 David³, b. 30 May, 1704.

116-46 Samuel³, b. 21 May, 1706.

116-47 Jane³, b. 2 March, 1708-9.

116-48 Moses³, b. 3 April, 1712.

116-49 Eliphalet³, bapt. 15 Aug., 1714.

116-41 Thomas Wood (*Samuel*¹¹⁶⁻⁸, *Thomas*¹¹⁶) born 4 Nov., 1689; married 28 Feb., 1711-2, Sarah, daughter of John How of Ipswich, where she was born 8 Feb., 1692-3. She died 21 Jan., 1714-5. He married (2) 30 Sept., 1715, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Gage. She died 17 April, 1731. He married (3) 27 March, 1733, widow Susannah Candige of Gloucester. She died 6 April, 1754. He died 10 Jan., 1765.

Child by first wife :

116-50 Thomas⁴, b. 11 Jan., 1712-3; m. 2 June, 1736, Margaret Chaplin²¹⁻¹⁷. She died 31 March, 1770. He m. 2nd, 9 Sept., 1771, Elizabeth, widow of Isaac Burpee¹⁹⁻³⁵. He died 20 May, 1779. His widow Elizabeth m. 3rd, 1 Dec., 1782, David Hammond of Ipswich, and died here 21 Oct., 1815, aged 92 years.

Children by second wife :

116-51 Sarah⁴, b. 22 Aug., 1717; d. 13 May, 1736.

116-52 Samuel⁴, b. 5 Feb., 1719-20; m. (pub. — Feb., 1744) Mary — of Attleborough. She died —. He m. 2nd (pub. 10 Nov., 1753) Hannah Webster of Kingston.

116-53 Jonathan⁴, bapt. 25 Feb., 1721-2; d. 11 March, 1721-2.

116-54 Jonathan¹, b. 5 June, 1723; m. 17 July, 1749, Hannah Dresser.

He died 17 Feb., 1805.

116-55 Margaret⁴, b. 15 July, 1725.

WORMWELL.

117 Joseph Wormwell, 1642, was here a short time with his wife Miriam. In 1645, Mr. Thomas Nelson⁷³ mentions in his will a parcel of ground near the mill "which was lately in the occupation of Joseph Wormahill." He died at Scituate (see abstract of his will, Hist. Gen. Register, Vol. VI, p. 94).

Child born here :

117-1 Josiah², b.—8mo., 1642, the last on my alphabetical list; and, by a tradition, the first born here, which honor belongs to Edward Carlton²⁰⁻².

SUPPLEMENT.

In the change of the boundary line between Rowley and Ipswich in 1784, two farms were annexed to Rowley, viz.: those originally owned and occupied by Cross, and BRADSTREET. In 1784 the Cross farm was in the ownership and occupancy of the Rowley family of Harris, while the Bradstreet farm was still owned and occupied by the Bradstreets and so remains to this day. For this reason the Bradstreet family was omitted in the alphabetical order.

1 Humphrey Bradstreet came from Ipswich, England in the ship Elizabeth,—William Andrews, master—the last of April, 1634, bringing with him his wife Bridget, aged thirty years and children, Hannah, aged nine years,

John, aged three years, Martha, aged two years and Mary, aged one year. At this time he was forty years old. He had a grant of land in Ipswich, Mass., north of Egypt river. He was made freeman 6 May, 1635, and was representative for Ipswich, 1635. He died in the summer of 1655. He was a member of the church in Rowley, and was buried in Rowley. His will, dated 21 July, 1655, proved 25-7mo., 1655, mentions: wife Bridget; son Moses is to have the homestead after the decease of his mother; son John is to have the farm at Muddy river; daughter Hannah Rofe; daughter Martha Beale; daughter Mary Bradstreet; daughter Sarah Bradstreet; daughter Rebecca Bradstreet; grandchildren Daniel Rofe, Hannah Rofe and Samuel Beale; the poor of Ipswich; the poor of Rowley.

Widow Bridget Bradstreet died Nov., 1665. Her will, dated 16 Oct., 1665, proved 28 March, 1666, mentions: son Moses; eldest daughter Martha; daughter Mary Kimball; daughter Wallis; daughter Rebecca Bonfield; grandchild Hannah Rofe; Samuel Platts, executor (Essex Probate on file).

Children:

- I. Hannah,² m. Daniel Rofe [Rolfe].
- II. John,² m. Hannah, daughter of John Peach of Marblehead, Mass.
He died at Marblehead, 1660, without issue. His widow Hannah m. (2) William Waters.
- III. Martha,² m. William Beale of Marblehead.
- IV. Mary,² m. John Kimball.
Sarah,² b. ——— 1638; m. 13 April, 1657, Nicholas Wallis.
- V. Rebecca,² b. ———; m. George Bondfield of Marblehead.
- 2 VI. Moses,² b. ——— 1643; m. Elizabeth Harris.

2 Capt. Moses Bradstreet (*Humphrey*¹) born in Ipswich, ——— 1643; married 11 March, 1661-2, Elizabeth, daughter of John and Bridget Harris of Rowley. She died ———.

He married (2) after 18 March, 1683-4, Sarah, widow of Samuel Prime and daughter of Samuel Platts. She died before 1697. He was a member of the Rowley church and captain of the Rowley Military Company. His gravestone in Rowley is the oldest now extant. A copy of it appears in the margin.

His will, dated 16 Aug., 1690, proved 30 Sept., 1690, mentions: wife (unnamed) so that "all the estate real & personal of hers & her children by her former husband be at her disposal" and that she have additional estate for bringing up "our young son Jonathan"; son John who is to have one half the farm, "yt was my Father Broadstreet's;" son Moses to have the other half of the farm and all the buildings; son John to have £20 and "the share in the ship he goes to sea in" instead of one-half the buildings; son Humphrey to have land in Rowley; son Nathaniel to have one-half the lands in Haverhill; son Jonathan to have the other half the lands in Haverhill; daughters Bridget and Hannah (Essex Probate 4: 257).

HEAR LYS WHAT WAS
MORTAL OF $\frac{E}{Y}$ WORTHY
CAP. MOSES BRADSTREET
DESEASED AUGUST $\frac{E}{Y}$
17 1690 & IN $\frac{E}{Y}$ 47th
YEAR OF HIS AGE
Friends & Relations
You might Behold
A Lamb of God
Fitt for the Fold

Children, born in Ipswich, baptized in Rowley:

- 3 I. John,³ b. — Dec., 1662; m. Hannah Dummer.
- 4 II. Moses,³ b. 17 Oct., 1665; m. Hannah Pickard.
- III. Elizabeth,³ b. 22 March, 1666-7; m. 22 June, 1685, Samuel Pickard. She was buried 28 May, 1686.
- 5 IV. Humphrey,³ b. 6 Jan., 1669-70; m. Sarah Peirce.
- 6 V. Nathaniel,³ bapt. 14 Jan., 1671-2; m. Priscilla Carrell.
- VI. Hannah,³ bapt. 9 Nov., 1673.
- VII. Samuel,³ bapt. 22 Aug., 1675; d. in infancy.
- VIII. Bridget,³ bapt. 3 Dec., 1676.
- IX. Aaron,³ bapt. 18 Jan., 1679-80; d. in infancy.

- X. Samuel,³ bapt. 14 May, 1682; d. in infancy.
 XI. Samuel,³ b. 4 May; bapt. 3 July, 1687; d. in infancy.
 7XII. Jonathan,³ bapt. 22 June, 1690; m. Sarah Wheeler.

3 John Bradstreet (*Capt. Moses,² Humphrey¹*) born in Ipswich, December, 1662; married 29 January, 1690-1, Hannah, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth (Appleton) Dummer of Newbury. She was born in Newbury 12 Aug., 1674 (Coffin). He was a mariner commanding the trading ship "Unity." He died on the Island of Barbadoes, 21 July, 1699.

The after history of his widow Hannah and the three children mentioned below is wholly unknown to me.

Children born in Ipswich, baptized in Rowley :

- I. Moses,⁴ b. 11 Nov., bapt. 15 Nov., 1691.
 II. Elizabeth,⁴ bapt. 28 Jan., 1693-4.
 III. Hannah,⁴ bapt. 14 Feb., 1696-7. Did she marry ——— Minot or was it her mother?

4 Moses Bradstreet (*Capt. Moses,² Humphrey¹*) born in Ipswich 17 Oct., 1665; married 19 July, 1686, Hannah, daughter of John and Jane (Crosby) Pickard of Rowley. She died 3 Jan., 1736-7, aged 67 years (gravestone in Rowley). He married (2) 20 Oct., 1737, Dorothy, widow of Ezekiel Northend of Rowley and daughter of Henry Sewall of Newbury. She died 17 June, 1752, aged 84 years (gravestone in Rowley). He died 20 Dec., 1737, in his 73rd year (gravestone in Rowley). His will, dated 19 Dec., 1737, proved 9 Jan., 1737-8, mentions: wife Dorothy; son Nathaniel who is to have the homestead; daughter Elizabeth Parker; daughter Hannah Wood's children; grandchildren Nathan Wood, Phebe Wood, Hannah Andreas, Bridget Pemberton, Abigail Bradstreet, Hannah Bradstreet, Moses Bradstreet (Essex Probate 25 : 10).

Children :

- I. Elizabeth⁴, b. 19 April, bapt. 21 April, 1689; m. (pub. 11 May, 1711) Lieut. Abraham Parker of Bradford.
- II. Hannah⁴, b. 21 April, bapt. 22 April, 1694; m. (pub. 6 Dec. 1713), Jacob Wood of Boxford.
- III. Bridget⁴, b. 17 March, bapt. 22 March, 1695-6, d. 22 July, 1718 (gravestone).
- IV. Moses⁴, bapt. 27 Feb., 1697-8; m. Abigail Lunt.
- V. John⁴, bapt. 21 April, 1700; d. 12 May, 1724 (gravestone), unm.
- VI. Nathaniel⁴, bapt. 25 June, 1704; d. in infancy.
- 8 VII. Nathaniel⁴, bapt. 18 Nov., 1705; m. Hannah Northend.
- VIII. Jane⁴, bapt. 15 Feb., 1707-8; m. 2 July, 1728, John Manning. Not mentioned in her father's will, 1737.

5 Doctor Humphrey Bradstreet (*Capt. Moses², Humphrey¹*) born in Ipswich, 6 Jan., 1667-70; married ——— Sarah, daughter of Joshua and Dorothy (Pike) Peirce of Newbury. He lived for a time in Rowley, then moved to Newbury where he became quite noted as an able physician. He died 11 May, 1717. His will, dated 7 May, 1717, proved 1 July, 1717, mentions: wife Sarah; oldest son Humphrey; son Daniel; son Benjamin to be sent to college; son Moses; daughters Dorothy Sargent, Sarah Tufts, Anna Bradstreet and Betty Bradstreet (Essex Probate 12: 49).

His widow Sarah married (2) 9 June, 1719, Capt. Edward Sargent.

Children (the first three were born and baptized in Rowley and there recorded but their names also appear of record in Newbury, where the other children were born):

- I. Dorothy⁴, b. 19 Dec., 1692, bapt. 3 Dec., 1693; m. in Newbury, 16 Oct., 1710, Nathaniel Sargent.
- II. Joshua⁴, b. 23 Feb., bapt. 24 Feb., 1694-5; drowned 16 May, 1710.
- III. Sarah⁴, b. 14 Jan., bapt. 17 Jan., 1696-7; m. 9 Dec., 1714, Rev. John Tufts of Newbury.
- IV. Humphrey⁴, b. ———; died in Newbury, 19 Dec., 1717, aged 19 years. Styled Doctor on Newbury record.

- V. Daniel⁴, b. 13 Feb., 1700-1; d. in Newbury, 24 April, 1723, in his 23rd year. Styled Doctor on Newbury record.
- VI. Benjamin⁴, b. ———; m. 9 Nov., 1726, Sarah Greenleaf. He was a minister and settled in Gloucester.
- VII. Moses⁴, b. 17 Feb., 1707; m. in Gloucester, 16 Feb., 1731, Mary Sayward of Gloucester. He died in Newburyport, 9 March, 1785.
- VIII. Anna⁴, b. ———; m. 7 Nov., 1728, Benjamin Moody.
- IX. Betty⁴, b. 16 May, 1713; m. 30 Aug., 1731, Rev. William Johnson of Newbury. She died 2 Aug., 1756, in her 43rd year.

6 Nathaniel Bradstreet (*Captain Moses², Humphrey¹*) born in Ipswich, baptized in Rowley, 14 Jan., 1671-2; married in Rowley, 16 Oct., 1688, Priscilla Carrell. His home was in Rowley. He died in the unfortunate Canada expedition 1690. The inventory of his estate was taken 28 Sept., 1691.

His widow Priscilla married (2) in Rowley, 26 April, 1694, Samuel Todd of Rowley.

Child:

- I. Priscilla, b. 22 Sept., 1689; m. 14 June, 1707, Nehemiah Jewett of Rowley.

7 Jonathan Bradstreet (*Capt. Moses², Humphrey¹*) born in Ipswich, baptized in Rowley, 22 June, 1690. Josiah Wood was appointed 6 May, 1700, his guardian. He married in Rowley, 7 Nov., 1710, Sarah, daughter of Jonathan and Mary Wheeler of Rowley. She was baptized in Rowley 15 May, 1692. "Capt. Jonathan Bradstreet and Sarah his wife and Dorcas Bradstreet wife of Samuel dismissed to Lunenburg whither they are removed April 15, 1739" (Georgetown Church Record).

Children born in Rowley and baptized in Byfield Parish:

- I. Samuel⁴, b. 9 Aug., 1711; m. 9 Nov., 1736, Dorcas Spofford.
- II. Mary⁴, b. 5 May, 1714; m. 10 Jan., 1737-8, David Chaplin.
- III. Jonathan⁴, b. 11 Feb., 1719-20.
- IV. Sarah⁴, b. 11 Jan., 1726-7.

8 Lieut. Nathaniel Bradstreet (*Moses⁴, Cap Moses², Humphrey¹*) born in Ipswich, baptized in Rowley 18 Nov., 1705; married in Rowley, 19 April, 1727, Hannah, daughter of Ezekiel and Dorothy (Sewall) Northen of Rowley. She was born in Rowley, 31 January 1702-3 and died 11 April, 1739 aged 36 years (grave stone in Rowley). He married (2) in Rowley 15 August 1739, Hannah, daughter of Thomas and Hannah (Platts) Hammond of Ipswich. She was baptized in Rowley, — July, 1716 and died in Ipswich.

Her will, dated 26 Oct., 1787, proved 7 May, 1792, mentions: sons Nathaniel and John; daughters Mary Pearson and Sarah Coburn; and children of deceased daughter Elizabeth Plumer; son-in-law Nathan Pearson executor (Essex Probate 62:34). He died in Ipswich 2 Dec., 1752, in his 48th year (gravestone in Rowley). His will, dated 30 Nov., 1752, proved 25 Dec., 1752, mentions: wife Hannah who is to have "that land which was in my uncle John's division;" son Moses to have the homestead; son Nathaniel; son John; daughters Elizabeth, Mary, Sarah and Hannah (Essex Probate 31:50).

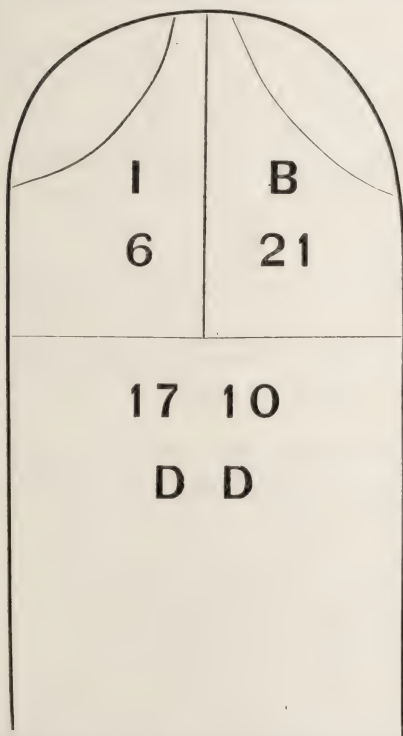
Children by first wife (baptisms from Rowley Chh. Rec.):

- I. Moses,⁵ bapt. 4 Feb., 1727-8; m. 12 Dec., 1749, Lucy Pickard. She died 9 June, 1816, aged 88 years (gravestone). He died 1 Nov., 1811, aged 83 years (gravestone). They had eight children.
- II. John,⁵ bapt. 13 July, 1729; died young.
- III. Hannah,⁵ bapt. 9 Nov., 1730; died young.
- IV. Hannah,⁵ bapt. 14 Nov., 1731; m. Richard Shatswell of Ipswich. She died in Ipswich, 20 Sept., 1807, aged 76 years "of old age and influenza" (Ips. Rec.).
- V. Nathaniel,⁵ bapt. 1 Sept., 1734; died young.
- VI. Ezekiel,⁵ bapt. 25 Oct., 1735; died young.
- VII. Nathaniel,⁵ bapt. 31 July, 1737; died young.
- VIII. Jane,⁵ bapt. 25 Feb., 1738-9; died young.

Children by second wife :

- IX. Nathaniel,⁵ bapt. 20 June, 1740; m. 7 Dec., 1762, Phebe Jewett.
 She died 18 Dec., 1815 (gravestone) 1814 (Rowley Rec.). He
 died 28 March, 1806 (gravestone) 27 March (Rowley Rec.).
- X. Elizabeth,⁵ bapt. 25 Sept., 1743; m. 31 May, 1764, Samuel Plumer
 of Newbury. She died in Rowley, 5 July, 1774.
- XI. John,⁵ bapt. 26 June, 1748; m. in Newbury, 14 Feb., 1771, Ju-
 dith Hale of Newbury.
- XII. Mary,⁵ bapt. 24 June, 1750; m. 20 June, 1774, Nathan Pearson.
- XIII. Sarah,⁵ bapt. 1 Oct., 1752; m. ——— Coburn.

HALF-MILE STONE, WENHAM.



This stands a mile from the Old Burying Ground, on the road to Ipswich; reference is made to it in Hist. Coll., Vol. XX, p. 234.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM GRAVESTONES IN THE
OLD BURYING GROUND IN WENHAM.

[Continued from page 306, Vol. XX.]

HERE LIES Y^e | BODY OF MRS | ELIZABETH BROWN Y^e |
WIFE OF MR. NATHANIEL | BROWN WHO DIED | SEPTEMBER Y^e 4th | 1731 IN Y^e 54th | YEAR OF HER AGE.

In Memory of | MRS. ANNA BROWN | wife of | NATHANIEL BROWN ESQ^R. | who departed this life | Sept. 9th 1781, in the | 63^d year of her age.

Blessed are the dead which
die in the Lord.

Here Lies y^e Body | of M^{rs} Hannah y^e | Wife of Nath^l Brown | Died Sept^r the 11 | 1750 in her 62^d year.

In Memory of | CAPT. PELATIAH BROWN, | who died | Feb. 14, 1830; | aged 94 years.

In Memory of | MRS HANNAH BROWN, | wife of | CAP^T. PALATIAH BROWN, | who departed this life | Feb. 1st 1801 in the 61st | year of her age.

Pass on my friends dry up your tears
I must lie here till christ appears.
Death is a debt to nature due
I've paid the debt & so must you.

SACRED | to the memory of | MRS. ELIZABETH BROWN
| wife to the late | Capt. Pelatiah Brown | who died | July 21, 1836, | in the 92 year of her | Age.

HERE LIES BURIED | THE BODY OF | M^{RS} SARAH BAKER
| WIFE OF CAP^T | JOHN BAKER DIED | JANUARY 2 1743 |
IN Y^E 36 YEAR | OF HER AGE.

JOHN BAKER | SON OF CAP^T | JOHN & SARAH | BAKER
DIED SEP^T | 22 1745 IN | THE 21 YEAR | OF HIS AGE.

HENRY A. BAKER, | son of | Mr. Cornelius & | Mrs.
Caroline Baker; | Born Sep. 2, 1820, | Died Aug. 31,
1821.

In Memory of | M^{RS} Anna Herrick | wife of | Mr. John
Herrick | who died | December 25th | 1769. | Aged 95
years.

In Memory of | MR. JOSHUA HERRICK, | who died |
April 3, 1830; | in the 79 year | of his age.

In Memory of | MRS. RACHEL HERRICK | wife of | MR.
JOSHUA HERRICK | who died | Sept. 14, 1813, | Æt 50.

JOSHUA HERRICK JR. | Died June 2, 1853, | Aged 70
Years.

Mrs. Sarah A | Wife of | Joshua Herrick Jr. | Died |
June 6, 1843, | Aged 56.

Memento Mori | In Memory of | DEAN^N JOHN FRIEND |
who Departed this | Life Feb^y y^e 25th 1785; | Aged 67
years.

The Great I am his Summons Sends
And Calls us to the Grave
Then Like him Self Thunders Alowd
And Calls us to the Skies.

In Memory of | MR. JOHN FRIEND | who died | Nov.
20 1793; | in the 55 year of his age.

Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.

In Memory of | M^{RS} SARAH FRIEND | wife of M^R JOHN
FRIEND JUN^R | who departed this Life | May y^e 4th 1766
| Aged 22 Years.

HANNAH, | wife of | JOHN FRIEND | died | Jan. 19,
1829, | Æ. 83.

HERE LIES BURIED | THE BODY OF | M^{rs}. SARAH FRIEND
| WIFE OF DEACON | JOHN FRIEND WHO | DEPARTED THIS
LIFE | JAN^{RY} THE 28 A.D. | 1763 AND IN | THE 78 YEAR |
OF HER AGE.

BETHIAH | DAUGHTER OF | M^r. JOHN AND | MARTHA
| FRIEND WHO | DIED | JAN^{RY} 28 | 1765 IN THE | TENTH
YEAR | OF HER AGE.

In Memory | of | SIMEON FRIEND | Born May 7, 1780,
| Died March 10, | 1860. | Also his wife | HANNAH P.
FRIEND, | Born July 24, 1784, | Died Nov. 20, | 1862.

MARY E. | dau^r of | Simeon & Hannah | FRIEND, |
Died | Dec. 14, 1839, | Æ. 23.

In Memory of | MR. RICHARD FRIEND | who died |
Nov. 4 1788, | in the 47 year | of his Age.

In Memory of | MRS HANNAH FRIEND | relict of the
late | Mr. Richard Friend | who died | Feb. 14 1807 ; |
in the 62 year of her age.

In Memory of, | MISS PRISCILLA FRIEND, | who died |
Jan. 28, 1834 | aged 81 years.

In Memory of | EDITH FRIEND | who died | Jan. 8,
1844, | Aged 65 Yrs.

“ Adieu, my friends a long adieu,
I leave the joys of earth with you,
I seek a heav’nly prize.
May you in Jesus, too be found
And when the trump of God shall sound,
In his blest image rise.”

NANCY FRIEND, | Died | May 18, 1862, | Aged 87 yrs.

No cloud those blissful regions know,
Relms ever bright and fair ;
For sin, the source of mortal wo,
Can never enter there.

In Memory of | MR. JAMES FRIEND, | who died | March
4, 1831, | aged 90 years.

Far from affliction, toil and care,
The happy soul is fled;
The breathless clay shall slumber here
Among the silent dead.

In Memory of | MRS. ANNA FRIEND | who died | Nov.
2, 1815, | aged 75 years. | Also | MRS. SUSANNA FRIEND
| who died | Feb. 16, 1831, | aged 77 years. | Wives of
Mr. James Friend.

HERE LIES BURIED | THE BODY OF MR^s | LOES THE
WIFE OF | MR ISAAC DODGE | WHO DEPARTED | THIS LIFE
SEP^T 11TH | 1752 IN THE 38TH | YEAR OF HER AGE.

In Memory of | MR. PETER DODGE | who died Sept.
14th | 1795. | Aged 71 Years.

IN | Memory of | Widow | ELIZABETH DODGE. | wife
of | Mr. Peter Dodge, | who died | June 21, 1821; | in the
85 year of | her age.

MRS. REBECCA DODGE, | Died Oct. 10, 1825; | aged 50
years.

MISS REBECCA F. DODGE | died April 11, 1827, | aged
24 years.

MRS : LYDIA DODGE | Died | June 18, 1845; | Aged 58.

"She sleeps in Jesus and is blest,
How sweet her slumbers are,
From suffering and from sin released,
And free from every care."

JOHN T. DODGE | died Feb. 26, 1836, | aged 46 y'rs 9
mos.

HARRIET SHAW | wife of | JOHN T. DODGE | Born Apr.
13, 1793, | Died May 1, 1876.

Martha Ann, | Died Nov. 5, 1820 | Æt. 3. | Harriet
G. | died Nov. 7, 1820, | Æt. 1. | Children of Capt. John
T. & | Mrs. Harriet S. Dodge.

Though thy presence so endearing,
We thy absence now deplore;
At the Saviors bright appearing
We shall meet to part no more.

Priscilla Dodge.¹

The Property of | UZZIEL DODGE. | Built 1827.²

In | Memory of | MR JOHN GARDNER | who died Oc-
tober 27th 1805. | Æ 74 Years.

M^{RS} ELIZABETH GARDNER, | died Oct. 12th 1823, | aged
86.

SAMUEL BLANCHARD ESQ. | Died May 4, 1813, | Aged
57.

M^{RS} ELIZABETH BLANCHARD | died June 24, 1816. |
Aged 57 years.

FRANCIS BLANCHARD ESQ. | Died June 26th 1813, | aged
29 years.

In Memory of | MRS. LUCY ORNE, | wife of | CHARLES
HENRY ORNE, | of Salem; and daughter of the late |
SAMUEL BLANCHARD, Esq. | of Wenham | Died June 16,
1815. | Æt. 22.

In Memory of | Mr. | EDWARD PERKINS, | who | de-
parted this life | June 13, 1853, | Æt. 93 Yrs. 11 mo's. 21
d'ys.

Blessed are the dead, which die in the Lord.

¹ This inscription is on the footstone. The face of the headstone containing the inscription is shelled off and lost.

² This inscription is on the stone erected over the front end of the tomb.

Mrs. | SALLY | wife of | Mr. Edward Perkins, | died
May 30, 1821 | Æt. 58.

Friends nor Physician could not save
My mortal Body from the grave.

Here Lies y^e body | of Hannah y^e | wife of Thomas |
Perkins who | died October y^e 2^d | 17(—)³ in y^e 37 year
| of her age.

SACRED | To the Memory of | Mr. JOHN PERKINS, |
who died | Feb. 4, 1847; | Aged 93.

MRS. ABIGAIL | widow of the late | Samuel Ober (de-
ceased) | Died | Oct. 3, A. D. 1854, | Aged 96 y'rs. | &
6 mos.

In Memory of | SAMUEL OBER, | who died | April 14,
1833; | Aged 80.

Also two of his Sons | JOSIAH OBER, | died in Balti-
more | Oct. 24, 1793; | Aged 14½ years.

OLIVER OBER, | died April 21, 1805; | Aged 24 years.

ELIZABETH K. OBER | Daughter of Oliver OBER | died
Jan. 4, 1804 | Aged 4½ months.

ABIGAIL H. TUTTLE | Died | Mar. 7, 1870 | Æ. 79
y'rs.

At rest.

In Memory of | MISS HANNAH GOODRID^{GE} | who died |
June 9 1796. | Æt. 54.

Death is a debt to nature due,
I've paid the debt & so must you.

³ The last two figures of the year are illegible. The church records give the year 1727.

In memory of | Mary | widow of | Capt. Joseph Lambert | and Daughter of | Cap^t John White | who died | Nov. 5, 1802 | Aged 68.

BENJAMIN HOWE | Son of | Samuel & Priscilla | CO-NANT | Died Aug. 12, 1842. | Aged 16 Months.

In Memory of | AARON D. BARNES | WHO DIED | July 28, 1845, | Æ. 40 yrs.

Paul M. Barnes | Died May 29, 1821 ; | Aged 14 years.

“ Not lost, but gone before.”

ELIZABETH | wife of Daniel | MERRILL, | DIED | Feb. 8, 1827, | Æ. 38 y'rs.

AMOS F. | HOBBS. | DIED—Aug. 1 1841. | Æ. 46.

BETHIAH G. | relict of | Amos F. Hobbs, | died | March 6, 1860, | aged 65 yrs. 8 mos.

SACRED | To the Memory of | MISS MARY WHIT-TREDGE | who died | March 10 1827, | aged 21 years.

Sleep precious dust, in calm repose,
The toils and pains, are at a close;
Thy happy soul with Jesus rests
In heavenly mansions with the blest.

In Memory of | 2 children of | Mr Henry & | Mrs. Mary Potter.

HENRY WILLIAM, | died July 22, 1826 ; | aged 4 years & 9 mo. | WILLIAM HENRY | died Dec. 2, 1820 ; | Aged 6 days.

The fairest rose must fade and fall,
Death loves a shining mark.

ANNIS C. | Daughter of | HARVEY & MARY JANE |
PIERCE, | Died Sep^r 23 1845 ; | Aged 9 years and | 5
months.

Jesus removed the lovely flower,
Safe to his own immortal bower,
To bloom in Paradise more fair
And shed a richer fragrance there.

REBECCA S. | wife of | Ezra Shattuck. | Died Feb. 3
1833, Aged 37 y^rs.

Then shall the dust return unto earth as it was, and the spirit shall
return unto the God who gave it.

In Memory of | MR. NATH^L B. SHATTUCK, | who died |
Feb. 27, 1843 ; | Aged 34.

WILLIAM LANGMAID, | Died | Dec. 11, 1856 | Aged 40
y^rs. | & 9 mos.

In Memory of | Mr. | NATHAN PRESTON | who died |
April 10, 1826, | Aged 40.

ELIZABETH D. | died Dec. 24, 1813, | Aged 4 yrs. 7
mos. | WILLIAM H. | Died Dec. 23, 1825 | Aged 4 Yrs :
6 mos. | Children of | Nathan & Hannah | PRESTON.

THOMAS MASURY, | Died | Jan. 22, 1846, | Aged 50. |
Father.

Wm. | RHODES | who departed | this Life | Sept. 23,
1851, | aged 61 yrs. | & 5 mos.

Children methinks I see
you weep,
Though far across the sea,
But do not let your
spirits droop,
I never shall happier be.

DAVID | STARRETT, | died | Mar. 13, 1845. | Æ. 45.

SACRED | To the Memory of | MRS. MARY | wife of Mr.
David | STARRETT, | who died | Sept. 5, 1839; | Aged 35.

Dear friends, be wise, 'tis time to know
The fading state of things below;
Let every moment as it flies,
Direct your thoughts above the skies.

LOUISA RESTIEAUX | dau. of David & | Catherine M.
Starrett, | DIED | Aug. 18, 1851; | Æ. 5 mos.

MARY ANN | daughter of | Capt. David & | Mrs. Mary
Starrett | died Sept. 15, 1827, | aged 10 months.

SACRED | To the Memory of | JOHN DAVIS | Born April
5, 1792 | Died June 16, 1838.

A Man of Worth.⁴

ANNAH ELIZABETH | dau. of Israel W. | & Elizabeth
R. | DAVIS | DIED | July 10, 1853 | Aged 1 y^r 9 mos.

Alas, how changed that lovely flower,
Which bloomed and cheer'd our hearts;
Fair smiling comfort of an hour;
How soon we're call'd to part.⁹

HALCY K. | died Apr. 7, 1838, | Æ. 2 yrs. 5 mo. |
ORIN A. | died Sept. 9, 1834 | Æ. 1 yr. 4 mos. |
LYDIA A. | died Jan. 4, 1831, | Children of John | &
Nancy W. | MILDAM.

Sleep on sweet babes
and take your rest
For Jesus Christ
doth think it best.

E K⁵

⁴ These two were removed to the family lot in the new part of the "ground" in April, 1884.

⁵ The above initials are inscribed on a common slab stone standing at a small grave near the "monument" of the Rev. Joseph Gerrish.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
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NEGRO SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

PORTIONS OF A PAPER READ BEFORE THE BEVERLY LYCEUM,
APRIL, 1833.

BY ROBERT RANTOUL, SENR.

By the collision between the Colonization society and the Anti-slavery society, the subject of African bondage has been made a subject of interest in almost every village. Both of these societies have enforced their views upon us, but we shall perhaps be better qualified to judge of their respective merits by a more dispassionate examination of the subject than the partisans of either of these societies would help us to.

The county now consists of twenty-six towns. Salem has the greatest number of inhabitants and Andover has the largest territory. The population of the county was in 1790, 57,913; in 1800, 61,196; in 1810, 71,888; in 1820, 74,655; in 1830, 82,887. These numbers include the colored population, consisting principally of negroes and mulattoes. The number of this description of persons

in the New England states has always been small. Slavery, if it ever legally existed in Massachusetts, ceased on the adoption of the constitution of 1780 which declares all men to be born free and equal, let the color of their skin be what it may.

The census of the colored people in the six New England States is as follows :

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830
New Hampshire	780	864	970	925	607
Rhode Island.....	4,411	3,685	3,717	3,646	3,578
Maine	538	812	969	995	1,242
Connecticut.....	5,560	6,281	6,763	8,041	8,072
Vermont	272	557	750	918	881
Massachusetts	5,463	6,452	6,737	6,870	7,006
	17,024	18,651	19,906	21,395	21,386

The increase in the six New England states is about $25\frac{3}{4}$ per cent in forty years, which is a little less than the increase in Massachusetts, for the same period. Although slavery might not legally exist in Massachusetts, yet there were slaves in fact who were bought and sold. In 1754 the number of slaves in Massachusetts was 2,717 of which number 1,270 were in Suffolk, and 439 in Essex County, and 28 in this town, twelve of whom were males and sixteen females. This enumeration excluded the free colored population of which at that time there were considerable numbers. It is difficult to reconcile the fact that there were so many slaves in Massachusetts with the laws that are found upon the statute book. In 1644 it was ordered by the General Court that there shall never be any bond slavery, villeinage or captivity amongst us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, such as willingly sell them-

selves or are sold to us, and such shall have the liberties and Christian usage which the law of God, established in Israel concerning such persons, doth morally require. In 1646, the General Court conceiving themselves bound by the first opportunity to bear witness against the heinous and crying sin of man-stealing, as also to prescribe such timely redress for what is past, and such a law for the future, as may sufficiently deter all others belonging to us to have to do in such vile and most odious courses, justly abhorred of all good and just men, do order that the negro interpreter, with others unlawfully taken, be by the first opportunity, at the charge of the country for the present, sent to his native country, Guinea, and a letter with him, of the indignation of the court thereabouts, and justice thereof, desiring our honored governor would please to put this order in execution. About sixty years after this, a law was made prohibiting the manumission of slaves unless security was given to save the town from charge for their support. Laws were also made with particular reference to the conduct of slaves.

The colored population of this county was in 1790, 880; in 1800, 911; in 1810, 860; in 1820, 654; and in 1830, 517; so that while in forty years the whole population of the county has increased, from 57,913 to 82,887, the colored population has decreased from 880 to 517 when if it had increased in the same ratio with the whole, the number of colored persons would have been 1,259. It is difficult to account for the diminution of this class of the population in this county, while in the state there has been during the same period a gradual increase (in the whole of Massachusetts proper, in 1790, the number of colored persons was 5,463; in 1800, 6,452; in 1810, 6,737; in 1820, 6,870; and in 1830, 7,006); there being in the state an increase in forty years of nearly $28\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, or

less than half of the ratio of increase of the whole population. It has been conjectured, by philosophical observers of the habits of the human race, that the colored population of the colder parts of the United States would gradually recede towards the warmer latitudes, to which their constitutions are better adapted than to the cold regions of the north. This theory meets with but slender support, as yet, but perhaps its effect may have been counteracted by the existence of slavery on our western border, in the State of New York, until a very recent date, so that our numbers have been replenished by the desertion of slaves from their masters in that state. This is rendered probable from the fact that in the county of Berkshire, which borders on the State of New York, in 1790 there were 323 colored persons, and in 1830, 995, while the whole population of the county is less than one-half of that of the county of Essex, and has increased for the last forty years in a less ratio than Essex. Other circumstances may have operated to counteract the influence of climate, which, as they may be removed from time to time, will leave it to its natural effect in determining the residence of the various complexions of which the human family is composed. The greatest impediment to the operation of natural causes within the United States is the existence of slavery in so many of the states, and the consequent restraints and impositions, in the states where slavery exists, upon the colored population who are free.

Pompey Lovejoy, a negro, died in Andover in February, 1826, aged one hundred and two. He was born a slave in Boston. He lived upon the spot where he died ninety-one years. He left a widow aged ninety-eight and two unmarried nieces who lived in his family and were called children, one sixty-eight and the other fifty years of age.

Pompey at his death was the oldest man in the County of Essex. He enjoyed his mental faculties to the last.

Slavery has existed in some form or other from a very early period of the history of man. We find no mention of slaves before the Deluge, but immediately after in the curse of Canaan; whence it is easily inferred that servitude commenced soon after that time, for in Abraham's days we find it generally established. Some will have it to have commenced under Nimrod, because it was he who first began to make war, and of consequence to make captives, and to bring such as he took, either in his battles or irruptions, into slavery.

“Proud Nimrod first the bloody chace began,
A mighty hunter, and his prey was man.”

Hence probably arose the connection between victory and servitude, an idea of which has prevailed among the nations of antiquity, and which has uniformly existed in one country or another to the present day.

The writings of Homer describe the manner in which slaves were obtained by the Greeks; it was by piratical expeditions against other nations, to captivate men as well as to seize and destroy property. Slavery existed in Egypt. Joseph was sold by his brethren and carried into Egypt as a slave. Slavery spread through Asia and through the Grecian and Roman world; it was in use among the barbarous nations which overturned the Roman Empire and therefore existed at the same period, throughout the whole of Europe. However, as the northern nations were settled in their conquests, the slavery of the human species began to decline and on their full establishment it was abolished. Some writers have ascribed its decline and abolition to the prevalence of the feudal system; whilst others, much more numerous, and with greater strength of argument, have maintained that it was the natural effect of Christianity.

The advocates of the former opinion allege that the multitude of little states, which sprang up from one great one at this era, occasioned infinite bickerings and matter for contention. There was not a state or seigniory which did not want all the hands it could muster, either to defend its own right, or to dispute that of its neighbors. Thus every man was taken into the service: whom they armed they must trust, and there could be no trust but in free men. Thus the barrier between the two natures was thrown down and slavery was no more heard of in the west. That this was not the necessary consequence of such a situation is apparent. The political state of Greece, in its early history, was the same as that of Europe, when divided by the feudal system into an infinite number of small and independent kingdoms. There was the same matter therefore for contention, and the same call for all the hands they could muster: the Grecians, in short, in the heroic, were in the same situation in these respects as the feudal barons in the Gothic times. It must be allowed, on the slightest consideration of the subject, that Christianity was admirably adapted to this purpose. It taught that all men were originally equal; that the Deity was no respecter of persons and that all men were to give an account of their actions hereafter. These doctrines could not fail of having their proper influence on those who first embraced Christianity from a conviction of its truth, and on those of their descendants afterwards who, by engaging in the crusades, and hazarding their lives and fortunes therein, showed at least an attachment to that religion. We find them accordingly actuated by these principles. We have proof that the feudal system had no share in the honor of suppressing slavery, but that Christianity was the only cause; for the greatest part of the charters, which were granted for the freedom of slaves in those times (many of which are still extant) were granted—"For the love of God, and the good

of the soul": they were founded in short on religious considerations, that they might procure the favor of the Deity, which masters conceived themselves to have forfeited by the subjugation of those whom they found to be the objects of the divine benevolence and attention equally with themselves. These considerations, which had thus their first origin in Christianity, began to produce their effects as the different nations were converted, and procured that general liberty at last, which, at the close of the twelfth century, was conspicuous in the west of Europe. Within two centuries after the suppression of slavery in Europe, the Portuguese, in imitation of those piracies which existed in the uncivilized ages of the world, made their descents on Africa, and committing depredations on the coast, first carried the wretched inhabitants into slavery. This practice, thus inconsiderable at its commencement, became general; and the English, together with the Spaniards, French and most of the maritime powers in Europe, soon followed the piratical example: and thus did the Europeans, to their eternal infamy, revive a custom which their own ancestors had so lately exploded, from a consciousness of its impiety. The unfortunate Africans fled from the coast, and sought in the interior of the country a retreat from the persecution of their invaders; but the Europeans still pursued them. They entered their rivers, sailed up into the country, surprised the Africans in their recesses and carried them into slavery. The next step which the Europeans found it necessary to take was that of settling in the country; of securing themselves by fortified posts; of changing their system of force into that of pretended liberality; and of opening, by every species of bribery and corruption, a communication with the natives. Accordingly, they erected their forts and factories; landed their merchandise; and endeavored by a peaceable deportment, by presents, and by every ap-

pearance of munificence to allure the attachment and confidence of the Africans.

The Portuguese erected their first fort at D'Elmina in the year 1481, about forty years after Alonzo Gonzales had pointed out to his countrymen the southern Africans as articles of commerce. The scheme succeeded; an intercourse took place between the Europeans and Africans, attended with a confidence highly favorable to the views of ambition and avarice. In order to render this intercourse permanent as well as lucrative, the Europeans, having discovered the chiefs of the African tribes, paid their court to these, and at length a treaty of peace and commerce was concluded; in which it was agreed that the kings, on their part, should, from this period, sentence prisoners of war and convicts to European servitude; and that the Europeans should supply them, in return, with the luxuries of the north. This agreement immediately took effect, and laid the foundation of that abominable traffic in human flesh which continued to be carried on by most of the maritime powers of Europe until 1807, when the Parliament of Great Britain passed the law for its abolition. Their example has, from time to time, been followed by other nations, but still this traffic continues to a considerable extent, cupidity inducing adventurers to brave every danger, even the bloody laws of most of the nations against piracy.

Abraham had three hundred and eighteen servants, born among his property, whom he could intrust with arms. This implies that he had many, not born in his house, but bought with his money. These, together with those who through age or infirmity were incapable of bearing arms, and the women and children, would make a considerable tribe.

To punish the indignity received from his son Ham,

Noah foretold the slavery of his descendants. The descendants of Abraham always valued themselves on their liberty. We have never been servants to any, said the Jews. And Paul magnifies the liberty of the true children of Abraham as being really free, born of a free mother, in opposition to the race of Ishmael, born of a mother who was a slave. The Hebrews have, however, been subject to several princes; to the Egyptians, the Philistines, the Chaldeans, the Grecians, and the Romans. But this is not slavery in the strict sense of the word. Moses notices two or three sorts of slaves among the Hebrews who had foreign slaves, obtained by capture, by purchase, or born in the house. Over these masters had an entire authority; they might sell them, exchange them, punish them, judge them and even put them to death without public process; in which the Hebrews followed the rules common to other nations.

In Exodus, Moses enacts regulations concerning Hebrew slaves: "If thou buy a Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve, and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing." He adds, "He shall have at going out the same clothes he had at coming in, and his wife shall go out with him." "If he come in by himself he shall go out by himself; if he were married then his wife shall go out with him. If his master have given him a wife, and she hath borne him sons or daughters, the wife and children shall be her master's and he shall go out by himself. If the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children,—I will not go out free; then his master shall bring him unto the judges; he shall also bring him to the door, or unto the doorpost of his master's house and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl, and he shall serve him forever." Several other regulations in regard to female slaves are to be found in the laws of Moses.

A Hebrew might fall into slavery in several ways: 1. If reduced to extreme poverty, he might sell himself. 2. A father might sell his children as slaves. 3. Insolvent debtors might be delivered to their creditors as slaves. 4. Thieves not able to make restitution of their thefts, or the value, were sold for the benefit of the sufferers. 5. They might be taken prisoners in war. 6. They might be stolen and afterwards sold for slaves, as Joseph was sold by his brethren. 7. A Hebrew slave redeemed from a Gentile by one of his brethren might be sold by him to another Israelite.

When Samuel declares to the Hebrews the rights and prerogatives of a king he says: "He shall take your slaves, and your maids, and *you* yourselves shall be subject to him as slaves." The word servant in the scripture generally signifies a slave, but sometimes it merely denotes a man who voluntarily dedicates himself to the service of another.

Slavery among the Jews as it regarded foreigners was also regulated by the law given by Moses. They were forbidden to buy and sell those of their own nation as bondmen for life. "Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy and of their families that are with you, and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession: they shall be your bondmen forever." No positive precept of Christ forbids slavery. It is very far from the design of Christianity to interfere with the national laws of the world. On the contrary, it recognizes these laws as the institution of God. Nor would it subvert the distinctions

which are founded in these laws nor forbid any of the pursuits in which men may engage consistently with the maintenance of the piety and virtue which it teaches. It therefore does not aim at a suppression of commerce and the mechanic arts ; it not only does not mar the beautiful creations of genius in any of the departments of skill or of taste nor confound the ruler with the subject, the employer with the employed, or the head which devises with the hands which execute, but it would make each of the diversities of condition so produced to conduce to the perfection of the moral order and happiness of the world.

The progress of knowledge, the improvement of the moral sense, the influence of the Christian religion, as it becomes more operative in the conduct of life,—as it is made to consist more in right action proceeding from good motives, and less in doctrines, opinions, words and professions,—these are the great means to which we are to look for the improvement of the social state on this continent, as well as in the old world.

When Governor Winthrop came to Boston in 1630 he found Samuel Maverick residing on Noddles Island. In 1639, John Josselyn, who came to New England the year before, lodged at Maverick's house, whom he commended for his hospitality, and in noting some events in Maverick's family he mentions three negro servants, and from the circumstance related it appears that they were slaves. In a collection of laws respecting servants, enacted between 1630 and 1641, the following provision is contained : "No servant shall be put off for above a year to any other, neither in the life time of their master, nor after their death, by their executors or administrators, unless it be by consent of authority assembled in some court, or two assistants ; otherwise, all and every such assignment shall be void in law. If any man smite out the eye or tooth

of his man servant or maid servant, or otherwise maim or disfigure them (unless it be by mere casualty) he shall let them go free from his service, and shall allow such further recompense as the court shall adjudge him. All servants that have served diligently and faithfully to the benefit of their masters, seven years, shall not be sent away empty; and if any have been unfaithful, negligent, or unprofitable, in their service, notwithstanding the good usage of their masters, they shall not be dismissed till they have made satisfaction according to the judgment of authority." In 1645 the General Court, which then exercised jurisdiction over the settlements at Piscataqua, thought proper to write to Mr. Williams, residing there, "understanding that the negroes which Capt. Smyth brought from Guinea, by Capt. Smyth's confession were fraudulently and injuriously taken, that he forthwith send the negro which he had of Capt. Smyth hither; that he may be sent home, which this Court do resolve to send back without delay." "And if you have any thing to alledge why you should not return him, to be disposed of by the court, it will be expected you should forthwith make it appear, either by yourself or your agent." About the same time, viz., 1645, a law was made "prohibiting the buying and selling of slaves, except those taken in lawful war, or reduced to servitude for their crimes by a judicial sentence;" and these were to have the same privileges as were allowed by the law of Moses.

Among the laws for punishing capital crimes, enacted in 1649, is the following, viz.:

If any man stealeth a man or mankind, he shall surely be put to death.

Josselyn, in his description of New England, which he visited twice, having spent ten years in the country, from 1663 to 1673, speaking of the people of Boston, says,

"They have store of children, and are well accommodated with servants; of these some are English and others negroes." From these facts it appears that negro slavery did exist to some small extent. Though discouraged by the laws, it was not eradicated.

Another class of slaves were known here in the early periods of our history. These were the aboriginals of the country, who had at various times submitted themselves to the government, and received its protection; and had enjoyed in a degree the benefits of civilization, and of evangelical missions, so that they were denominated praying Indians. Of these, some in 1675, 1676 and 1677 did join with other natives in the war against the colonies, called King Phillip's war. Such of these as were taken in arms were adjudged guilty of rebellion. A few of them were put to death by a judicial sentence; but the greater part were sold into slavery in foreign countries. Some of these latter found their way home, and joined with the hostile Indians in a severe revenge on the English in a succeeding war.

The African trade never was prosecuted in any great degree by the merchants of Massachusetts. No records or memorials are remaining by which any thing respecting it in the last century can be known. There was a connection in trade between this colony and that of Barbadoes, and some families went from Massachusetts to settle there. It is therefore probable that negroes might have been introduced here by means of that connection. In 1703 a duty of £4 was laid on every negro imported, for the payment of which both the vessel and master were answerable. It is uncertain how long this duty was exacted. There were not more than three ships in a year, belonging to Boston, ever employed in the African trade; there were perhaps some from other ports in the state. The rum dis-

tilled here was the mainspring of the trade, and this article having been largely manufactured in the County of Essex, it is probable that the African trade was prosecuted from some of the ports in this County. The slaves purchased in Africa were chiefly sold in the West Indies, or in the southern colonies; but when those markets were glutted and the price low, some of them were brought hither. Very few whole cargoes ever came: two or three are mentioned and one about the year 1760 which consisted almost wholly of children. At Rhode Island, the rum distillery and the African trade were prosecuted to a greater extent than in Massachusetts. Sometimes the Rhode Island vessels, after having sold their prime slaves in the West Indies, brought the remnant of their cargoes hither for sale.

About the time of the stamp act in 1765 this trade began to decline in Massachusetts and in 1788 it was prohibited by law. This could not have been done, previous to the Revolution, as the governors sent hither from England, it is said, were instructed not to consent to any acts made for that purpose.

The prohibition of the slave trade was effected in the following manner. In the month of February, 1788, just after the adoption of the present federal constitution by the convention of Massachusetts, a most flagrant violation of the laws of society and humanity was perpetrated in Boston, by one Avery, a native of Connecticut. By the assistance of another infamous fellow, he decoyed three unsuspecting black men on board a vessel which he had chartered, and sent them down into the hold to work. While they were there employed, the vessel came to sail, and went to sea, having been previously cleared for Martinico. As soon as this infamous transaction was known, Governor Hancock and M. L'Etombe, the French consul,

wrote letters to the governors of all the islands in the West Indies in favor of the decoyed blacks. The public indignation being greatly excited against the actors in this affair, and against others who had been concerned in the traffic of slaves, it was thought proper to take advantage of the ferment and bring good out of evil. Accordingly the association of the Boston clergy originated a petition to the legislature, praying for an act to prohibit the equipping and insuring vessels bound to Africa for slaves, and providing against the carrying innocent blacks from home. This petition was circulated and signed by a great number of reputable citizens. The blacks were urged to present a similar petition, which they did; and fortunately another of the same kind, from the society of Quakers presented at a former session, was then lying on the table. All these were brought up together; and the effect was an act passed March 26, 1788, "to prevent the slave trade, and for granting relief to the families of such unhappy persons as may be kidnapped or decoyed away from this Commonwealth." By this law it is enacted, "that no citizen residing within this Commonwealth shall for himself or any other persons, either as master, factor, supercargo, owner or hirer, in whole or in part of any vessel, directly or indirectly, import, or transport, or buy, or sell, or receive on board his or their vessel with intent to cause to be transported or imported, any of the inhabitants of any state or kingdom in Africa, as slaves or servants for term of years, on penalty of fifty pounds for every person so received on board with intent to be imported or transported, and two hundred pounds for every vessel fitted out with such intent or so employed; and all insurance made on such vessels shall be void." It also further provides for the friends of any person decoyed away to bring an action, and recover damages which shall be paid to the

injured person at his return or go to the maintenance of his wife and children.

A prohibitory act of the same nature had a few months before been passed in the state of Rhode Island, and soon after another was passed in Connecticut. This was the utmost that could be done by the state legislature. After the adoption of the Federal Constitution, Congress passed laws of greater efficiency, as far as the Constitution would permit. All these laws have been evaded more or less by citizens of this country, but a stigma will ever attend their names.

The three blacks, who were decoyed, were offered for sale at the Danish Island of St. Bartholomew. They told their story publicly, which coming to the ears of the governor, he prevented the sale.

A Mr. Atherton of the island generously became bound for their good behavior for six months, in which time letters came informing of their case; and they were permitted to return. They arrived at Boston on the 29th day of July following, and it was a day of jubilee not only among their countrymen but all the friends of justice and humanity. It appears that the complete abolition of slavery in Massachusetts may be fixed at the year 1788.

[Two Essex county cases are somewhat illustrative of the state of feeling prevailing at this period, and abstracts of them, taken from the official records, are inserted.—Eds.]

In the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, Jenny Slew of Ipswich, in the county of Essex, spinster, was plaintiff against John Whipple, the younger, of said Ipswich, gentleman, defendant, in a plea of trespass for that the said John, on the twenty-ninth day of January, A. D. 1762, at Ipswich aforesaid, with force and arms, took her, the said Jenny, held and kept her in servitude as a slave in his service, and thus restrained her of her liberty from that time to the fifth of March last without any lawful right and authority so to do, and did her other injuries against the peace and to the damage of the said Jenny Slew, as

she saith, the sum of twenty-five pounds. The action was brought on a writ dated at Salem, March 9, 1765, returnable at Ipswich and signed Joseph Bowditch, clerk. The parties appeared and the case was continued. At the next term, the defendant Whipple, by his attorney, Edmund Trowbridge, esq., filed a plea in abatement for that "there is no such person in nature as Jenny Slew of Ipswich aforesaid, spinster, and that the said John is ready to verify." This plea was overruled. He then moved the court for an indorser on the writ "to be subject to costs if any should finally be." Motion overruled. Defendant, saving his plea in abatement, pleaded not guilty, etc., and "thereof put himself upon the country," etc., and the case was continued. At the next term the plaintiff, reserving all rights, etc., says the defendant's plea is not a sufficient answer to the declaration aforesaid, and for want of a sufficient answer prays judgment for damages and costs, and the defendant, saving all rights, etc., etc., joins issue and prays for costs because the plaintiff refuses to reply to his plea. The Court found the defendant's plea in demurrer good, and gave Whipple his costs. The plaintiff Slew appealed to the Superior Court of Judicature, and entered into recognizance to prosecute and pay costs. This at the September term at Newburyport, present Justices John Choate, Caleb Cushing, Nathaniel Ropes, and Andrew Oliver. Benjamin Kent of Boston was attorney for Jenny Slew, who gave a bond in the sum of £10, with John Chipman and Nathan Bowen, both of Marblehead, as sureties.

The appeal was reached at November term, 1766, holden at Salem, demurrer waived by consent and the issue of fact sent to a jury which found for the appellant Jenny Slew, in the sum of £4 "money damage" and costs. "It is therefore considered by the court that the former judgment be reversed and that the said Slew recover against the said Whipple, the sum of four pounds, lawful money of this province, damage, and costs taxed at £9.9.6.," and execution issued, December 4, 1766, accordingly.

Ten years later, after belligerent captures at sea had brought up the question of negro slavery in a new form, the records show another Essex County case.

Public notice appeared that on September 5, 1776, a maritime court would be held to "try the justice" of the capture of the sloop Hannibal of about 60 tons burthen, lately commanded by one William Fitzpatrick, her cargo and appurtenances. The "cargo and appurtenances," two negroes among the rest, seem to have been condemned and ordered for sale. On September 13th, the House of Representatives passed resolves forbidding the sale of two negro men lately taken on the high seas on board the sloop Hannibal and brought into this

state as prisoners and advertised to be sold at Salem, the 17th instant, by public auction, in the following emphatic language :

“Resolved, that the selling and enslaving the human species is a direct violation of the natural rights alike vested in all men by their Creator, and utterly inconsistent with the avowed principles on which this and the other United States have carried their struggle for liberty even to the last appeal, and therefore that all persons concerned with the said negroes be, and they hereby are, forbidden to sell them or in any manner to treat them otherwise than is already ordered for the treatment of prisoners of war taken in the same vessel or others in the like employ and, if any sale of the said negroes shall be made, it hereby is declared null and void.”

The resolves were finally passed without substantial modification, on September 16, as appears from the following entries :—

IN COUNCIL, SEPTEMBER 16, 1776.

Read and concurred, as now taken into a new draft. Sent down for concurrence.

JOHN AVERY, Depy. Secy.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sept. 16, 1776.

Read and concurred,

J. WARREN, *Speaker.*

Consented to :

Jer : Powell.

W. Sever.

B. Greenleaf.

Caleb Cushing.

B. Chadbourn.

John Whitcomb.

Eldad Taylor.

S. Holten.

Jabez Fisher.

B. White.

Moses Gill.

Dan'l Hopkins.

Benj. Austin.

Wm. Phillips.

D. Sewall.

Dan'l Hopkins.

If a comparison be made between the former and present condition of this class of people in the New England States it may be said that, unless liberty be reckoned as a com-

pensation for many inconveniences and hardships, the former condition of most of them was preferable to the present.

They have generally left the country and resorted to the maritime towns excepting where we border on the state of New York. Here slavery having continued until very lately, it has replenished the towns near its bounds with deserting slaves, who were not worth reclaiming by their masters. Some are incorporated with the Indians of Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard; and the Indians are said to be improved by the mixture. Some are industrious and prudent, and a few have acquired property; but too many are improvident and indolent, although a subsistence by simple labor is easily obtained. Those who were liberated from slavery, most of whom have now passed away, having been educated in families where they had not been used to provide for themselves in youth, they knew not how to do it in age. Having been accustomed to a plentiful and even luxurious mode of living in the houses of their masters, they were uncomfortable in their new situation. They suffered, by the meanness of their lodging, and the insufficiency of their clothing, together with the severity of our winters, many infirmities and diseases. Those who served in families of the whites on wages, if steady and prudent, were the best fed, the best clad, and the most healthy; but many of those who had families of their own to support were oppressed with poverty and its attendant miseries. It will be perceived that most of these remarks are only applicable to a generation which is now almost extinct.

European adventurers to Africa had no other concern here than to procure cargoes of our rum to assist them in carrying on their business. A few only of our merchants were engaged in this kind of traffic. It required a large capital, and was considered peculiarly hazardous, though

gainful. It was never supported by popular opinion ; and the voice of conscience was against it. A degree of infamy was attached to the characters of those who were employed in it ; several of them in their last hours bitterly lamented their concern in it ; and the friends of seamen, who had perished by the climate of Guinea, or in contests with the natives, became seriously prejudiced against the business. Reflecting persons were divided in their opinions on the lawfulness of their traffic in slaves. Samuel Sewall, chief justice of the province from 1718 to 1728, publicly protested against it, and wrote a pamphlet entitled, "Joseph sold, a memorial." Others disliked it from prudential considerations. Many conscientious persons, who would by no means have engaged directly in the trade to Africa, yet when negroes were brought hither, had no scruple to buy them ; because they supposed that an education in a land of gospel light was preferable to one in heathenish darkness. They contended that the buying of them and holding them in servitude might be justified by the example of Abraham, and other good men of antiquity ; and as his servants were circumcised, theirs were baptized. Laboring people, of the white complexion, complained of the blacks as intruders, and the vulgar reprobated them as the seed of Cain and wished them back in their own country. Not much was said, however, in a public and formal manner, till the people began to feel the weight of oppression from Great Britain. The inconsistency of pleading for their own rights and liberties, whilst they encouraged the subjugation of others, was very apparent ; and from this time both slavery and the slave trade began to be discountenanced.

There never was anything like a census of Massachusetts before the year 1763 and then, being an unpopular measure, it was not very accurately taken. There was

another in 1776 and a third in 1784, and in all of these, the number of whites stands distinguished from the number of blacks thus :

Years.	Whites.	Blacks.	Proportion.
1763	235,810	5,214	45 to 1.
1776	343,845	5,249	65 to 1.
1784	353,133	4,377	80 to 1.

In 1790 a census of the United States was made by order of the Federal Government ; the schedule sent out on that occasion contained three columns for free whites of several descriptions, which in the state of Massachusetts including Maine amounted to 469,326, a fourth for all other free persons, and a fifth for slaves. There being none put into the last column it became necessary to put the blacks with the Indians into the fourth column and the amount was 6,001. Of this number it is supposed that the blacks were upwards of 4,000 ; and of the remaining 2,000, many were a mixed breed between Indians and blacks. If we reckon the blacks at 5,000, their proportion to the whites at that time was as 1 to 93. It is supposed that slaves were more numerous before 1763 than at that time, because, in the two preceding wars, many of them enlisted either into the army, or on board vessels of war, with a view to procure their freedom. Prince Hall, an intelligent black man who died some years ago, in 1795, considered the slaves as being most numerous about the year 1745. The proportion to the whites, then, has been estimated at 1 to 40. The winter here was always unfavorable to the African constitution. For this reason white laborers were preferable to blacks, and as whites were more numerous, there was not much encouragement to the importation of blacks, nor were they ever so prolific here as the whites. In the maritime towns blacks were more numerous than in the country, and Boston gen-

erally contained nearly one-fourth part of the whole number of them. Excepting such tradesmen as rope makers, anchor smiths, and ship carpenters, who employ a great many hands, scarcely any family had more than two; some not more than one, and many none at all. In the country towns, there were not more than three or four on a farm, except in one instance where the number was sixteen, and this was a distinguished singularity. The greater number of husbandmen preferred white to black laborers.

Negro children were reckoned an incumbrance in a family; and, when weaned, were given away. They have been publicly advertised in the newspapers to be given away. The condition of our slaves was far from rigorous. No greater labor was exacted of them than of white people. In general they were not able to perform so much. They always had the free enjoyment of the Sabbath as a day of rest. A house of correction, to which disorderly persons of all colors were sent, formed one object of terror to them, but to be sold to the West Indies or to Carolina was the highest punishment that could be threatened or inflicted.

In the maritime towns, the negroes served either in families or at mechanical employments; and in either case they fared no worse than other persons of the same class. In the country they lived as well as their masters, and often sat down at the same table in the true style of republican equality. Persons of illiberal and tyrannical dispositions would sometimes abuse them; but in general their treatment was humane, especially if their own tempers were mild and peaceable.

They were never enrolled in the militia, but, on days of military training and other seasons of festivity and especially on the day of the annual election, they were indulged in such diversions as were agreeable to them. They were inventoried and taxed as personal estate and as such on the

decease of their masters were at the disposal of his executor or administrator. Such of them as were prudent and industrious purchased their freedom. Some were liberated by their masters ; but at one period there was a law against their manumission, unless their masters gave bonds for their maintenance in case of sickness or decrepitude, so that they might not become a burden to the public.

Another law forbade them to be out in the streets after nine o'clock in the evening, on pain of being sent to the house of correction. They were forbidden to strike a white man on penalty of being sold out of the province. The marriage of blacks with whites was prohibited. If the man was white, a fine of five pounds was required of him ; and fifty pounds was the fine of the person officiating ; but the marriage was not annulled. But on a revision of this law, since the constitution of 1780, such marriages are declared absolutely void.

Some of the owners of slaves were careful to instruct them in reading, and in the doctrines and duties of religion ; and there have been many instances, among the Africans here, of persons who have profited by these instructions, and have sustained a virtuous and exemplary character.

Slavery has been abolished here by public opinion which began to be established about 1765. At the beginning of the controversy with Great Britain, several persons, who before had entertained sentiments opposed to the slavery of the blacks, then took occasion publicly to remonstrate against the inconsistency of contending for their own liberty, and at the same time depriving other people of theirs. Pamphlets and newspaper essays appeared on the subject ; it often entered into the conversation of reflecting people, and many, who had, without remorse, been the purchasers of slaves, condemned themselves, and retracted their former opinion. The Quakers were zealous against slavery and the slave trade, and by their means

the writings of Anthony Benezet of Philadelphia, John Woodman of New Jersey and others, were spread through the country. Nathaniel Appleton and James Swan, merchants of Boston, and Doctor Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, distinguished themselves as writers on the side of liberty. Those on the other side generally concealed their names; but their arguments were not suffered to rest long without an answer. The controversy began about the year 1766, and was renewed at various times till 1773, when it was very warmly agitated and became a subject of forensic disputation at the public commencement in Harvard College.

In 1767, an attempt was made by the legislature to discourage the slave trade. A bill was brought into the House of Representatives "to prevent the unnatural and unwarrantable custom of enslaving mankind and the importation of slaves into the province." In its progress it was changed to "an act for laying an impost on negroes imported." It was so altered and curtailed by the Council, then the upper house, that the other house was offended and would not concur, and thus it failed. Had it passed both houses in any form whatever, Governor Barnard would not have consented to it. In 1773, another attempt of the same kind was made. It was grounded on a petition from the negroes, which was read in the assembly, June 23, and referred to the next session. In January, 1774, a bill was brought in, entitled "an act to prevent the importation of negroes, and others, as slaves into this province." It passed all the forms in the two houses and was laid before Governor Hutchinson for his consent, March 8. On the next day the assembly was prorogued after a morose message from the governor, between whom and the two houses there had been a warm contest on other subjects. The negroes had deputed a committee respectfully to solicit the governor's consent; but he told

them that his instructions forbade it. His successor, General Gage, gave them the same answer, when they waited on him.

The blacks had better success in the judicial courts. A pamphlet, containing the case of a negro who had accompanied his master from the West Indies to England, and had there sued for and obtained his freedom, was re-printed here; and this encouraged several negroes to sue their masters for their freedom, and for recompense for their service after they had attained the age of twenty-one years. The first trial of this kind was in 1770. The negroes collected money among themselves to carry on the suit and it terminated favorably for them. Other suits were instituted between that time and the revolution and the juries invariably gave their verdict in favor of liberty. The pleas on the part of the masters were, that the negroes were purchased in open market, and bills of sale were produced in evidence; that the laws of the province recognized slavery as existing in it, by declaring that no person should manumit his slave without giving bond for his maintenance, etc. On the part of the blacks it was pleaded, that the royal charter expressly declared all persons, born or residing in the province, to be as free as the king's subjects in Great Britain; that by the laws of England no man could be deprived of his liberty but by the judgment of his peers; that the laws of the province respecting an evil existing, and attempting to mitigate or regulate it, did not authorize it; and on some occasions the plea was that, though the slavery of the parents be admitted, yet no disability of that kind could descend to children. During the revolutionary war, public opinion was so strongly in favor of the abolition of slavery that, in some of the country towns, votes were passed in town-meetings that they would have no slaves among them;

and that they would not exact of masters any bonds for the maintenance of liberated blacks if they should become incapable of supporting themselves.

In New Hampshire, those blacks who enlisted into the army for three years were entitled to the same bounty as the whites. This bounty their masters received as the price of their liberty, and then delivered up their bills of sale, and gave them a certificate of manumission and those who survived the three years' service were free.

"The present constitution of Massachusetts was established in 1780. The first article of the declaration of rights asserts that all men are born free and equal. This was inserted not merely as a moral or political truth, but with a particular view to establish the liberation of the negroes on a general principle, and so it was understood by the people at large; but some doubted whether this were sufficient. Many of the blacks taking advantage of the public opinion and of this general assertion in the bill of rights, asked their freedom and obtained it. Others took it without leave. Some of the aged and infirm thought it most prudent to continue in the families where they had always been well used, and experience proved that they acted rightly.

"In 1781, at the court in Worcester county an indictment was found against a white man for assaulting, beating and imprisoning a black. He was tried at the Supreme Judicial Court in 1783. His defence was that the black was his slave, and that the beating, etc., was the necessary restraint and correction of the master. He was found guilty and fined forty shillings. This decision was a mortal wound to slavery in Massachusetts."

The state of New Hampshire established its constitution in 1783; and in the first article of the declaration of rights, it is asserted that all men are born equally free and inde-

pendent. The construction there put on this clause is that all who have been born since the constitution are free, but that those who were in slavery before are not liberated by it. By reason of this construction so contrary to every sound principle, the blacks in that state in the census of 1790 are distinguished into free and slaves, there being no Indians residing within those limits. In the same census, no slaves are set down to Massachusetts.

Our laws place the blacks upon an equality with the whites in every respect. The same provision is made by the public for the education of their children as for those of the whites. We have seen in our public schools in this town colored males and females who have maintained an equal standing with white children of the same age. In some instances they have excelled so as generally to be at the top of their classes.

There is nothing in our constitution which disqualifies them from electing or being elected to office, if they have the other qualifications required which may be obtained by blacks as well as by whites. Some of them exercise the privilege of voting. Instances of the election of a black to any public office are very rare. Many years ago one was chosen to be the clerk of the town where he resided. He was a man of good sense and morals, and had a good school education. The blacks by the law of the United States are exempted from enrollment in the militia. In the time of Shay's insurrection, 1786, they offered their service to governor Bowdoin to go against the insurgents, to the number of 700, but the council did not advise sending them. With respect to the harmony of social intercourse between the blacks and whites, I will quote from Prince Hall, who has been before referred to with reference to the date of 1795. "Harmony in general (says he) prevails between us as citizens, for the good law of the land does oblige

every one to live peaceably with all his fellow-citizens, let them be black or white. We stand on a level, therefore ; no preëminence can be claimed on either side. As to our associating, there are here (that is in Boston) a great number of worthy good men and good citizens, that are not ashamed to take an African by the hand ; but yet there are to be seen the weeds of pride, envy, tyranny and scorn, in this garden of peace, liberty and equality." The candor of this dark statement of Mr. Prince Hall cannot be called in question. There are everywhere some who are prone to forget that of one blood the great Creator made all the nations of the earth.

Prince Hall was honored by being made grand master of a lodge of free masons, composed wholly of blacks, and distinguished by the name of the African Lodge. It was begun in 1775 while the town of Boston was garrisoned by British troops ; some of whom had a lodge and initiated a number of negroes. After the peace they sent to England and procured a charter, under the authority of the Duke of Cumberland, and signed by the Earl of Effingham. In 1795 the lodge consisted of thirty persons, and care was taken that none but those of a good moral character were admitted.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE OLD BURYING
GROUND IN DODGE'S ROW (NORTH BEVERLY).¹

COPIED BY WELLINGTON POOL, AUGUST 18, 1882.

HERE LIES BURIED | THE BODY OF | M^r PHINEAS
DODGE | WHO DEPARTED | THIS LIFE JULY, | 19TH 1759 IN
| THE 72 YEAR. | OF²

HERE LIES Y^E BODY OF | MR^S. MARTHA DODGE | Y^E
WIFE OF MR. | PHINEHAS DODGE | WHO DIED MARCH |
Y^E 31 1724 AGED | 39 YEARS.

In Memory of | Capt. JACOB DODGE, | who died Dec.
13th 1792 | in the 77th Year | of his Age.

MRS. ELIZABETH DODGE | Relict of | Capt. Jacob
Dodge, | died Oct. 20, 1806, | Æ. 80.

She died in hopes of a glorious Immortality.

HERE LIES BURIED | THE BODY OF | MR. AMOS DODGE
| WHO WAS BORN | AUGUST 28 1717 | AND DEPARTED |
THIS LIFE FEB.^{RY} 27 | 1755 IN THE 38 | YEAR OF HIS AGE.

In | Memory of | MRS. HANNAH DODGE | wife of Lieu.
| WILLIAM DODGE, | who died June 6, | 1790 in the 28
| year of her | Age.

Pass on, my friends, dry up your tears
I must lie here till Christ appears.
Death is a debt to nature due
I've paid the debt and so must you.

In Memory of | MRS. JERUSHA DODGE | wife of Lieu. |
WILLIAM DODGE | who died | Sept. 15 1805. | Æ. 45 |

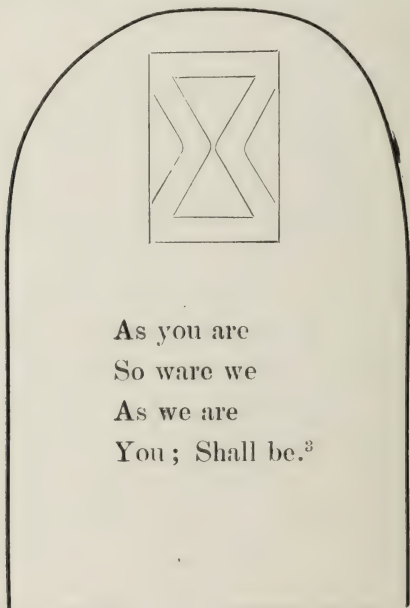
¹This ground lies a little south of the Wenham line, and has probably been used quite as much by the people of Wenham Neck, as by the people of "the Row." See appendix for the deed of conveyance.

² Crumbled off.

by her side is Axor | her son who died | Oct. 4 1805. |
Æt 9 years.

Weep not for me, my pains are o'er,
We soon shall meet to part no more.

Here lyes y^e body of | M^rs ELIZABETH DODGE | WIFE
OF MR. PARKER | DODGE WHO DIED | DECEM^R Y^E 25 1715
| AGED 24 years | BLESSED ARE THEY Y^T | DI IN Y^E
LORD.



HERE LYES Y^E BODY | OF SAMUEL DODGE | SEN^R WHO
DEPARTED | THIS LIFE IN IPSWICH | UPON Y^E 4TH DAY OF |
DECEM^{ER} ANNO DOM. | 1705 IN Y^E | 61ST YEAR OF HIS
AGE.

Here Lyeth y^e body of Mary | Dodge wife to Sam^l
Dodge who | died Augst y^e 6th 1717 | Aged 73 years.

HERE LIES Y^E | BODY OF AME | DODGE WHO | DIED
MARCH Y^E | 29TH 1719 IN YE | 36TH Y^R OF HER AGE.

HERE LIES Y^E | BODY OF MR. | JOSIAH DODGE | WHO
DIED JANU- | ARY Y^E 19 1714 | AGED 50 YEARS | IF WE
BELIEVE | AS CHRIST HATH SAID | AL SHALL ARISE | Y^T
HERE ARE LAID.⁴

Here Lyeth y^e body | of Sarah y^e wife | Formerly to
Josiah | Dodge who March | y^e 17th died 1729-30 | in y^e
60th year of | her Age.

Here Lyes y^e
Body of Mr
Richard Dodge^c
who died y^e
dy of Aprill
13 1705 Aged
63 years.

Also Mary
y^e Wife of Richrd
Dodge Lyes
here who die^d
Nov^{mr} 2 1716
Aged 75 years.

Here Lieth y^e Body of | Mr ANDREW DODGE | Who
died February y^e | 17th 1747-8 in y^e 72nd | year of his
Age.

HERE LIES THE | BODY OF SARAH DOD | GE THE WIFE
of AND | REW DODGE HO DIE | D IN Y^E 6 OF JUNE | IN
Y^E 60TH YEAR | OF HAR AGE. | 1734.

HERE LYES THE | BODI OF HANNAH | FISK THE WIFE
OF | ANDREW DODGE | HO DIED IN THE 30 | YEAR OF HAR
AGE | DECEMBER 2^d | 1703.

Here lieth | T⁵ body of | anna Dodge y^e | daugh-

⁴ Lies on the ground.

⁵ Crumbled off.

ter of Andrew | Dodge that he had | by his first wife |
she died April y^e 19 | 1704.

NOTE. The above is on the headstone and the following is on the footstone to the same grave.

Here | Lieth y^e body of | Hannah Dodge | She died in
ye | 5 fift year of har | Age April y^e 19 | 1704.

y^e Body of

)odge wife to

ob Dodge who D'd⁶

)ecember y^e 19th 1740 | in y^e 29th year of her Age | Also
Jacob their son died y^e | 29th Aged A 11 days.

HERE LIES Y^E BODY OF MR. | BARNABAS DODGE WHO
DIED | OCTOBER Y^E 11 1739 ^{IN} Y^E 33 YEAR | OF HIS AGE
WITH HIS 4 CHIL^N | UIZ : MARTHA LUCY HEPHZI | ROGERS
DODGES MARTHA DIED | DECEM^{BR} Y^E 19 1736, IN Y^E 8
YEAR | OF HER AGE LUCY DIED DECEM^R | Y^E 14 1736 IN
Y^E 5 YEAR OF HER | AGE HEPHZI DIED JANUARY Y^E 27 |
1737 IN Y^E 3 YEAR OF AGE | ROGERS DIED JULY Y^E
26, | 1736 AGED 14 (?) DAYS.

au to

And M^{rs}

(nce Dodge⁷

Who died Janur y | y^e 22^d 1725-6, | Aged 8 weeks.

HERE LIES | Y^E BODY OF | MR. RICHARD | DODGE Y^E 3^d
| WHO DIED JULY | Y^E 7 1739 | ^S D 70 YEARS

HERE LIES Y^E | BODEY OF MRS. | MARTHA DODGE | Y^E
WIFE OF MR. | RICHAR^S DODGE | Y^E 3^d WHO | DIED FEB-
RUARY | Y^E 29 17^S IN | Y^E 69 Y^E OF | HER AGE.

⁶ The upper left hand corner of the stone is gone. Wenham Church Records give the names Sarah wife of Jacob Dodge.

⁷ The upper left hand corner of the stone is gone. Wenham Church Records give Prudence, daughter to Joseph and Prudence Dodge.

⁸ Crumbled off.

Here lies Buried | the Body of | Lieut. RICHARD
DODGE; | who departed this Life | May y^e 11th 1778, in
y^e | 75th Year of His Age.

Richard Son to
⁹ Richard & M
 Dodge y^t
 i ober y^e

Tabitha dau⁹ | Mr Richard and | M^{rs} Mary Dodge |
Died Febu^{ry} the | 23^d 1727 in | her 2nd year.

P⁹udence dau^t | Mr Richard & M^(rs) | Mary Dodge
died | Octo^b | y^e 5 17¹⁰ | In her 3 y(ear)

Abraham Son to | Mr Richard and M^{rs} | Mary Dodge
Died | Sep^{t^{mr}} 25th 1725 | Aged 3 Months.

2 Daughters of Mr. Richard &
M^{rs} Mary Dodge

Mary died y^e
9th of Octo^{br}
1737 in her
8 year

Mercy died
Octo^{br} y^e 8th
1737 in
her 5th year.

In memory of | MRS. LYDIA DODGE | wife of | MR.
NICHOLAS DODGE | who died | Sep. 27 1805. | Æ. 30 |

⁹ Crumbled off.

¹⁰ Wenham Church records give 1737.

By her side is Lucy there da | ughter who died sep. 15
1805 | Æt 18 months.

Farewell my dear husband, saith she
Now from your kind bosom I leap;
With Jesus my bridegroom to be,
My flesh in the tomb for to sleep.

HERE LIES BURIED | THE BODY OF | M^{RS} PRUDENCE |
DODGE WIFE OF M^R | WILLIAM DODGE | WHO DIED AU-
GUST | YE 5TH 1737 IN Y^E 57TH | YEAR OF HER AGE.

Here Lyeth y^e body | of Tabatha Goolsmith | ¹¹Zacheus
Goolsmith | who died october | y^e 8 1726 in 17 |
year of her Age.

¹²ndrew
Dodge
1747-8

HERE LIES | Y^E BODY OF MARTHA^A | EDWARDS DAFTER
| OF MR. JOSEPH | EDWARDS DIED | IN AUGUST 1726 |
IN Y^E 2 YEAR | OF HER AGE.

In Memory of | Mr. Jacob Edwards Jun^r | who de-
parted this Life | Feb. 1st 1800 in the 27th | year of his
age.

Weep not my friends dry up your tears
I must lie here till Christ appears.

He when alive all vice did shun,
Straight in the path of virtue run;
And now he reaps a full reward
In endless glory with the Lord.

In memory of | MR. ABRAHAM EDWARDS, | who died |
Nov. 17, 1800 | Æt. 52.

Farewell conflicting hopes and fears
Where lights and shades alternate dwell
How bright the unchanging morn appears
Farewell, inconstant world farewell.

¹¹ Wife of Zacheus Goldsmith, jr., in Wenham church records.

¹² Broken stone lying on the ground.

jEMIMa
DoDGe¹³

HEAI¹⁴

iAI¹⁴ hInC
body of REb
ACKER dod
GE¹³

HI¹⁴

IV¹⁴

13

¹³ Common slabstones.

¹⁴ Illegible

In Memory of | Mrs. Prudence, | wife of | Mr. Abraham Edwards, | & Mr. Joseph Langdall | who died | Nov. 2, 1832, aged 72 years & 6 mos.

Write blessed are the dead which die in Lord, from henceforth, yea saith the spirit; that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.

They die in Jesus and are blest,
How kind their slumbers are,
From sufferings and from sins released,
And freed from every snare.

BETSEY CLEVES | Died | June 9, 1851. | Aged 66 yr's |
WILLIAM EDWARDS | Died at Plattsburg, N. Y. | Nov. 24, 1813, | Aged 21 y'rs | Col. | JACOB D. EDWARDS, | Died at Boston, Mass. | June 24, 1847, | Aged 47 y'rs | Daughter & sons of | Abraham & Prudence | Edwards.

jonah | DodGe¹⁵ | SARAH | DodGe¹⁵.

APPENDIX.

[COPY.]

To All People, to whom these Presents may come, We Jonathan Dodge, Weaver, Edward Dodge Husbandman & Mark Dodge Husbandman All of Beverly in the County of Essex within His Majesties Province of y^e Massachusetts Bay in New England Send Greeting, Know ye that whereas our Honoured Grandfather Richard Dodge late of said Beverly deceased did in his lifetime Set apart & appoint a certain piece of land lying in said Beverly for a Burying place for himself & posterity, Which Land is bounded as followeth, beginning at a little Shrub Appletree, & so running Easterly, Six Pole & five foot, and then turning Northerly Thirteen Pole, & then turning Westerly four Pole near the Plogh'd way, and then running Southerly fourteen Pole to the Bounds first mention'd: Which parcel of Land has been ever since used by y^e Descendants of said Richard Dodge & others for a Burying-Place, We therefore y^e said Jonathan Dodge Edward Dodge, & Mark Dodge do by these presents confirm & establish the said Privilege of burying in y^e said Land unto Andrew Dodge of Beverly, Phinehas Dodge & Nehemiah Dodge Josiah & Thomas Dodge all of Wenham, Robert Dodge and others, the children of Ebenezer Dodge late of Bev-

¹⁵ On common slabstones.

erly decd, being y^e Descendants of our late Uncle John Dodge Deceased: Richard Dodge of Ipswich, Daniel Dodge & William Dodge, both of Wenham, being y^e sons of our late Uncle Richard Dodge deceased, Parker & Samuel Dodge, both of Ipswich y^e sons of our late Uncle Samuel Dodge deceased, Joseph Dodge, Jonah Dodge, Elisha Dodge & Nathaniel Dodge all of Beverly, y^e sons of our late Uncle Joseph Dodge deceased, unto them & their Posterity forever, as also unto our Neighbours, Thomas Edwards & Benj^a Edwards both of Wenham, unto them, and their Posterity forever. To Have and to Hold together with ourselves & our Posterity the said parcel or piece of Land for the use abovementioned, & for that only for ever; without any let molestation or hindrance from us or from any hereafter claiming by or under us, together with a convenient way to y^e said Burying Place.

In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands & Seals this 24th day of February Anno Domini 1730-1. In y^e 4th year of y^e reign of King George y^e Second, of Great Brittain, France, & Ireland &c. Signed, Sealed, & Delivered

In presence of	The words between L. 17, & 18, Robert Dodge & others y ^e children of Ebenezer Dodge late of Beverly dec'd were interlined before Sealing & Delivery.	
Joseph Edwards		
	Excepting The Apple	Jonathan Dodge [SEAL]
John Dodge	Trees within The Burying place before Sign-	Edward Dodge [SEAL]
Richard Dodge	ing and Sealing ¹⁶	

Mark Dodge [SEAL]

Essex Sc March y^e 13th, 1731 (2

Jonathan Dodge Edward Dodge and
Mark Dodge Acknowledged this Instrument
to be their Act *act* and Deed before.

Symonds Epes Justice Peace.

An Agreement made this Twenty fourth day of February In the year of our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred & Thirty, Thirty one Between Andrew Dodge, Phinehas Dodge, Nehemiah Dodge, Josiah Dodge Thomas Dodge & Robert Dodge, y^e son & Grandsons of John Dodge, late of Beverly in y^e county of Essex in the Province of y^e Massachusetts-bay in New England; Richard Dodge, Daniel Dodge & William Dodge sons of Richard Dodge late of Wenham in y^e County and Province aforesaid; Jonathan Dodge, Edward Dodge, & Mark Dodge of s'd Beverly sons of Edward Dodge late of s'd Beverly; Parker Dodge & Samuel Dodge, sons of Samuel Dodge late of Ipswich in the County & province aforesaid deceased; Joseph Dodge, Jonah Dodge, Elisha

¹⁶ In another hand.

Dodge, & Nathaniel Dodge Sons of Joseph Dodge late of said Beverly deceased; Thomas Edwards & Benjamin Edwards, both of said Wenham, being Seven Families so to be considered, testifieth, That They mutually engage by these presents to build a good Sufficient Stone-wall, about the Burying-Place in Beverly Belonging to ye s'd Dodge's & Edwards' within Fifteen Months from the day of ye date hereof: Each family to set up Five Pole & Five Foot of said stone wall within that Term of Fifteen months on Penalty of forfeiting The Sum of Forty Shillings to be paid to any of ye other families, which shall prosecute the default, we do oblige likewise our Selves & our Posterity, to repair annually the Defects & Ruins, that may happen in said Stone-wall, Each family its proportion, on penalty of the above mention'd forfeiture, as also to maintain a convenient, & decent Gate to the Said Burying Place on Penalty of forfeiting what may be thought reasonable by three judicious & indifferent Persons, to those of us who shall be at ye cost & charge of setting it up & keeping it in repair.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands & seals the day & year first above-written.

Signed Sealed & Deliv^d.

His

In presence of

Thos. V Edwards [SEAL]

Thomas Dodge

Andrew Dodge [SEAL] mark

John Dodge [jr. ?]

Jonah Dodge [SEAL] Rich^d Dod [SEAL]

[SEAL] Elisha Dodge [SEAL] Dan^l. Dodge [SEAL]

Rice Knowlton [SEAL] Jonathan Dodge [SEAL] William Dodge [SEAL]

Nehemiah Dodge [SEAL] Edward Dodge [SEAL] Josiah Dodge [SEAL]

Robert Dodge [SEAL] Mark Dodge [SEAL] Thomas Dodge [SEAL]

Richard Dodge, jr. [SEAL] Parker Dodge [SEAL] Benjamin Edwards

[SEAL] Samuel Dodge [SEAL] [SEAL]

"The agreement for fencing the burying Place."¹⁷

COPY OF DEEDS OF ADDITIONAL LAND FOR THE
BURYING GROUND, RECORDED IN THE ESSEX
REGISTRY OF DEEDS.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That we Joseph Langdell of Wenham in the county of Essex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts yeoman, and William Morgan of New Boston in the county of Hillsborough and state of New Hampshire cordwainer and Esther his wife in her

¹⁷ Endorsement on the back.

right, and Ezra Langdell yeoman and Rebecca Codman widow both of Mount Vernon in said county of Hillsborough, do for and in consideration of the sum of Fifty-three dollars and twelve cents lawful Money to us paid by Sylvester Wilkins housewright, Benjamin Edwards 2d cordwainer, John Edwards junior yeoman, Ezra Edwards yeoman and Asa B. Edwards yeoman all of Beverly in said county of Essex, and Nicholas Dodge yeoman, William Dodge yeoman, John T. Dodge yeoman, Isaac Dodge Gentleman, Downing Gentle yeoman, William Brown yeoman Abraham Dodge yeoman, Nehemiah Standley yeoman, Timothy Higgins mariner, Abraham Knowlton yeoman, John Cleaves yeoman, Simon Dodge yeoman, Benjamin Edwards yeoman, Jacob Dodge yeoman, Nicholas Dodge junior, gentleman, Peter Dodge yeoman, Aaron Lee, yeoman, Sally Hooker widow, and John Dodge yeoman of Hamilton in the county of Essex, all of Wenham in said county of Essex, excepting said John Dodge, in equal proportion, the receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge, do hereby give, grant, bargain, sell, convey and confirm unto the said Sylvester Wilkins, Benjamin Edwards 2d, John Edwards, Ezra Edwards, Asa B. Edwards, Nicholas Dodge, William Dodge, John T. Dodge, Isaac Dodge, Downing Gentle, William Brown, Abraham Dodge, Nehemiah Standley, Timothy Higgins, Abraham Knowlton, John Cleaves, Simon Dodge, Benjamin Edwards, Jacob Dodge, Nicholas Dodge, junior, Peter Dodge, Aaron Lee, Sally Hooker, and John Dodge in equal proportions as tenants in common and their respective heirs and assigns forever, a certain piece of land for a burying yard situated in Beverly aforesaid containing about eighty-five poles of land and the said land is bounded as follows, viz.; beginning at the southwesternmost corner thereof against the southeasternmost corner of the old Burying

yard, so called, thence running northerly by the said old burying yard there measuring ten poles, thence running easterly by the land of the said grantors there measuring eight poles, thence running southerly by land of the heirs of Asa Dodge deceased there measuring ten poles, thence running westerly by land of said grantors there measuring nine poles to the bounds first mentioned, with all the privileges and appurtenances thereto belonging.

Excepting and reserving to the said Joseph Langdell his heirs and assigns forever one undivided twenty-fifth part of the said granted and conveyed premises to be held in common with the aforesaid grantees for the same purposes aforesaid, TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said granted and bargained premises with the privileges and appurtenances thereof to them the said grantees aforementioned as tenants in common and to their respective heirs and assigns forever to their own use and behoof forever, excepting the reserve as aforesaid. And we the said Joseph Langdell, William Morgan, Esther Morgan, Rebecca Codman, and Ezra Langdell respectively for ourselves our heirs, executors and administrators do covenant with the grantees aforementioned their respective heirs and assigns that we are lawfully seized in fee of the premises, that they are free of all incumbrances and that we have good right to sell and convey the same to the said grantees aforementioned, to hold as aforesaid; and that we will and our respective heirs, executors and administrators shall warrant and defend the same to the said grantees beforenamed their respective heirs and assigns forever, against the lawful claims and demands of all persons excepting the said reserve to said Joseph aforesaid. And I Rebecca Dodge of said Beverly widow, in consideration of two dollars to me paid by the aforementioned grantees, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, I do hereby grant, release, remise and forever

quit claim unto the aforementioned grantees respectively their heirs and assigns forever all my right, title, and interest, estate, use, improvement, claims and demands whatever that I now have in and to the aforescribed granted premises.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF we the said Joseph Langdell, William Morgan, Esther Morgan, Ezra Langdell, Rebecca Codman and Rebecca Dodge have hereunto set our hands and seals this twelfth day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

N. B., there was eleven words interlined before signed and sealed.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of us }		
Emme Smith }	by said Joseph }	}
Jonathan Smith }	Langdell }	
James Ray }	for William Morgan, Esther Morgan,	
Mark D. Perkins }	Ezra Langdell and Rebecca Codman.	
	Joseph Langdell	[SEAL]
	William Morgan	[SEAL]
	her	
	Esther × Morgan	[SEAL]
	mark	
	Ezra Langdell	[SEAL]
	Rebecca Codman	[SEAL]
[Essex Reg. Deeds, 237—204.]		[SEAL]

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That I Joseph Langdell of Wenham in the county of Essex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts yeoman, and Sylvester Wilkins of Beverly in the county and commonwealth aforesaid housewright, and William Morgan of New Boston in the county of Hillsborough and State of New Hampshire cordwainer, and Esther his wife in her right, in consideration of the sum of nine dollars 52 cents paid to us by Benjamin Edwards of Wenham aforesaid and twenty-four others

of the proprietors of the burying ground in Beverly being tenants in common, the receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge, do hereby give, grant, sell and convey unto the said proprietors severally and their heirs and assigns, a certain tract of land in said Beverly containing fifteen rods and three fourths, bounded southerly by the highway half a rod, then easterly by land formerly of Asa B. Edwards and the heirs of Asa Dodge deceased; then northerly to the burying ground, thence westerly by the said burying ground, and the heirs of Mark Dodge deceased and the said Sylvester Wilkins to the bound first mentioned. TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the same to the said proprietors their heirs and assigns to their use and benefit forever. And we do covenant with the said proprietors their heirs and assigns that we are lawfully seized in fee of the premises; that they are free of all incumbrances; that we have good right to sell and convey the same to the said proprietors and their heirs and assigns; and that we will warrant and defend the same to the said proprietors and their heirs and assigns against the lawful claims of all persons. IN WITNESS WHEREOF we have hereunto set our hands and seals this thirteenth day of June one thousand eight hundred and fifteen.

Signed, Sealed and delivered in presence of us }
 Israel Friend Isaac Woodberry junr. }

Joseph Langdell . . [SEAL]

Sylvester Wilkins . . ["]

["]

["]

Essex ss. July 6, 1815. Then the within named Joseph Langdell and Sylvester Wilkins personally acknowledged the above instrument to be their free act and deed. before me Isaac Woodbury junr. Justice of Peace.

Essex ss. Received July 27, 1824, recorded and examined by Amos Choate Reg. [Essex Reg. Deeds, 236—70.]

SKETCH OF MRS. WILLIAM JARVIS

OF

WEATHERSFIELD, VERMONT.

BY MRS. MARY PEPPERELL SPARHAWK JARVIS CUTTS.

EDITED BY HER GRANDSON
CECIL HAMPDEN CUTTS HOWARD.

PART I.

Mrs. Anna Bailey Bartlett Jarvis was the eldest daughter of the Hon. Bailey Bartlett, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, who commenced life as an importing merchant; the same business in which his father had been engaged.

The following extract is from a biographical notice of him.

"Living in the most interesting period of the Revolution, Mr. Bartlett early mingled in political life. He was one of the earliest and most intimate friends of the venerable John Adams, and a fellow boarder with him and Samuel Adams in Philadelphia on the 4th of July, 1776, and was present at Congress Hall when the declaration of Independence was first proclaimed. He represented the town of Haverhill, in the house of Representatives in 1783, and the county of Essex in the Senate in 1789.

On the 1st of July, 1789, he was appointed High Sheriff of Essex Co. Governor Hancock presented him the commission in person, and stated to him that he did it with peculiar pleasure, as it was the only nomination during his administration that met the unanimous concurrence of his Council. He held this office for forty years, until his death in 1830. He was kind and indulgent almost to a fault; and his purse often paid the exactions of an unfeeling

ing creditor, rather than suffer a poor debtor to be imprisoned. In all cases of difficulty he was firm, fearless, immovable. Such was the public life of this amiable, honest, faithful, unostentatious, public servant."

In 1786 he married Miss Peggy Leonard White of Newburyport, a lineal descendant of Peregrine White, the first white child born at Plymouth, after the landing of the Pilgrims. She was a refined and beautiful young lady of seventeen, fair as a lily, with the rose on her cheek, blue eyes, fine auburn hair, and cherry lips.

Her elder sister was said to be even more beautiful than herself. When only fifteen, a wealthy gentleman of Nova Scotia, Mr. Hazen, met her at Newburyport, fell in love with her, and offered himself in marriage. Her mother thought her too young for an engagement, and decidedly refused the offer, though she had no objection to the gentleman. He waited patiently a year, then renewed his proposals and was accepted. They were afterwards married.

Before his marriage, Mr. Bartlett made large additions in more modern style to his deceased father's house, in which he resided. It was situated on the banks of the Merrimac river, with a southern aspect, and on the site of the house where the Johnsons had lived, when taken captive by the Indians.

Strange legends hung around the old mansion. The red man had been there with his tomahawk thirsting for blood; a mother had been tomahawked in the garden, but preserved her infant by secreting it under her clothing, where after the massacre was over it was found living. Two of Mr. Johnson's children were saved by a faithful domestic, by hiding them under a wash-tub in the cellar. The daughter thus rescued married Dr. Bailey of the British Navy, and was the grandmother of the Hon. Bailey Bartlett.

This old family mansion was three stories high; the upper stories having gable windows of the ancient pattern, which opened upon a balcony, that extended across the front, and commanded an extensive view of the smooth and beautiful river. It was built of brick, painted straw-color. Woodbines clambered over it in luxuriant growth, and in later years half covered the front of the house. They climbed to the very roof and fell in graceful festoons over the balcony, veiling it from observation in the street below. Here the birds resorted to build their nests; the children played "hide and seek" and other games, and lovers whispered their vows and mutual sympathies. To this abode Mr. Bartlett brought his fair young bride; whose ladylike and elegant deportment, hospitality, grace and courtesy, rendered her home attractive to her husband and to a large circle of friends.

As she ripened into maturer years she became a true lady of the olden school. Her taste, love of neatness and order, and devoted piety, exerted a strong influence over her children and household through life.

Mr. Bartlett's sister Elizabeth, a gentle, amiable and lovely girl of twenty, had married Col. Nathaniel Sparhawk, the grandson of the hero of Louisburg, General Sir William Pepperell. She died two years after her marriage, leaving an infant daughter, Mary Pepperell, who was born in 1780. Mr. Bartlett was warmly attached to his sister, and as Col. Sparhawk had several children by his first marriage, Mr. Bartlett succeeded in persuading her father to permit little Mary to be placed under the care of her grandmother Bartlett, where she was cherished with the fondest love by her uncle and grandmother.

As years developed her character, she became remarkable for her sweet, kind and conscientious disposition, and for her fondness for study and self improvement. After

the death of her grandmother she lived with her uncle and aunt Bartlett, and the latter loved her as a younger sister. A remarkably strong attachment was formed between them, which was manifested by the niece in untiring acts of kindness and attention towards her aunt and children. They united with Rev. Mr. Abbott's church together in 1802.

A story is related of Mrs. Bartlett which illustrates the elaborate manner in which the ladies dressed their hair at that period. In her early married life she went to Boston to visit some friends and to attend Commencement at Harvard College; then a grand dress occasion, as her brother was to graduate that year.

The barbers were so much in demand that not one could be obtained on the morning of Commencement day, and Mrs. Bartlett was under the necessity of having her hair dressed the evening before, so that, when the pile of head gear had once been completed, she was obliged to obtain what rest she could in an easy chair through the night. This proves that elegant ladies were in those days, as in the present period, swayed by the goddess of fashion as well, though perhaps not to the same extent, as they did not wear so many flounces and furbelows, and their rich and superb brocades were kept for gala days only, and handed down from mother to daughter. They wore immense calashes, made of green silk and whalebone, to ride in, and for covering the tall and stately head-dress. The calash was easily taken off and folded up. They also carried very large fans, partly as a screen; and in travelling wore green silk tissue veils wrapped closely over the face to protect the complexion from sun and wind. In full dress they wore a square low-necked polonaise with handsome lace around the neck and a large showy neck-lace, or string of beads. The sleeve was tight at the el-

bow, then a deep ruffle of the same material as the dress, and a deep fall of rich lace under it which gracefully veiled the arm in part. The polonaise was open in front, and displayed either a rich quilted satin petticoat, or a skirt of the same material as the dress.

In 1787, Mr. and Mrs. Bartlett's first child was born and was named Anna Bailey. After this their family increased rapidly. Eliza, Margaret, Sarah and Harriet, were added to it. Then their first son was born, Bailey. Then Catherine Leonard, Edwin, Abby Osgood, Charles Leonard, Mary Augusta, Francis, and finally, Louisa Amelia, in Oct., 1809. Two children died in infancy. Thirteen lived to grow up. In the infancy of her first children Mrs. Bartlett was highly favored in securing the services of an intelligent and faithful American girl named Dennis, who identified herself with the interests of her mistress and family, watching over the children, teaching and directing the servants, and having a general supervision over the household. She was married in middle life, but, her husband soon dying of consumption, she returned to her good master and mistress, to whose interests she devoted herself unreservedly, until the family became dissolved by death and marriages, and the house was given up. Then the grateful children provided a home for her, and smoothed her last days, she in return loving them all as if they were her own children, thus furnishing a beautiful and true example of old-fashioned domestics as they formerly existed in New England. They identified themselves with the interests of their employers and their greatest pride was to sustain the honor and promote the well-being of the family.

The wise and good Dr. Holyoke, of Salem, who attained the great age of one hundred and one years with unimpaired faculties, took a girl on trial for a short time and

she proved a faithful and excellent friend, remaining in the household for fifty years, until after the death of the aged doctor. Another remained in the family for seventy years !

Mr. Leonard White, Mrs. Bartlett's brother, resided in his father's house, next to Mr. Bartlett's and married Miss Dalton of Newburyport, of an old and highly respected family. Mr. White was cashier of the Merrimac Bank, and remarkable for his uprightness and integrity ; for his amiable disposition, fine appearance and courteous manners. Rarely a day passed that he did not call in to see his sister in the evening. As his children grew up, they too became pleasant companions for their cousins.

The society in Haverhill was remarkably refined and cultivated. Here the Saltonstalls lived, descendants of Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the old puritans. One of the sons, Leverett Saltonstall became an eminent and able lawyer in Salem ; a man of superior abilities, agreeable as a companion, and of a noble presence. Two of Mr. Leverett Saltonstall's sisters were the loved and chosen companions of Anna Bartlett, especially the eldest, Anne, whose friendship only ended with her life.

There were two families of Duncans in Haverhill also, and the Atwoods, one of whose daughters was Harriet, afterward Mrs. Newell, a pioneer missionary abroad ; the Osgoods, and another family of Whites, etc.

The little Anna Bartlett was brought up in the strictness of that period, and was a model of propriety. Needlework and reading went hand in hand in those days, and the earliest childish instruction consisted in learning to read and to sew. Then followed writing, arithmetic, etc. At the age of six little Anna made a fine linen shirt for her father, with its elaborate ruffles of linen cambric, for the bosom and wrists. For her industry and patience her

grandmother gave her a gold thimble. To the young people of the present day this seems an incredible feat; but children then were taught reading, writing and sewing much earlier than now. I knew a lady of high standing, a friend of John Quincy Adams, who learned to read at three years of age, and could read in the Bible at four years. She lived to be seventy, a tall and elegant woman, an ornament to society.

Her constitution did not seem, according to modern theory, to have suffered by this early training.

At the ages of fourteen and twelve, Anna and her sister Eliza went to a boarding-school to enlarge their knowledge, and acquire some accomplishments. Among the latter were playing on the spinet, embroidery and painting in water colors, and writing in a small, clear, elegant hand. All the younger sisters in turn were educated the same way.

In 1797 Hon. Bailey Bartlett was elected member of Congress of the United States, and held the office four years; he was a member of the last Congress held in Philadelphia, and the first which met at Washington. He was the chosen companion of the lamented Chief Justice Parker; between whom the warmest and most cordial friendship continued to exist until the death of the Judge. Mr. Bartlett left his beloved family with regret; but while duty to his country obliged him to be absent, he invited a young gentleman, a friend of his, to reside in the family, to assist his wife in every way possible; which he did with the utmost faithfulness and courtesy. This young gentleman afterwards became a wealthy and eminent man.

Mr. Bartlett belonged to the party called Federalists, as did John Adams, and Alexander Hamilton; and his political career closed with the election of Jefferson.

But the highest traits of his character cannot be known to the world. They are disclosed chiefly by the family that he reared, trained and stamped with his own similitude. They were characterized by every trait, unselfish, gentle, kind and affectionate. His sons and his daughters rose up and called him blessed. His daughters were like fair young olive plants round about him. Though usually grave and dignified, yet in his social hours a sunny smile and two expressive dimples lighted up his face, making it genial and attractive. From the time he left Congress, his leisure hours, gleaned from his duties as high sheriff of Essex county, were devoted to reading, horticulture and mechanics. He had a large garden about a quarter of a mile from the house, which under his careful supervision was cultivated skilfully and supplied the wants of the family abundantly with fruit and vegetables. It was bordered with red and white currants and gooseberries, which bore large quantities of rich and juicy fruit. His rare varieties of summer and winter apples were a treat to his family and friends, and barrels of apples and pears were stored away in the autumn for winter use.

When fatigued by his official duties and responsibilities, he often derived recreation and amusement from the manufacture of elegant and useful articles for his wife and daughters; for which purpose he kept a nice set of tools. Mrs. Bartlett's health being delicate, she was often confined to her room, but her prayers ascended to God daily for her family. She stood at the helm of her household and sent forth her directions so that everything went on like clockwork in this beautifully ordered family. As soon as the daughters were old enough to take a part in domestic affairs, some light duty was assigned them in the morning to minister to the comfort and well being of the whole.

They were early instructed in the art of making delicious cake, pastry, puddings and jellies, and were all remarkable in after life for their proficiency and skill in this department. Their father would have thought them very remiss if they were not all neatly dressed for the day at their one o'clock dinner. Peace and harmony reigned in the household. After the death of her grandmother, Miss Mary P. Sparhawk spent much time with her aunt, Mrs. Dr. Charles Jarvis of Boston, a granddaughter of Sir Wm. Pepperell. This aunt had no children of her own and was very fond of her niece. Her husband, Dr. Jarvis, was one of the most ardent patriots of the Revolution, and the intimate friend of John Hancock and Samuel Adams.

In Faneuil Hall, that Cradle of Liberty, he often addressed the citizens of Boston, with whom he was very popular, and the clear musical tones of his voice, ringing forth the words of an ardent eloquence, helped to kindle those fires of patriotism, which led to the independence of the country. It was hence an advantage to Miss Sparhawk to be with Dr. and Mrs. Jarvis, for not only did some of the first men of the times resort to their house, but they both took an interest in directing her course of reading and studies. At their house she first met with Dr. Jarvis' only son William, who had recently returned from the south and established himself as a merchant in Boston. He had been educated in the best schools of Boston, Philadelphia, and Bordentown, N. J. He was distinguished for diligence in business, and strict uprightness and integrity, and was moreover intelligent, agreeable, handsome, and a general favorite in society.

The intelligence, loveliness, and modest simplicity of Miss Sparhawk won his heart. They were engaged with the approbation of his mother-in-law and all the friends concerned, and everything seemed auspicious, when a sad

calamity occurred to them. A mercantile house, reputed wealthy, for whom Mr. William Jarvis had been induced to endorse, failed suddenly for a large amount, and he found that the whole of his property must inevitably be swept away by it.

He first paid his private debts, and then gave up every cent remaining to the creditors; but, even this amount did not suffice by \$14,500.00. He offered to give his notes for that sum to be paid in five annual installments, and his proposal was accepted. He was too honest and noble-minded to attempt any evasion; but he made a solemn resolution, which he kept through life, never again to become surety for another.

He could not, in his present situation, think of binding Miss Sparhawk by her engagement, and therefore released her, although it was a sad parting for both. She returned to the sheltering love of her uncle and aunt Bartlett. Mr. Jarvis now directed all his energies to the accomplishment of his task. Going to sea immediately, as master of a vessel, by a series of wisely planned, promptly executed voyages he was crowned with success. At the end of five years, after enduring hardships, perils, privations, and narrow escapes almost unprecedented, he was enabled to return to Boston, and free himself from every liability.

A day or two after his return his father received a letter from the Hon. Josiah Quincy, then in Congress, saying that William Jarvis of Boston, had been appointed Consul General at Lisbon. The official announcement came soon afterwards, and Mr. Jarvis hastened to Washington to see Mr. Madison, then Secretary of State. On his arrival, he found that the last minister to Portugal had been recalled, and Mr. Madison begged Mr. Jarvis to act as *chargé d'affaires* at the Court of Portugal.

Mr. Jarvis at first modestly declined the appointment,

fearing he had not sufficient knowledge of diplomatic affairs, but his scruples were overruled by Mr. Madison. The treasury was then low, and Mr. Madison told Mr. Jarvis that he would not then fix on a salary, but that he should have a suitable and satisfactory compensation for his services. The Consul arrived in Lisbon, Aug. 2, 1802, and for eight years labored with untiring assiduity to promote the interests of his country and government, to whose institutions and principles he was ardently devoted.

Entering into partnership with two of his early friends, he opened a counting house as commission merchant, in Lisbon, and was so well prospered in business that in 1806 he renewed the offer of his hand and heart to Miss Sparhawk. The lady had been constant to her first and only attachment and she accepted his offer, but several months elapsed ere they were united. He could not leave his official duties in Lisbon, and her friends were averse to her going out to join him; but finally in the autumn of 1807, he sent out a vessel for her with his cousin, John H. Jarvis, to be her escort.

Mrs. Bartlett provided a suitable middle-aged woman for her companion, and in December, 1807, she left America with the blessing of all her friends. Just about this time she heard of the death of Dr. Charles Jarvis, which gave a great shock to her feelings, and on her arrival in Lisbon she found herself still pursued by misfortune.

A bitter disappointment awaited her. The city was strictly blockaded by Wellington, and with the sadness of "hope deferred," she was obliged to sail to San Lucas in Spain. Mr. Hackley, the American consul at that port, and his good lady, treated her with the utmost kindness and courtesy, taking her to their house where she remained until Mr. Jarvis could cross the mountains between Lisbon and San Lucas to join her. In March, 1808, Mr.

Hackley married them, and the whole party performed the wedding tour to Lisbon on donkeys.

Mrs. Jarvis, with her earnest piety, wished to have the marriage rite performed by a Protestant clergyman; but according to the laws of Portugal it must be sanctified by a Romish priest; accordingly her marriage was three times performed. Mr. Jarvis had a beautiful home on the Tagus awaiting the arrival of his bride, where they enjoyed much domestic felicity.

It was about this time that Eliza, the second daughter of the Hon. Bailey Bartlett, a lovely, dignified and accomplished young lady, married Joseph Sprague, Esq., a talented and promising lawyer of Salem, who was afterward distinguished as an orator and ardent patriot, and Miss Anna Bartlett, who subsequently became Mr. Jarvis' second wife, was much with her sister.

Party strife in politics at this time ran so high that the opposite sides did not exchange visits. Sheriff Bartlett was a Federalist as was also his friend, Col. Pickman of Salem. Anna Bartlett was the intimate friend of the Colonel's daughter, Miss Rawlins Pickman, and this friendship lasted through their lives. Mr. Sprague was a Republican and his friends were of that party. His wife and wife's sister were invited to mingle in their society, but by having the prudence and good sense to avoid conversation upon politics, Miss Anna Bartlett won the esteem and friendship of both parties. Mr. and Mrs. Sprague were a very happy couple and had six children. Bailey Bartlett, the eldest brother, went into business in Newburyport; Edwin at the age of fifteen entered Mr. Jarvis' counting house at Lisbon. He afterwards went to Guayaquil and Lima in South America, where he acquired a large fortune. He married Miss Harrod of Portland and finally became one of the merchant princes of New York,

and died at his residence on the Hudson a few years since. His brother Charles was with him in Lima for a short time, and was there appointed consul at Trinidad. Subsequently he became a commission merchant in Boston, and married Miss Plummer, a lady of worth and fine abilities. Their only son, Gen. Wm. Francis Bartlett, left Harvard College to serve his country in the late war. He was a very brave and efficient officer, but was taken prisoner and endured the most horrible cruelties. At last his exchange was effected, but instead of the tall, vigorous form that entered the service, he was ever afterward an invalid and a sufferer. He married a lovely young lady in Pittsfield, and they had four children.

Francis, the youngest son of sheriff Bartlett, entered into business in New York and died young. All the daughters were married.

Portugal was then occupied by two contending armies. The British blockaded Lisbon, the French were encamped in its environs; the Prince Regent and his court had left Portugal for Brazil, on the invasion of the French in November, 1807. After the French invaded Spain, the Spanish Junta confiscated the flocks of merino sheep belonging to noblemen who had joined the French, and offered them for sale to raise funds. It had been contrary to the laws of Spain to export these sheep, under penalty of death. Mr. Jarvis, ever eager to promote the interests of his beloved country, thought these fine-wooled sheep would be invaluable to agriculturists, and purchased between three and four thousand sheep, and sent them to the United States. He exported more than all others put together, reserving about four hundred for himself. The sheep sold well in America, and he realized a handsome remuneration from the sale.

Mr. Jarvis had been highly prospered in his business. He

had wholly supplied the French army with flour, which had brought him a large profit; but, finally, the business came to an end and he determined to resign his office and return to America where the sheep had already been sent. In October, 1810, therefore, he fitted up a brig as comfortably as possible, and embarked with his wife and infant daughter. They had a stormy voyage and did not land in Boston until December. The cold New England climate was a fearful contrast to the mild, salubrious air of Portugal, and Mrs. Jarvis, whose health was delicate, was much affected by the change. The Consul obtained a comfortable boarding place for her in Haverhill, near her uncle Bartlett's family, where her cousins, especially Miss Anna Bartlett, were unremitting in their kind attentions. Mr. Jarvis was obliged to go to Washington. He had presented Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison each with a pair of his valuable merino sheep. Mr. Jefferson, immediately on his arrival in America, wrote him a long and very complimentary letter, thanking him for the sheep, and speaking in the highest appreciation of his valuable and efficient services while in Lisbon, and of the advantage he had been to the commerce of the United States, etc., etc.; all of which was extremely gratifying to Mr. Jarvis.

Mr. Madison, then President, expressed the same cordial commendation of Mr. Jarvis' unusually energetic and untiring exertions in behalf of his country. They were just on the eve of the second war with Great Britain. The treasury was still low and Mr. Madison made no allusion to salary. Mr. Jarvis thought as he had been prospered in his private affairs perhaps he could as well afford to do without his salary as his country could afford to pay it, and therefore made no claim.

Where can such another instance be found of a man who fulfilled all the duties of foreign minister for eight years

without the slightest compensation? It shows the patriotism and public spirit from which the revolution was born.

From his residence in Europe, Mr. Jarvis had learned to hold the possession of real estate in high esteem. He saw the nobility placing a high value upon their estates, and determined to purchase a large tract of land and to elevate the condition of agriculture, which was then very low. First he went to Virginia, but not finding a plantation that suited him, he was finally induced by his cousin, Dr. Leonard Jarvis, who with his father had purchased a beautiful place in Claremont, New Hampshire, to buy a large tract of meadow land, formed by a bow in the Connecticut river, in Weathersfield, Vermont, directly opposite Claremont. This land was rich and fertile; a large house for his own residence, and a small village consisting of a store, public house, blacksmith's shop, etc., were also included in the purchase for which he paid the cash down, a remarkable event in those days. After having his sheep driven from Newburyport to this farm he returned to his wife early in February, and on the 22nd of that month she gave birth to another daughter. Consumption was wasting her delicate frame, and early in April she knew her end was approaching. Sending for the clergyman, of whose church she was a member, to consecrate her infants to God in baptism, she received the communion herself, and thus passed away to a better sphere.

Her sorrowing friends

— "Saw not the angels who met her there :
The gates of the city they could not see ;
But they knew she was safe on the further side,
Where all the ransomed and angels be."

Soon after this Mr. Jarvis removed with his two motherless little girls, from Haverhill, Mass., accompanied by his father's widow, Mrs. Dr. Charles Jarvis, to his estate in

Vermont. Early in 1816, he was attacked with rheumatic fever and he was just able to go in his carriage, by easy stages, to Saratoga in June. He had a man to drive and assist him in and out, and a nurse for himself and one for his little girls. The waters proved most salutary, and at the end of six weeks he was quite recruited and returned home able to walk and attend to his business. His house seemed desolate and lonely, and he had suffered so much during his severe illness from the want of woman's gentle care and nursing that he began to feel the importance of obtaining a wife, and his thoughts turned to his late wife's cousin, Miss Anna Bailey Bartlett, of Haverhill, Mass., whose sterling worth and excellence of character were well known to him, and who had been most kind and attentive to Mrs. Jarvis in her last illness. He first made proposals by letter which were not unfavorably received, and in February, 1817, he took his little girls in a covered sleigh to Mr. Bartlett's to urge his suit in person. They were engaged and the time of the marriage fixed for May. His little girls were delighted when told that cousin Anna was to be their mamma. Her two youngest sisters were young enough to be their companions, and the daughter of her sister Eliza, a lovely little girl. The large old nursery had two southern windows which flooded it with sunshine; and a bright open fire was kept burning all day. A tall black walnut chest of drawers, polished like ebony, stood in one corner, with its rows of brass handles shining like gold from top to bottom. In this bright cheerful room the children pursued their games with untiring zeal and enjoyment. It was indeed a happy family. Six grown up daughters still reside beneath the paternal roof, and how vividly does the picture of their domestic life come up before me! Some are seated with their fancy work baskets in the broad, stuffed, old-fashioned window seats, and

others about the room. The gentle mother is in her accustomed easy chair by the fireside. A bright fire of evenly cut walnut logs glows on the hearth, the tall brass andirons, shovel and tongs reflecting the cheerful blaze. In the evening the father of the family sat opposite his wife in his large chair. The side board glowed with ruddy shining apples, with rich currant wine, and fine shagbarks or walnuts. Every evening friends called in ; some to play backgammon with the Sheriff, some with Mrs. Bartlett or Miss Catherine, and some to chat with the young ladies. At nine refreshments were distributed and at ten all had taken their leave. The intercourse was social, cordial, friendly ; such is a home picture of seventy years ago, without ceremony or parade.

The drawing room, with its Wilton carpet, spinet, high backed stuffed mahogany chairs and arches over the window seats, was only used on grand occasions.

[*To be continued.*]

AN "EPICEDIUM,"
COMPOSED IN 1752 BY REV. JOHN CLEAVELAND OF
CHEBACCO (NOW ESSEX) IN IPSWICH, MASS.

BY E. P. CROWELL,
Professor in Amherst College.

AMONG the numerous publications of this clergyman, one has recently come to light which is a pamphlet of sixteen pages, octavo, with the following quaint title :

An Epicedium,
OR A
Poetical Attempt upon the Life & Death
OF
Mr. *Josiah Cleaveland,*
LATE OF
CANTERBURY.

Who departed this Life (undoubtedly)
to a better, *February 9th 1750,*
Aged Sixty years four Months.

Zech. 1. 5. Your fathers where are they?

Ps. 89 ; 48. What Man is he that lives and shall not see death? shall he deliver his soul from the Hand of the grave?

Rev. 14 : 13. Write blessed are the Dead that die in the Lord.

Luke 16. 22. The Beggar died, and was carried by the Angels into Abraham's Bosom.

2 Sam. 1. 17. And David lamented with this Lamentation over Saul and over Jonathan his Son.

Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland, 1753.

The preface is an acrostic and consists of sixty-three decasyllabic lines rhyming in couplets, the initial letters of which form the words: "John Cleaveland, author of this little book and pastor of a church in Ipswich." It begins as follows:

In this plain Verſe, I do attempt to ſhew,
O court'ous Reader! nought but what is true;
His Character, as I have ſet it forth,
None will deny, to be beyond his Worth.

The next ten lines are eulogistic of the subject of the poem, and the rest is a religious exhortation to the reader.

The "Epicedium" itself contains three hundred and sixty-eight lines of the same length as those of the preface and rhyming in the same way. The opening lines are as follows:

Since I have heard the late, the mournful News,
My Father's Death; my painful, penſive Muſe,
Would fain revive, and ſpend a little Breath,
Both on his Life and alſo on his Death.

The poem then makes mention of his early life, his marriage and his children. Next are given the story of his conversion, a delineation of his religious character, the scene of his death and his last words to his friends. The conclusion is an exhortation to his children and friends.

To the "Epicedium" is appended this "Epitaph:"

Under this Hillock ſmall doth lie,
Inter'd *Josiah Cleaveland's Duſt*
'Twill hear the Reſurrection cry
When Death's cold Bonds aſunder burſt.
No doubt it will triumphing riſe,
Before the Morning of that Day;
When Chriſt ſhall all the World ſurprize,

His Gospel's Voice who wou'dn't obey.
Then shall this mortal Dust invest,
A Nature pure, and uncorrupt:
And enter to the blest Rest,
Where's nought their Joy to Interrupt.

Josiah Cleaveland, the subject of this elegy, came of good Puritan stock and, as is gleaned from other sources of information, was every way worthy of the tribute here paid to his character. He was the grandson of Moses Cleaveland, an immigrant from Ipswich, England, in 1635, who married, Sept. 26, 1648, Ann, daughter of Edward Winn, lived in Woburn, had eleven children and died Jan. 9, 1702; and the son of Josiah Cleaveland, who was born Feb. 26, 1667, lived in Chelmsford until 1694, then removed with one other family to that part of the fertile meadows of the Quinebaug in Windham Co., Connecticut (which was organized as the town of Canterbury in 1709), had nine children and died April 26, 1709.

Josiah Cleaveland, 2d, was born Oct. 7, 1690, married Abigail, daughter of Elisha Paine of Canterbury and had eleven children, of whom six were sons. By his father's death the entire care of the family and the farm devolved upon him when he was but twenty years of age; and for the excellent training and stanch character of his brothers and sisters as well as of his own children he deserved the full credit. He was one of the most influential men in his day in all town matters. Throughout his life a pillar in the Congregational church, he left to it at his death, his part of the ownership of the meeting-house and £200 in money. From one of his first cousins is descended the present President of the United States.

Four of the sons of Josiah Cleaveland, 2d, and several of his nephews served in the Revolutionary army. Indeed, the historian of Windham County declares that there were in that army, from Canterbury, "Cleavelands almost without number."

The seventh child of Josiah Cleaveland, 2d, was John, the author of this "Poetical Attempt," who was born April 11, 1722. His early life was spent upon the farm. An injury caused by an ambitious attempt to outstrip others in stone-wall building, when he was about seventeen years old, disabled him for severe physical labor, and preparing for college he entered Yale in 1741. For the offence of attending religious meetings of the "Separatists," so called, at his home and with his parents, after the close of his Junior year he was expelled from College in December, 1744, but in 1763 the college authorities granted him the degree of A. B. and enrolled him a member of the class of 1745, to which he had belonged.

After studying theology he became pastor of a "Separatist" church in Chebacco, in Ipswich, Mass., Feb. 25, 1747, and after a ministry of fifty-two years died there, April 22, 1799. To his intellectual ability, his oratorical power, his zealous devotion to his professional work and his almost unbounded influence with the community in which he lived, there is abundant testimony in the local histories. His patriotic services also, as a chaplain in the French and Indian war, when he accompanied the provincial forces to Lake George and to the Island of Cape Breton, and in the war of the Revolution are a matter of record. It was a traditional saying in his parish, that "he preached all the young men among his people into the army and then went himself, taking his four sons with him." Two of these served as surgeons and were afterwards, for a long period, eminent as physicians and conspicuous in political affairs throughout the county of Essex in which they resided. Another of them died in the army and the fourth was a useful and successful clergyman through a long life.

Bancroft in his History of the United States, Vol. IV,

makes mention of Mr. Cleaveland in connection with the expedition of Abercrombie in 1758 as one of those " chaplains who preached to the regiments of citizen soldiers a renewal of the days when Moses with the rod of God in his hand sent Joshua against Amalek."

What his eulogist, Rev. Dr. Parish, of Byfield, Mass., said in a memorial discourse after his death, was literally true : " Active and enterprising, he repeatedly left the silence of his study for the din of war ; the joys of domestic peace for the dangers of the bloody field. The waters of Champlain, the rocks of Cape Breton, the fields of Cambridge and the banks of the Hudson listened to the fervor of his addresses."

That Rev. Mr. Cleaveland was, in some respects, far in advance of his age, in his spirit of Christian philanthropy, appears in a very striking manner in the following letter which he wrote in 1763, soon after the close of the French and Indian war, on the duty of undertaking the christianizing of the American Indians.

Very dear Sir : Since I have understood that the preliminary articles of Peace are ratified, by which the vast country on the eastern side of the river Mississippi, from the source of said river to the ocean, is ceded (*i. e.*, by France) to his Brittanic majesty, I have been ready to think we never had so loud a call and so wide a door opened, to use endeavors to propagate the gospel and spread the savour of the knowledge of Christ among the Indian tribes, which inhabit or rather range in the extended wilds of North America as now we have. A view to christianize the Heathen was a pious motive with our Forefathers to come into this America at first ; and what all along has been an obstruction to their conversion God has now removed. And as God has now given the English nation all North America it can't be thought that we

render again according to the benefit done unto us, if we neglect to improve all proper means to communicate to the heathen the inestimable treasure of the Gospel, which God has long indulged us with and now secured the enjoyment of to us against those that ever have sought to deprive us of the same. Moreover, can it be supposed that God has wonderfully crowned the British arms with success and given us all this vast country which is now ceded to us, merely for Great Britain's and British-American Colonies' sake — seeing the promise is of the heathen to Christ for an inheritance."

Amherst College, August 3, 1883.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE OLD BURYING GROUND AT LYNNFIELD CENTRE.

COPIED BY JOHN T. MOULTON.

This burying ground is on the main street of the village, just southerly from the common and a short distance westerly from the church. As Lynnfield was originally a part of Lynn and was called the second parish, it is of interest to persons tracing family lines back to Lynn, to know that many of these names are found on the Lynn town records previous to the year 1815, when Lynnfield was made a separate town. Yet the records of the *parish* of Lynnfield begin Dec. 7, 1713, and there are also *church* records which have been published in the Institute Collections.

There are three other cemeteries in the town, one at the Centre, near the old yard, and two at South Lynnfield. The nearest is called Forest Hill Cemetery, and was consecrated Oct. 14, 1856. Addresses on the occasion were made by Rev. E. R. Hodgman and Rev. A. P. Chute.

Here lyes the body of Doc^{ter} John Aborn, who departed this life Novem^r the 8th 1768, in the 41 year of his age.

In memory of Mrs. Rebecca Dodge, formerly the wife of Dr. John Aborn, who died June 20, 1798, Æt. 64.

Here lyes y^e body of John Aborn, son of Doc^{ter} John & Mrs. Rebecca Aborn, who departed this life March 2, 1769, in the 8th year of his age.

Here lyes y^e body of Elizabeth Aborn, daughter of Doct^r John Aborn & Mrs. Rebecca Aborn, who died July 2^d 1770 aged 1 year, 6 months.

Here lies buried the body of Rev. Benjamin Adams, Pastor of the Second Church of Christ in Lynn, who departed this life May the 4th 1777 in the 58 year of his age, and 22^d of his ministry.

The memory of the just is blessed.

Here lies buried the body of M^{rs} Rebecca Adams, consort of the Rev^d Benjamin Adams, who departed this life Augst 22^d 1776, in the 43^d year of her age.

God is just.

Erected in memory of Dr. Benjamin Adams. Obt. Jan. 16, 1811, Æt. 53.

This stone is erected to the memory of two children of Dr. Benjamin & Mrs. Lois Adams, viz^t.

Edward Augustus, died March 8, 1796, aged 1 year, 11 months & 13 days.

Edward Augustus 2^d died Feb. 14, 1797, aged 14 days.

Erected in memory of Benjamin Perkins Adams, son of Dr. Benjamin & Mrs. Lois Adams, who died Nov. 13, 1809, aged 6 days.

Erected in memory of Delia Augusta Adams, daughter of Dr. Benjamin & Mrs. Augusta Adams, died May 30, 1805, aged 11 months & 17 days.

Here lyes interr^d the body of Deacon John Bancroft, who departed this life Decem^{br} y^e 20th 1768, in the 87th year of his age.

Rev. 14, verse 13. Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.

Here lyes y^e body of M^{rs} Mary Bancroft, wife to Dea^{con} John Bancroft, who departed this life July y^e 25th 1763, in y^e 82 year of her age.

Here lyes y^e body of M^{rs} Mary Bancroft, wife to Dea^{con} John Bancroft, who dec'd Oct^r 1st 1723, in y^e 39th year of her age.

Here lyes y^e body of Hannah Bancroft, dau^{tr} of Dea^{con} John & M^{rs} Mary Bancroft, who died July 23^d 1738 in y^e 10th year of her age.

Here lyes buried y^e body of M^r John Bancroft, who departed this life Jan^{ry} 25, 1739, in y^e 84th year of his age.

Here lyes y^e body of M^{rs} Hannah Bancroft, wife to Ensign John Bancroft, who died June 7th 1732, in y^e 76 year of her age.

Cap^t Ebenezer Bancroft (foot-stone, head-stone gone).

Ruth, daughter of M^r Ebenezer & M^{rs} Ruth Bancroft, died Sep^t 22^d 1730, aged 4 years, 1 month & 13 days.

Ebenezer, son of M^r Ebenezer & M^{rs} Ruth Bancroft, died May 2^d 1742, aged 4 years & 8 days.

Nathaniel Bancroft, died Feb. 20th 1750, aged 3 days.

Hannah Bancroft, died Sept^{br} 11th 1752, aged 11 days.

Nathaniel Bancroft, y^e 2^d died Feb. 10th, 1754, aged 13 days, y^e children of Mr. Nathaniel & Mrs. Mary Bancroft.

In memory of Lieut. James Bancroft, who died Aug. 22, 1814, Æt. 82 years.

Esther Smith, his wife died March 25, 1814, Æt. 87 years.

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.

Sacred to the memory of Deacon Nathaniel Bancroft.
Obt. June 26, 1810, *Æt.* 85.

He served his generation by the will of God, "fell on sleep," and was laid unto his fathers.

Blessed are they that do his commandments.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Mary Bancroft, Relict
of Deacon Nathaniel Bancroft, Obt. Oct. 5, 1815, *Æt.* 90.

Because he hath set his love upon me, With long life will I satisfy
him, And show him my salvation.

"Jesus wept." This monument is erected to perpetuate
the memory of a valuable friend and brother, Thomas Ban-
croft, Esq., M. A., son of Deacon Nathaniel Bancroft,
Obt. at Canton, Nov. 16, 1807, *Æt.* 42.

Jesus saith unto her, thy brother shall rise again.

In memory of Mr. James Brown, who died Jan. 5, 1815,
Æt. 72.

Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.

In memory of Mrs. Lydia Brown, wife of Mr. James
Brown, who died Oct. 2, 1786, *Æt.* 38.

Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness.

In memory of Mrs. Susanna Brown, 2^d wife of Mr. James
Brown, who died Nov. 8th, 1802, *Æt.* 53.

One thing is needful.

In memory of Miss Nancy Brown, daughter of Mr. Sam-
uel & Mrs. Elizabeth Brown of Boston, who died Feb.
7th, 1801, aged 14 years and 6 months.

Farewell, bright soul, a short farewell,
Till we shall meet again above.

In memory of Capt. John Danforth, Obt. Aug. 16, 1796,
Æt. 40.

In memory of Mrs. Hannah Danforth, relict of Capt. John Bancroft and daughter of Deacon Nathaniel Bancroft, who died April 12, 1806, *Æt.* 51.

The dust shall return to the earth as it was, And the spirit shall return unto God who gave it.

In memory of Miss Elizabeth Dodge, who died May 9, 1821, *Æt.* 53.

Here in the silent grave I lie,
No more the scenes of life to try,
And you dear friends I leave behind,
Must soon this gloomy mansion find.

Here lyes the body of Mr. Joseph Eaton, who departed this life June 3^d, 1746, in the 64th year of his age.

Here lyes y^e body of M^{rs} Elizabeth Eaton, wife of M^r Joseph Eaton; who departed this life March y^e 18, 1771, in y^e 63^d year of her age.

Pearson Eaton, son of Mr. Joseph & M^{rs} Elizabeth Eaton, died Feb^{ry} 19, 1754, aged 1 year & 8 months.

Sarah Eaton, dau^{tr} of M^r Joseph & M^{rs} Elizabeth Eaton, died March 2^d 1743, aged 1 month & 2 days.

Sarah Eaton, dau^{tr} of M^r Joseph & M^{rs} Elizabeth Eaton died, November 5th, 1745, aged 2 months.

Joseph Eaton, son of M^r Joseph & M^{rs} Elizabeth Eaton, died July 16th, 1749, aged 6 weeks & 2 days.

Here lyes y^e body of M^{rs} Sarah Gowing, wife to Lieut. Thomas Gowing, who departed March y^e 4th, 1764, in ye 65th year of her age.

In memory of Mr. John Hawks, who died May 3, 1811,
Æt. 57.

Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord ; They rest from their labors
and their works do follow them.

In memory of Mrs. Rachel Hawks, wife of Mr. John
Hawks, who died April 1, 1814, in the 56 year of her age.

Great God, I own thy sentence just,
And nature must decay ;
I yield my body to the dust,
To dwell with fellow clay,
Yet faith may triumph o'er the grave,
— And trample on the tombs —
My Jesus, my Redeemer lives,
My God, my Saviour comes.

In memory of Miss Pamela Hawks, daughter of Mr.
John and Mrs. Rachel Hawks, who departed this life Oc-
tober 2^d, 1794, in the 14th year of her age.

Oh ! death, thou hast conquered me,
I by thy dart am slain,
But Christ has conquered thee
And I shall rise again.

In memory of Miss Sally Hawks, who died Sept. 4,
1811, in the 24th year of her age.

The rising morning can't assume,
That we shall end the day ;
For death stands ready at the door,
To snatch our lives away.

In memory of John Hawks, who died March 31, 1845,
Æt. 67.

In memory of Mrs. Sally Hawks, wife of Mr. John
Hawks, who died Sept. 20, 1811, Æt. 27.

Farewell my friends, I bid adieu
The silent tomb still waits for you.

In memory of Miss Narcissa Hawks, who died Sept. 1, 1818, in the 25th year of her age.

Sleep on sweet maid, thy griefs are past,
Grim death hath sever'd us at last;
And what thou art I soon must be,
Dwell in the dust below with thee.
Short was thy passage to th' eternal dome,
Etherial mansions claim'd thee as their own,
Now join'd with numerous train of spirits blest,
Thy sleep is sweet in everlasting rest.

Lois, wife of John Hawkes, died Jan. 10, 1865. Æt. 79 years, 9 months.

John A., son of John & Lois Hawkes, died March 20, 1864. Æt. 45 years, 5 months.

Emily Orne Hall. (No date.)

The memory of the just is blessed.

Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Joseph Mottey, pastor of the church of Christ in Lynnfield, who died July 9th, 1821 in the 66th year of his age, and the 38th of his ministry. He was distinguished by a powerful mind, and was a learned, faithful and exemplary minister.

A resurrection solves the knot.

This humble stone to perpetuate the memory of an amiable woman, who in giving life sacrificed her own. Mrs. Elizabeth Mottey consort of the Rev. Joseph Mottey, died on the 27 of Aug. Anno Dom. 17—. Æt. 32.

In memory of Charles Mottey, Ob. Aug. 16, 1797. Æt. 15.

To the memory of Elias, 2d son of the Rev. Joseph Mottey, who died Oct. 10, 1785, aged 18 months.

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Charles E. Mottey, son of Rev. Joseph Mottey, who died at Salem July 19, 1804, on the morning after his arrival from a voyage to India, after an absence of 12 months, employed as clerk to the Captain of the ship Henry, *Æt.* 18.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Betsey Cox, wife of Mr. Matthew Cox and daughter of Rev. Joseph Mottey, who died March 29, 1807, *Æt.* 20.

In memory of Miss Hannah Mottey, aged 76. On whom the drama of life closed the 18 of November, 1835.

In memory of Sarah F. daughter of Daniel Needham, who died Oct. 10, 1802. *Æt.* 12 years.

Here lyes buried y^e body of Mr. Thomas Newhall, who departed this life Nov^{br} 30th 1738, in y^e 58th year of his age.

Sacred to the memory of Mr. John Orne, whose remains are here deposited, who departed this life Feb. the 11th 1735, aged 55 years.

Insidious grave how dost thou rend in sunder
Whom love has knit and sympathy made one.

Sacred to the memory of John Orne, Esq., who quitted this scene of mortality Dec. 1, 1812. *Æt.* 36.

Reader if love of worth thy bosom warm,
If virtue please thee or if friendship charm,
Upon this marble drop a tender tear,
Worth, virtue, friendship, all are buried here.
"Verily there is a reward for the righteous."

In memory of Mrs. Pamela Orne, consort of John Orne, who died Oct. 10, 1810. *Æt.* 34.

To perpetuate her memory we celebrate the social, moral & christian virtues.

To the memory of Mrs. Bridget Orne, widow of Mr. John Orne, who died Oct. 27, 1826. Æt. 83.

When Christ, who is our life, shall appear,
Then shall ye also appear with him in glory.

In memory of John, son of Mr. John Orne, who died Jan. 22, 1811, aged 1 year, 7 months.

In memory of Eliza Ford, daughter of John Orne, who died Nov. 24, 1810, aged 2 months.

Hubbard Emerson. Æt. 4 weeks.

Helen Emerson. Æt. 8 months.

Here lyes buried the body of John Perkins, Physician, who departed this life Jan. 23^d 1781, in y^e 84th year of his age.

In memory of Deacon John Perkins, who died Sept. 4, 1823, Æt. 83.

In memory of Eunis, widow of Deacon John Perkins, who died Aug. 16, 1827, Æt. 84.

Sacred to the memory of William Perkins, son of Mr. John and Mrs. Eunice Perkins, who died Oct. 23, 1794, in the 15th year of his age.

In memory of Miss Anna Perkins, who died Aug. 10th 1792, Aged 21 years.

This stone erected in memory of Henry Perkins. Obt. July 1, 1796. Æt. 11.

Beneath this stone is deposited the remains of Mrs. Abigail Perkins. Obt. Aug. 9, 1803, Æt. 21.

In memory of Benjamin Perkins, A. B., who died on the 17th of Nov. 1809, aged 20.

Could genius, science and virtue ensure length of days this stone would not have been thus early marked.

Here lyes buried y^e body of Dea^{con} John Pearson, who died June 21st Anno Domⁱ 1728, aged 78 years.

Here lyes interr'd the body of Captain Timothy Poole, Esq., Dea^{con} of y^e 2^d Church in Lynn, who departed this life Feb^{ry} 28th Anno Domⁿⁱ 1753, Æt. 50.

Blessed are y^e dead which die in y^e Lord. Yea, saith y^e spirit that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them. Rev. 14, 13.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Poole, Relict of Timothy Poole Esq^r, who died May 31, A.D. 1796, in the 90 year of her age.

Timothy Poole, son of Cap^t Timothy and M^{rs} Elizabeth Poole, died Sept. 10th, 1736, aged 3 years, 2 months & 4 days.

In memory of Amos Smith, who died March 9, 1798, aged 73. This stone is erected by his daughter, Nabby Parsons.

Here lyes buried y^e body of y^e Revnd M^r Nathaniel Sparhawk, who departed this life May 7th Anno Domⁱ 1732, in y^e 38th year of his age.

Here lyes the body of M^{rs} Elizabeth Sparhawk, Relict to y^e Revnd M^r Nathaniel Sparhawk, who departed this life May y^e 12th 1768, in the 68th year of her age.

112th Psalm, 6 verse Ye Righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, son of y^e Rev^d Mr Nathaniel Sparhawk & M^{rs} Elizabeth his wife, died Decem^{ber} 11, 1728 in y^e 4th year of his age.

In memory of Mr. Ebenezer Swinerton, who died Nov. 12, 1795, aged 66 years.

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Daniel Townsend, who was slain at the Battle of Lexington, April 19th 1775, aged 36.

Lie, valiant Townsend, in the peaceful shades; we trust,
Immortal honors mingle with thy dust.
What though thy body struggled in its gore?
So did thy Saviour's body, long before;
And as he raised his own, by power divine,
So the same power shall also quicken thine,
And in eternal glory mayst thou shine.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Zeruah Townsend, relic of Mr. Daniel Townsend, who died Oct^r, 19th 1775, aged 31 years.

Death has my life now swept away,
To follow my companion dear;
But Christ can bear my soul away,
And land it on the heavenly shore.

Here lyes buried y^e body of Mr John Upton, who departed this life March 27th 1743, aged 60 years and 16 d^s.

John Upton, died April 30, 1838, aged 92 years.

Sally, wife of John Upton, deposited on the right, died March 26, 1799, aged 51 years.

Hannah, wife of John Upton, deposited on the left, died Sept. 17, 1837, aged 89 years.

PAY ROLL OF CAP^T JN^O DODGE'S COMPANY OF GUARDS :
FOUND AMONG THE PAPERS OF ENOS GALLOP, 1834.

Muster Roll for Pay Due to the Non-commission^d Officers
& Soldiers in Cap^t Jn^o Dodges Company Col^o Jacob Ger-
rishes Reg^t of Guards from the State of Massachusetts
Bay at y^e Rate of 40 S per month from the first day of
April, 1778 until July as may appear by my Muster Roll.

No.	NAMES.	TIME OF SERVICE.		WHOLE PAY.	
		Months	Days	£	s d
1	David Perkins	3	3	6	4
2	Joseph York	3	2	6	2 8
3	Jona ^{thn} moulton	3	3	6	4
4	Sam ^l Low	2	27	5	16
5	Andrew Millet	3	2	6	2 8
6	Obediah More	3	2	6	2 8
7	Daniel Gould	2	26	5	14 8
8	Amos Capman	2	26	5	14 8
9	W ^m Farley	3	1	6	1 4
10	Moses hodgkins	3	1	6	1 4
11	W ^m Tarr	3	4	6	5 4
12	Francees Morgan	3	4	6	5 4
13	Daniel Row	3	4	6	5 4
14	Stephen Row	3	4	6	5 4
15	Jerem ^h Persons	3	4	6	5 4
16	W ^m Steel	3	4	6	5 4
17	Jacob Lurvey	3	4	6	5 4
18	Daniel Tucker	3	4	6	5 4
19	Caleb Harradean	3	4	6	5 4
20	Benj ^a Witham	3	4	6	5 4
21	Benj ^a Foster	3	4	6	5 4
22	Joseph Stephens	3	4	6	5 4
23	Benj ^m Smith	3	4	6	5 4
24	Charles Linton	3	4	6	5 4
25	Moses Foster	3	4	6	5 4
				£154	4 0

No.	NAMES.	TIME OF SERVICE.		WHOLE PAY.		
		Months	Days	£	s	d
26	Bemsly Perkins	3	4	6	5	4
27	John Robinson	3	4	6	5	4
28	Joshua Poland	3	4	6	5	4
29	Moses May	3	3	6	4	
30	Seward Dow	3	3	6	4	
31	Dudley Wildes	3	3	6	4	
32	Moses Perkins	3	3	6	4	
33	Robert Perkins	3	3	6	4	
34	Sam ^l Hood	3	3	6	4	
35	John Carpenter	3	3	6	4	
36	Thom ^s Perkins	3	3	6	4	
37	Solom ⁿ Coleman	3	3	6	4	
38	Nath ^l Grant	3	3	6	4	
39	Jesse Dodge	3	3	6	4	
40	Thom ^s Tewksbury	3	3	6	4	
41	John Lakeman	3	3	6	4	
42	John Peabody	3	3	6	4	
43	Sam ^l Day	3	3	6	4	
44	Will ^m Hodgkins	3	3	6	4	
45	Amos Gallop	3	3	6	4	
46	Eanos Gallop	3	3	6	4	
47	Thom ^s Knowlton	3	3	6	4	
48	Michal holland	3	3	6	4	
49	Simeon Baker	3	3	6	4	
50	Winthr ^p Serjeant	3	2	6	2	8
				£155		
				2 8		

COMPANY OF GUARDS.

159

No.	NAMES.	TIME OF SERVICE.		WHOLE PAY.		
		Months	Days	£	s	d
51	Edmond Pool	3	2	6	2	8
52	Francies Dodge	3	2	6	2	8
53	John freeman	3	2	6	1	4
54	Ephraim Brown	3	1	6	1	4
55	Will ^m Dodge	3	1	6	1	4
56	John knowlton	3	1	6	1	4
57	Amos Dwinel	2	29	5	18	8
58	Moses Andress	2	29	5	18	8
59	Thom ^s Dodge	2	28	5	17	4
60	Natha ^l Lane	2	28	5	17	4
61	Egnatiaus harraden	2	28	5	17	4
62	Isaac Row	2	28	5	17	4
63	Henry Tarr	2	28	5	17	4
64	Thom ^s Burnham	2	27	5	16	
65	Enoch Burnham	2	27	5	16	
66	Jonathan Burnham	2	27	5	16	
67	John Burnham	2	27	5	16	
68	Asa Low	2	27	5	16	
69	John Cogswell	2	27	5	16	
70	John Davis	2	27	5	16	
71	Thom ^s Foster	2	27	5	16	
72	Elisha Gould	2	26	5	14	8
73	Aaron Conant	2	20	5		
74	John Dodge	3	2	6	2	8
Foot brought forward				£141	0	0
				155	2	8
				154	4	0
				£450	6	8
				Total		

SALEM MILITARY COMPANY.

NAMES OF THE VOLLUNTEER ARTILLERY CORPS.

OFFICERS.

Capt	JOSEPH ROPES	2 ^d Lt	J. M. FAIRFIELD
1 st Lt.	EDW ^D STANLEY	3 Lt	J. SHEPARD, JR
Joseph Noble	Jon ^a Andrew	Wm. Johnson	
Tim ^o Wellman	Israel Ward	Jesse Smith 3 ^d	
Jesse Smith	Tim ^o Greenleaf	Andrew Dunlap	
Nath ^l Garland	Wm. Dawson	Sam ^l Phippen	
Curtis Searl	James Ford	Joseph Vincent j ^r	
Wm. Silver	W ^m Foster	Will ^m Hathorne j ^r	
John Reith	W ^m Webb	Jacob Agge	
Rich ^d Smith	Benj ^a Upton	Clifford C. Byrne	
Edw ^d Smith	Henry Tibbets	Jos ^h Gilman	
Wm. Sumner	Gam. H. Ward	Joshua Webb	
Frederick Coombs	Dan ^l Sage	Joseph E. Sprague	
John Foster	Eben ^r Slocom	Matthew Vincent	
Joseph Jaques	George Hodges Jn ^r	Sam ^l Cates	
George Williams	Sam ^l Herron	John Hovey	
Jeathro Pearsons	Francis Lemot	Ellis Mansfield	
Rob ^t Upton	Phillip Manning	W ^m Luscomb	
Elip ^h Davis	Allex ^r Donaldson	Joseph Jaynes	
David Cummings	Jon ^a Brown Jn ^r	Asa Flanders	
Jon ^a Shillaber	Abner Kneeland	Peter Farnham	
Jon ^a Gardner Jn ^r	Sam ^l Kehow	Benj Guptil	
John Edwards	Charles Treadwell	Ja ^l Wittle	
Geo : Rice	Tho ^s Trask	Ja ^a Trask	
James Hanscom	James Brown Jn ^r	John Green	
John Frinks	John C. Burke	Moses Smith	
Joseph Perkins	John Ropes Jn ^r	Neh ^h Hutchinson	
Eben ^r Hathorne	Charles F. Wilson	John Mount	
Tho ^s Bowditch	Joseph J. Knap	Stephen Field	
Jeduthan Upton	Charles Busk	Nathan Frye Jr	
John Upton	Henry Prince Jn ^r	W ^m Bentley	
William Allen	Robert Peele Jn ^r	Jn ^o Howard	

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XXIV. JULY, AUG., SEPT., 1887. Nos. 7, 8, 9.

GLEANINGS RELATIVE TO THE FAMILY OF ADAM HAWKES,
ONE OF THE EARLY SETTLERS OF THE THIRD
PLANTATION OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

CONTRIBUTED BY
NATHAN M. HAWKES.

Adam Hawkes, the founder of the numerous and respectable family that bears the name throughout the country, was one of the advance guard of hard-headed Englishmen who, for liberty of conscience—not loving England less but freedom more—took wife and children and household gods, braved the perils of trackless seas, dared the wiles of a savage race in an unknown world, and sowed the seed that has grown the highest civilization the earth has yet known.

He was one of the seventeen hundred Puritans who sailed with Winthrop from Southampton and landed at Salem in June, 1630.

He received large grants in the division of the common land and during his busy life acquired other tracts as appear by the antique and curious inventory and division of his estate which we give from the original records.

Articles of Agreement by which the original estate was divided in 1672.

Division of the Estate of Adam Hawkes, late of Lynn, deceased, made 27th March, 1672.

Artickles of agreement, as touching the estate of Adam Hawks, of Lyn, late deceased, as followeth : John Hawks, of Lyn, is agreed (with the consent of this Honored Court, to administer upon the said estate, and John Hawks is to paye unto the severall persons concerned, as are hereafter named (viz.) to give unto his mother, Mrs. Sarah Hawks, a parcell of upland containeing nine skoare acres more or lesse lying in Lyn bounds, not joineing to the fearms, and eight acres of meadow lying in the great medow so called, and one third part of all the moveable things contained in the Inventory, all which is unto the aforesaid Sarah and her heirs for ever.

2. John Hawks is to paye unto Sarah Hawks, daughter unto the said widow, fower skoare and ten pounds, (viz) to pay unto the said Sarah, or her mother, five pounds the next twenty day of June, and from which time at the end of every tow years five pounds, till forty pounds is payd ; and the other forty pounds is to be payd unto the said Sarah at eighteen years of age, or at her marig daye, and if the said Sarah should dye before either time, that then the said some or somes as aforesaid is to be payed unto Sarah Hawks, widow or her asignes, all to be payed in corne or cattell valued, if the tow partys agree not at his now dwelling house

3. John Hawks is to deliver and sett out unto Moses Hawks, his sonn, which he had by rebeckah Hawks, daughter of Mr. Moses Mavericke and his heirs for ever one haulf part of that fearme which the said Hawks lived and died upon, boath upland and medow and houseing be-

ing in Lyn, only for the houseing the said Hawks is to paye the value thereof if he please, all of which is to be don when the aforesaid Moses coms to twenty and one years of age and if it please god the said Moses dye before the age of one and twenty years, the said estate is to goe unto his father John Hawks, and his children forever, this aforesaid guift is the legacy of Mr. Adam Hawks to his grandchild Moses Hawks.

4. John Hawkes is to paye unto Mr. William Cogswell for the use of his wife the some of fower skoare and ten pounds that is as followeth, to pay ten pounds the twenty fift of march next, and so from year to yeare, every twenty fift of march till the aforesaid some be payed, all which is to be payed in corne cattell or goods at the now dwelling house of John Hawks.

5. John Hawks is to pay unto ffrances Huchisson twenty pounds to be payd in corne cattell or goods at price currant at the now dwelling house of John Hawks, the one haulf part to be payed the twenty ninth day of September next, and the other haulf part the same day twelf month after.

6. John Hawks is to pay unto Samwell Huchisson five pounds to be payed in a twelf months time in corn or cattell, at the now dwelling house of John Hawks.

7. John Hawks is to Thomas Huchisson five pounds in corne or cattell in a twelf months time at the now dwelling house of John Hawks.

8. John Hawks is to paye unto Edward Huchisson five pounds in corne or cattell — at the now dwelling house of John Hawks in a twelf months time.

9. John Hawks is to paye unto Elizabeth Hart five pounds in corne or cattell within a twelf months time at the now dwelling house of John Hawks

Lastly all the rest of the estate of Adam Hawks deceased, contained in the said Inventory, boarth of houseing,

lands, and other goods, not in this writeing given awaye
is hereby confeirmed unto the aforesaid John Hawks and
his heirs for ever as witness all or hands this 27 : March :
1672

Sarah x Hawks

ffrancis Hutchinson

her mark

Moses Mavericke

John hawkes

William Cogswell

This aproved, alowed, and confirmed by the cowrt to
all the ptyes in court att Ipswich the 27 of March 1672

Robert Lord, Cler :

*A true Inventory of the estat of Mr. Adam Hawks de-
ceased taken this 18 of March 1671-72.*

Imprimis in wearing Aparill	5	17	0
In a bedsteed and ffether bed and flock bed 2 fether pillows an on blanket and sheetts and curtins and vallance and ane Imbroad- ered couerlid	14	0	0
An other bedsteed and beding belonging to it	7	10	0
trundell bed and beding belonging to it	2	10	0
other bed and bedsteed	3	0	0
bras and pewter	3	14	0
Iron potts and kettells one pare of Andirons pare of trammell stow par of pott hoxs one cast backe on friing pan one *are of Stilliards one spitt	5	7	0
*tow Croscut Saws one Sith and *ne sikell thre Axces to par of hoks And one Axtre pin on sledge and ould Iron	1	11	0
And to tow muskits And tow small ffowling p.cs tow rest heads	3	15	0
To thre swords one wach bill on ould belt And one pistell and one Drum	2	13	0
To one Table and six Joyn Stools	2	2	0

To one cubbard one Joynd Chear one Chest	2	8	0
Table cloth and napkins and tow snapsaks	1	7	0
Into a bible and other books	1	0	0
one press tow small tables tow chairs . .	2	8	0
In a pare of banddilar in milk wessels and sids	0	14	0
A peas of black cloth	1	6	0
cart wheells plow and yoke chayns levis and pin beatell and tow weges *nd one forke and part of a cart Roop	5	18	0
*nd to fowr Oxcen	21	0	0
Seven Cows with tow sucking calfs . .	24	10	0
one tow yerling and tow yerlings . .	4	5	0
*ow horses and tow mares	17	0	0
Sixten Swyn one with another	9	0	0
Sadell and pillion at	0	15	0
loking glas and baskett	0	7	0
*n Tobakow and ould Cake	0	18	0
The Dwelling Hows and barne	120	0	0
bout nyn Hundred of boards and thre stoks of bees	2	16	0
five hundred and ffiuty Akers of land and medow by estimation being more or less whe vallue at	550	0	0
*nd fowr Akers of oupland more . . .	2	0	0
Credditt to the Esstatt	1	15	0
Debts from the estatt	46	14	0
	817	11	0

This inventory was taken by us whose nam
are under written the day and year above
wrighten.

witness our

hands

Thomas Newhall, Jeremiah Sweyen.

The doings of the early comers and of their successors
are not matters of tradition but of history and record, so

clear that we can read their lives as if they were contemporaries.

Of this first Adam Hawkes for instance, we know the little knoll where he built his house; we know of the burning of that house; of the flight through the snow with his wife and infant children. We know when his second house was erected. This house sheltered some of his kindred for more than two hundred years.

In 1872 the old house was taken down and on one of the bricks of the chimney was found the date 1601, evidently written in the soft clay with the finger when the brick was made in England. These bricks which were in the first house were relaid in the fourth chimney upon the same farm by Richard Hawkes of the sixth generation from the original owner. It is a matter of history that some of the ships of Winthrop's fleet were ballasted with brick and it has always been known in this family that the bricks in the first chimney came from England.

The farm is on the Saugus River, and the bricks must have been carried up that stream in boats as there was no road.

Another relic of the original chimney which has ornamented its successors, but which is now guarded as an heirloom, is an iron fireback of about two feet square and weighing about one hundred pounds, on which is moulded what has been supposed to be the British arms but which has since been concluded to be some coat of arms, perhaps that of the Hawkes family.

The "supporters," though not distinct, seem to be similar to those in the British arms, but instead of the crown this is surmounted by what appears to be the vizors and bars of a helmet and lion.

This casting was evidently made to lay in masonry as the edge is depressed and rough.

The fashion of ornamenting the chimney back above the

fire with the family arms or something national was common in early colonial times, probably borrowed from "home."

The writer of this was walking in the dense woods, upon the border of the great Lynn Forest when one of those ugly yet substantial stone walls, that are so common in New England, was reached. At an angle of the wall he looked to the north and to the west and the lines of rude masonry were unbroken.

He asked of his guide, who is more familiar with the lore of the family and of the country round about than any other person, by whom and when it was built. "By John, the son of the first settler, in 1688."

Unseen, save by the too few lovers of nature, that old wall still guarding his children's heritage is a better monument to the pluck, energy and thrift of the founders of America than any flattering eulogy in the church-yard. Two hundred years it has withstood the rigors of the climate and looks as if it might stand forever.

Far happier was the lot of these sturdy pioneers than that of their brethren in the mother country who had just passed through the horrors of the civil wars and in that very year banished the last of the Stuarts from the throne. Truly there are sermons in stones.

The descendants of this John Hawkes can trace their ancestry to the immortal compact signed in the cabin of the Mayflower. The wife of John was Rebecca, daughter of Moses Maverick, the founder and for many years the only magistrate of Marblehead. The wife of Moses Maverick was the daughter of Isaac Allerton, who was one of the Mayflower passengers and was Lieutenant Governor of Plymouth Colony, and for a long time the agent of the colony.

Isaac Allerton and Moses Maverick were conspicuous

figures in the early days and their blood mingled with that of the successors of Thomas Hawkes, who was burned at the stake, in the reign of "Bloody Queen Mary," for his faithfulness to his religious principles, and made a race fit to struggle for a new world.

On the 28th and 29th days of July, A. D., 1880, there took place a reunion of the family which is described as follows in the Lynn Reporter of July 30 :

HAWKES FAMILY REUNION.

THE GATHERING OF THE CLANS AT NORTH SAUGUS.

All parts of the country represented—The Literary Exercises—Hon. N. M. HAWKES' Address.

Wednesday was the first day of the reunion of the Hawkes family at the ancestral homestead at Saugus, and about three hundred people were present by afternoon. The homestead has been in possession of the Hawkes family, without intermission, for two hundred and fifty years and it is now occupied by Louis P. Hawkes. The situation is a charming one, about a mile and a half out on the Lynnfield road from Saugus Centre. Instead of the rude cabin in which Adam Hawkes lived in 1630, is now a spacious two and a half story dwelling, with barn and other buildings near at hand.

The porch of the dwelling is festooned with the American and the English flags. Croquet, swings and other forms of amusement for the younger people in the front lawn were taken advantage of yesterday by a good number. In a field to the south of the house is a large dining tent, which is under the control of caterer Palfray of Lynn. This place accommodates the visitors to three meals a day. To the westward of the house and upon a small hill are one large and several smaller tents, for sleeping accommo-

dations. At the entrance to this field is an arch, on which is inscribed : "1630—Hawkes Reunion— 1880."

The scene about the homestead Wednesday was an exceedingly pleasant one. There were reunions of those who had not met for years, and meetings of those who had never met before. The reception room was an interesting place for one to be, as he or she could note the arrivals from near and from far. Some parties would say, "We are from Ohio," from "Vermont," from "New York" from "Florida," or from some other state, city or town. Some would, of course, be recognized by their immediate relatives, while others would introduce themselves, and all would at once receive the heartiest of hearty greetings. All the New England states were represented, also New York, California, Florida, New Jersey, Illinois and Ohio.

There were no formal exercises on Wednesday, but the exercises on Thursday were carried out as follows : 9.30 A.M., called to order by Samuel Hawkes ; singing ; prayer ; at 10.30, address of welcome by Samuel Hawkes ; introductory address by Hon. N. M. Hawkes of Lynn, master of ceremonies ; genealogical address by Frederick Hawkes of Greenfield ; address on "The Character of our Ancestors," by Rev. W. S. Hawkes of South Hadley ; "The Hawkes' Military Record," by General George P. Hawkes of Templeton ; poem by Mary Hawkes. Dinner followed, after which Mrs. Nellie F. Lewis of Boston read a poem written by Miss Ella G. Hawkes, and two poems on "Our Family Jubilee" and "From Old England," by Sarah P. Hawkes, were also read. The literary exercises were highly interesting and creditable. At the conclusion of the exercises the reunion ended, most of the visitors starting at once for home.

As the matter abstracted deals with the early family, we

venture to take extracts from the address delivered by N. M. Hawkes.

"Two hundred and fifty years is a brief period when compared with eternity ; but it affords time for eight or nine generations of man to come and go, each more than half unheeding the reproduction in itself of the qualities, traits, figures, peculiarities of its predecessor.

I count it a happy augury that the name of the Christian's father of all men was the Christian name of the first of our own tribe, who dared the perils of an unknown ocean and a wild, new continent. Did we know nothing of the history of the founders of the Puritan commonwealth in Massachusetts Bay, their records would furnish data sufficient to construct an accurate theory of their motives in coming here, and to reproduce their very lives.

Adam Hawkes, one of the original settlers of Saugus, afterwards called Lynn, built his humble dwelling upon the spot where we stand, in the summer of 1630. There was nothing of riches, pomp or power attending his coming, neither is there in the gathering together of his descendants upon this, to us, cherished day and spot.

We seek not to trace our lineage to some battered and tarnished armorial escutcheon. It is enough for us to know that Adam Hawkes must have been a good man to have been a man of consequence in that band of God-fearing, brave, hardy, intelligent men, who dared all for freedom of conscience.

Our puritan ancestors sent no pioneers to spy out the country. They boldly embarked with their wives and little ones, with their household gods. They burned their bridges behind them. They knew no such words as fail or retreat. Composed mostly of well-to-do yeomanry, with advanced ideas of religious freedom, with the sancti-

fying ties of family, they founded a colony which grew, of necessity, into the most favored spot upon the earth for man's development.

It is easy for us to judge with what intense tenacity these men clung to cherished institutions and habits, what a struggle it must have cost them to uproot, expatriate themselves, when we realize that for nine generations not the Hawkes family alone, but scores of others in Lynn and throughout the whole settlement, have claimed to own the soil that their ancestors first redeemed from the wilderness. We worship no dead past, but we respect our sturdy ancestors, and we point to this clinging to, this steadfast holding of possession, as an evidence that there was in the blood something that was worthy of perpetuation.

Of course, when the hive is full the bees swarm. So, many have gone forth throughout the length and breadth of the land to follow various callings in life. All look back with pleasant longings to the old home; a home indeed, though never seen. Many a pilgrimage has been made to this spot by busy men who snatched the opportunity from the too few leisure moments of life's turmoil.

If, in these hasty and crude thoughts, I seem to skip from point to point without apparent heed of what was a steady progress, it is because the lives of our forefathers fill my imagination. Fresh scenes, dramatic they were, far beyond our peaceful lives. I see those eleven vessels sailing out of Southampton harbor on that early spring day in 1630, freighted with seventeen hundred Puritans. The prayers of those left behind went up for their safe arrival. Early in June they reached our shores. Bear in mind what such a passage meant then: no luxurious, swift, palace ocean steamers, no charts; only the rudest compasses, scarcely anything better than the sun by day and

the moon by night to guide their path across the trackless waste ; huddled together in inconvenient little crafts in which to-day the poorest traveller would not sail upon the smoothest sea.

Think for a moment of the privations they must have experienced in their voyage of from six to eight weeks. None looked back ; all were animated by a sublime faith in the rectitude of their purpose. It was a grander exodus, than that of the Israelites under Moses. The Israelites went out from a strange land, from under the bondage of the body, to a land dear to them as the home of their fathers, from which they had been forcibly torn. The Israelites believed that they followed the immediate direction of an ever-present God who had made them His chosen people. The Puritans believed that all tongues and people might become children of grace ; that God was kind, and a father to all. They went out from the richest territory in the world ; they went out from comfortable, substantial homes — free in all except the liberty to worship God according to their convictions ; they gave up all and went into the wilderness for this liberty. Better far the lot of the Puritans, who foreseeing, perhaps the coming storm, elected to combat nature, with all the mysterious unknown, than that of those who remained in the mother country and engaged in the fratricidal strife and deluged England in the blood of its best and noblest citizens. Cromwell and the Commonwealth indeed rendered England illustrious, but after a few brief years the inevitable reaction came in the persons of Monk and Charles Stuart, and the yoke of Church and kingcraft again bore heavily upon old England.

Though the colonies were nominally subject to the rule of the parent country, yet three thousand miles of watery barrier gave practical freedom which culminated in entire

freedom when the odious hand of despotism sought to assert its power in 1775.

The Revolution was not a contest between brethren. That was a struggle between the governing classes of England, backed by a hireling and foreign soldiery, and an English-speaking people grown broader and freer by an hundred and fifty years' life in the New World.

The records of these men show that, in turning their backs upon the brewing storm at home, they were actuated by no mean motives; for their lives reveal marvels of strength, endurance and heroism on every field of effort that tests the mettle of human nature.

The world moves on with its tireless, uneasy activity, and should a stranger to our name chance to cast an idle eye upon our proceedings, he would be very apt to inquire What good can come of all this talk about the family of an obscure immigrant, of so long a time ago? We come together to compare notes, to exchange kindly greetings, to hold a good old-fashioned thanksgiving party, to see how we may avoid the errors of the past. In doing all these things it is but natural for us to look back to the patriarch from whom we all sprang, to seek to know what manner of man he was, to learn why his seed has been multiplied and has enjoyed a respectable position in the community. Hence, as biographies in all time have been fascinating to those who study men and events, we turn, after a moment spent upon the general, to the particular, cause of our being gathered here to-day.

Adam Hawkes pushed as far away from the seacoast as any of the original settlers. This fair valley caught his calculating farmer's eye. Its rich soil reminded him of his English home. He wisely built his house upon a little knoll that gave him a fair prospect over his broad acres. The spots about the farm bear to-day old English names,

that, with the land, have been transmitted from father to son. The 'Close' and the 'Close Hill' were transplanted from Old England to New England. They will remain long after the bricks and iron fireback, wrought with the Lion and the Unicorn, which he brought with him shall have perished. That word 'Close' is classic English, made so by the masters of the language. Macaulay says: 'Closes surrounded by the venerable abodes of deans and canons.'

And Shakespeare says: "I have a tree which grows here in my close, that mine own use invites me to cut down." These little things show the attachment of the first settlers to the old country, and they show how well the good old ways have worn.

The records of Lynn state that Adam Hawkes received large grants of land, and the court records indicate that, knowing his rights, he dared to maintain them; for we find him from year to year, stoutly contending with the proprietors of the iron works, who had dammed up the winding Saugus river, and forced the water back upon his fertile meadows. He could not have been a timid, weak man to have thus, year after year, contested with this strong combination of capital. However much you may dislike the law, this trait of your ancestor in defending his rights proves that he was gritty and plucky. Such qualities are needed by pioneers, and required by men who would leave their impress upon their own times, and upon posterity.

The will of Adam reveals another old English trait. He left one son, John. John had some brothers and sisters of the half blood, that is, children of his mother, but not of his father. Adam provided for these children who had no legal claim upon him; and then, for no other reason that I can conceive save the desire to prevent John in

his generosity from still further endowing these strangers to the name, and to ensure the land to the family for another generation, he gave one-half of all his houses and land to his eldest grandchild, Moses, the son of John, with the residue to John. The purpose to maintain, in some sense, the English law of primogeniture, is yet more apparent upon further examination of the genealogy of the family. Moses, the eldest son of John, was the only child of his mother, Rebecca Maverick, who died at his birth in 1659.

John married again, and was blessed with several other sons, who inherited these lands where we are, while the northern portion of the farm continued in the family of Moses. Adam's evident desire was to keep a portion of the land as large as possible to the eldest son.

This is the earliest and latest attempt to keep up the English land tenure in law, although in practice it must always exist when the land to be occupied is of limited extent; so that some of each generation have taken the value of their portion in money or its equivalent, and departed elsewhere to seek their fortunes. The records of the court show that this division of the property was agreed to by all the interested parties. The settlement of property too often tears asunder family relations, and fills the court with litigation; not so with this family, for so far as I can learn the example of Adam, John and Moses in this ancient time of 1671 established a precedent which has found no violators. If we have had any quarrels we have kept them from the dangerous atmosphere of the court room. This reminds me that I may have discovered a reason why, while we have so many ministers and doctors in the family, the lawyers cut so insignificant a figure. It is because we did not need to train our sons in legal lore. Honest yeoman habits were the common possession of each

succeeding generation, and all agreed that equity and justice were better than law so far as family dealings were concerned. I have not found a case where two of this family have been engaged in legal controversy. I cite this as a remarkable fact concerning so large a family covering so long a period, having property to contend about, yet absolutely free from litigation among themselves.

On the other hand, the old Adam set the precedent of going to law with other people when they crowded him, which has been liberally followed by his kin of every degree even unto the present day.

In the course of nature it became the lot of Adam Hawkes to pass over the great river that spares none. That he died in the odor of sanctity is attested by his neighbor, Thos. Newhall, who speaks in his quaint diary as follows :

‘Ask Mr. Whiting his mind on Indjan damnation, and ask him if sinn is sinn whether or no, be it from ignorance or hardnesse. Praise his discourse at Goodman Hawkes, his funerall.’

Samuel Whiting, who preached this funeral sermon, was the noted divine in whose honor Lynn was named. It is safe to assume that in those stern days a man of Mr. Whiting’s learning and eloquence would not have wasted his words upon an unworthy subject. He of whom he spoke was an active, respected parishioner. Other instances of the piety and standing of your ancestors are matters of record.

Church and state with our fathers were so intimately blended that seats in the church were assigned in town meeting. Those who, from worldly position or spiritual leadership, were deemed worthy of special positions were selected by the town ; the remainder of the people (for attendance at church was compulsory) were arranged by a

committee, as will be seen by the following extracts from the town records, 1692, January 8.

The town did vote that Lieut. Fuller, Lieut. Lewis, Mr. John Hawkes, senior, Francis Burrill, Lieut. Burrill, John Burrill, Jr., Mr. Henry Rhodes, Quartermaster Bassett, Mr. Haberfield, Cornet Johnson, Mr. Bailey and Lieut. Blighe, should sit at the table."

'It was voted that Matthew Farrington, senior, Henry Silsbee, and Joseph Mansfield, senior, should sit in the deacon's seat.'

'It was voted that Thomas Farrar, senior, Crispus Brewer, Allen Breed, senior, Clement Coldam, Robert Rand, senior, Jonathan Hudson, Richard Hood, senior, and Sergeant Haven should sit in the pulpit.'

'The town voted that them that are surviving, that was chosen by the town a Committee to erect the meeting house, and Clark Potter to join along with them, should seat the inhabitants of the town in the meeting house, both men and women, and appoint what seats they shall sit in, but it is to be understood that they are not to seat neither the table, nor the deacon's seat, nor the pulpit, but them to sit there as are voted by the town.'

These records illustrate several interesting facts; they show how the old names are still familiar names in Lynn; they tell us of Indian wars by the frequency of military titles; they reveal what the good people of Lynn were about while the neighboring town of Salem was in the midst of the horror of the so called witchcraft excitement; and they show to you, clansmen, the head of the second generation of the Hawkes family sitting with the elders and the dignitaries of the church.

Even in later times, when the Puritan hold upon the people was loosening, we still kept an active place in church affairs. In 1739 the Third or West parish in Lynn

was formed, being that part of Lynn now Saugus, and Moses Hawkes of the fourth generation was one of the 'committee to draw up some proposals for the settlement of a minister amongst us.' John Hawkes and Elkanah Hawkes were also active members at this period. Jonathan Hawkes served as parish clerk from 1749 to 1756. Nathan Hawkes, Thomas Hawkes and the widow Hannah Hawkes were pew owners in 1783. Nathan Hawkes was parish clerk in 1790, an office which his namesake will never attain. Nathan Hawkes was one of a committee to reconcile differences after the death of Parson Roby. During the pastorate of Nathaniel Henchman several persons were 'exempted from paying towards his support, being Quakers.' Among these was Ebenezer Hawkes, and Ebenezer's descendants have remained faithful to the peculiar doctrines of the Friends to this day; another little incident I mention to throw light upon the changes which years bring about in our habits: in 1780 Ebenezer Hawkes, Quaker though he was, was a slave owner.

Lest I should be accused of trenching upon the preserves of the clergy present, I forbear giving any more orthodox reminiscences, as some one might retort by relating modern free-thinking anecdotes.

The story of those early days is an open book to the student who has the leisure to read its fascinating pages. In it, my brethren, you will find nothing of which you may not be proud. Most of us are too busy in the bread and butter struggle of to-day to devote the proper time and attention to its details. We shall do well if we live up to the standard set for our example by those who have gone before. This day is a mile-stone that marks our march of a quarter of a thousand years of American life. Individuals and generations lay down the burdens, the failures and the triumphs of life; others stand ready to go on with the duties that citizenship and family command. Let us

signalize this occasion as a family by new reverence for the memory of our ancestors, and by new resolves to make our name a still better name in the future than in the past. Let us sanctify the present by making it worthy of the past, ever hopeful of the unseen, wonderful future.

Within five miles of the ebb and flow of the Atlantic, whence civilization took its westward course, this sylvan retreat has hitherto escaped the rush and crush of busy mercantile pursuits; the snort of the locomotive is unheard; the primitive solitude is undisturbed save by the peaceful pursuits of agriculture.

The oratories of the Jews were beneath the shadow of olive trees; the ancient Druids of Gaul, Britain, and Germany were accustomed to perform their mystic rites and sacrifices in the recesses of the forest; and our Pilgrim Fathers worshipped God under a like canopy.

We meet to-day under the shade of the walnut. May this spot be spared from the sordid pursuits of business, may this grove be unvexed by the demands of utility for another period of two hundred and fifty years, that our successors may gather here in "Nature's noblest sanctuary," and may our kin in all coming time resort to this Mecca of the Hawkes family in America."

The family name like all the surnames of the colonial days was spelled to suit the taste of the user. There were not so many variations as in most of the familiar names. In England we find it *Hawkes*, which has been generally followed here. Some branches of the family in America call it *Hawks*. This saves a letter but does not make the word any handsomer. *Hawke* may be the same tribe.

No thorough genealogy of this family has yet been arranged. The materials however are ample and as a sample we give the pedigree of a pupil of the Lynn High School who has mainly prepared this article.

1st Gen.	Adam Hawkes, d. 1671.	
2nd Gen.	John, = Rebecca Maverick.	Susannah.
3rd Gen.	Moses, b. 1659; Adam, b. 1664; John—; Thomas, b. 1673; Mary, b. 1675; Ebenezer. = Margaret Cogswell; Moses, d. 1709.	
4th Gen.	Moses, b. 1699; Margaret, b. 1700; Adam, b. 1702; John, b. 1705; Rebecca, b. 1709. = Susannah Townsend.	
5th Gen.	Moses, b. 1730; Mary, b. 1732; Susannah, b. 1736; Abijah, b. 1739; Anna, b. 1742; Nathan, b. 1745; Lois, b. 1747; Daniel, b. 1749; James, b. 1752.	= Sarah Hitchings.
6th Gen.	Hannah, b. 1773; Nathan, b. 1775; Daniel, b. 1779; Susannah, b. 1782; Mary, b. 1784; Moses, b. 1788; Aaron, b. 1791.	= Elizabeth Tarbell.
7th Gen.	Elizabeth Cook, Sarah, Hannah, Nathan D., b. 1811; Susannah. = Tacy P. Hawkes.	
8th Gen.	Nathan M., b. 1843; Henry C.; Albert D.; Tacy P. = Mary Buffum.	
9th Gen.	Alice, b. 1869.	

EARLY RECORDS OF THE CHURCH IN TOPSFIELD.

COMMUNICATED BY JOHN H. GOULD.

At a Lawfull Town meeting y^e 7 May 1680, The Towne Manifested by voat that thay ware not willing Mr Hubbard Should Continare in y^e work of y^e ministry here at Topsfield without Mr Hubbard and y^e Towne can agree in a More Christian way than thay bee in at present. the Towne by vote doe declare that if mr hobard desire a town meeting he may disare with the towne if hee apopint a day the next weeke thay will meet with him if he give notis on Saboth day next 7 May 1680.

"At a lawfull town meeting the forth of May 1681 Ensigne Goold and Sargen John Redington ar chosen to go to mr apes at Salem to see if he will apcapt of a call to the menestre here.

At a lawfull towne meeting the 17 of June 1681 Ensigne Goold and Isack este are chosen to goo to Mester danel apes to se if he will com to help us in Respect of the menistri everi other Saboth or oftener if he can in order to a further axperiance of ech other Voted.

At a Lawfull Town Meeting y^e 29 of July 1681, Thomas Perkins jur and Joseph Bixby Jun^r are chosen to goe to Cambrig to pilot mr Capen to Topsfield to Lieut Pebodys house.

Lieut Pebody Deckon perkins Sargt Redington Jame How Senr mr Tho Baker John Gould Sargt Pebody Samuel Busell Senr John Wilds John How Joche (Joshua?)

Estey Clerke are chosen a Commitey to discourse with mr Capen to Stay and preach here with us at Topsfield a while.

At a lawfull towne meeting the fift of Sapember 1681 Sargen Redington Jacob towne Senr and John how or ani two of them ar chosen to accompeni mr Capen to dorchester when hee goes to viset his frendes and to bring him agane if tha can with his frends Consent to Contene with us in the ministri 20 June 1682 Town granted to Mr Capen twelve acres of upland & medow if he settle amongst us.

At a Lawfull meeting of y^e Selectmen y^e 20 of december 1681, Ensigne John Gould and Isaac Easty Sener are chosen to go to mr Jerymyah Hubbard to demand the key of the parsonidge house. Voted.

mr Capen answer to y^e Church & Towne & neiaghdr of ye viliag & Ipswich. In Answer to y^e motion of y^e Church & Towne of Topsfield and y^e Neighbors of Rowly village & Ipswich Sept 18: An do 1682

Having taken into serious Consideration y^e motion which hath been made by your selves to me in order to y^e work of y^e ministry among you having also to y^e utmost of my understanding & abillity eyed & observed both y^e word & y^e providences of God in order thereunto: and Although I am greatly Sensible of my inabillity and Insufficieny to so great a worke, yet Seeing it is God who hath by his providence brought mee into y^e Same & not seeing my way Clear to break of from that worke, Considering also y^e Continuance of yo^r Love & good Affection to mee having also been Earnest with that God & wich directeth his in all their wayes & Setteth bounds to y^e habitations of all men for guidance, Counsell & Direction in this great Affair: Waighing all these things together I do Intend if God shall continue mee in this worke by Assitting & inabling mee there unto to Continue with you in the worke of y^e Gospell in order to a farther Settlement in God own time un-

less anything Shall Intervene which Shall bee accounted by
Indiffarant & Import all Judgments to bee Just ground &
Sufficient Reason to obstruct any proceedings of that Na-
ture Joseph Capen.

16 May 1684 The Towne did manifest by voat that they
war willing to proseed to ordanation with mr Joseph Capen.

1684.

A LIST OF YE MEMBERS IN FULL COMMUNION AT TOPSFIELD WHEN I
WAS FIRST ORDAIND, OR Y^T WERE ADMITTED AFTERWARDS.

Francis Pabody	Lieftenant (John) Goulds wife
John Reddington	Tho Dormans wife
Abraham Reddington Sen ^r	Isaak Esties “
Joseph Bixby Sen ^r	Jacob Towns “
John Gould Sen ^r	Joseph Towns “
Thomas Baker	Widdow Mary Towne
Thomas Perkins Deacon died May 7 th 86	Ephraim Dormans wife
John Pabody	John Wilds his “
Thomas Dorman	James How “ Sen
Ephraim Dorman	Michael Dunnels “
Samuel Howlett	John Nichols “
William Howlett	Daniell Bormans “
Isaak Cumins	Isaak Cummins “
John French	William Howletts “
Isaak Estie	Abraham Reddingtons wife
James How Sen ^r	Joseph Bixbys wife
Samuell Perley	John Pabodys “
Nehemiah Abbot	Samuell Simons his wife
John Cummins Decem 7, 85 was dismiss ^d to ye church at Dunstable	Robert Smiths “
Robert Stiles	William Smith “
Thomas Perkins Jun ^r	Widdow Andrews
Daniell Hovey	Nehemiah Abbots wife
Deacon Perkins wife	Widdow Perley
	William Watson his wife
	John French “ “
	John Cummins “ “

BAPTISMS.

John Curtiss	his Rebecka	May 6 1688
Samuell Stanley		Jun. 24
Thomas Towne	his Experience	
	eodem die	
Lieft. Ephraim Dorman	his Jacob	July 29
Samuell Stanley	" Samuell	Aug. 6
	" Thomas	" "
Samuel Stanley	" Jacob &	" "
	" Abagail	" "
Zacheus Curtis	" Zechariah	Sept. 9
Goodwife Nichols	her Margaret	" 16
	" Elits	" "
	Lydia	" "
Joseph Andrew	his John	" "
Thomas Reddington	" Rebeka	" 23
Thomas Andrews	" Lilburn	Oct. 7
Thomas Perkins	" Thomas	Dec. 9
John Stiles	" John	" 16
My own (Capen)	Mary	Feb. 17 1688
Daniell Redington	" Mary	Mar. 17 89
Goodwif Dunnell	her Tryphena	Apr. 7
John Towne	his Ephraim	" 22
Joanna Stanley	ye wife of Samuell	" 28
Mr. Tobijah Perkins	his Priscella	" "
Samuell Howlet	" Meriam	May 5
Joseph Estie	" Joseph	" "
Caleb Jackson	" Samuell	" "
Mr. Bradstreets	Mercy	June 2
William Pebody	Ephraim	" "
Benjamin Bixbys	Samuell	" "
Joseph Pebody	Jonathan	" 16
Mr. Timothy Perkins	his Nathaniell	Sept. 22
Timothy Dorman	" Timothy	" 29
Abraham How	" Abijah	Oct. 6
Jacob Foster	" Benjamin	" "
Daniell Wood	" Mercy	" 27
John Gould jun.	" Mary	Nov. 3
Jacob Pebody	" Jacob	Dec. 15
William Smith	" Rebecka	" 22
John Cummins	" Joseph	Jan. 26
Zacheus Curtis	" Prudence	Feb. 16
John Curtis	" Pheobe	Mar. 2 1690

Thomas Andrews	his	Patience	Apr. 6
John Andrews	"	Sarah	" "
Capt. How	"	Hannah	" 27
Samuell Stanley	"	Matthew	" "
Thomas Hazen	"	Thomas	May 4
Isaac Cummins Jun.	"	Lydia	" "
Joseph Bixby	"	Phebe	Jun. 8
Timothy Perkins	"	Timothy	July 6
		Hannah	" "
Ephraim Wilds	"	John	Aug. 10
Elisha Perkins	"	Phebe	Sept. 14
Mr. Baker	"	John	Jan. 11
Daniell Clarke	"	Samuell	" 18
Mr. Tobijah Perkins	"	Mary	" 25
Daniell Reddington	"	Sarah	Feb. 8
Isaac Estie	"	Mary	" 15
William Pebody	"	Richard	Apr. 5 1691
Mr. Zerubbabell Endicot	"	Grace	" 12
John Town	"	Jonathan	" 19
My own (Capen)		Elizabeth	
William Smith	"	Martha	" 26
Nehemiah Abbot	"	Dorothie	" "
Goodman Esties	grandchild	Sarah Gill	May
Joseph Estie		Samuel	"
Jacob Foster		Mary	" 17
Goodman Knight	his	Phillip	" 24
		Margaret	" "
& at ye same time		Rebecka	" "
Mary Hobbes was		Margere	" "
baptized on her own		Elizabeth	" "
account entring into		Abigail	" "
Covenant.		Mary	" "
		Joseph	" "
		Mary Hobbes	" "
Thomas Reddington	"	Hannah	Jun. 21
Joseph Andrews	"	Hephzibah	July 5
Daniell Wood	"	Jacob	Aug. 30
Goodwife Gill	her	Benjamin	Sept. 27
Samuell Wallis	his	Samuel	" "
Ensign (Amos) Dorman	"	Joseph	Oct. 18
Thomas Towne	"	Thomas	" "
Mr. Bradstreet	"	Dorothee	" 25
John Gould	"	Nathaniell	" "

Caleb Jackson	his Mercy	Nov. 15
Benjamin Bixby	" George	Feb. 7 1691-2
Josia Wood	" Margaret	" 14
Daniell Reddington	" William	Mar. 13
Joseph Estie	" Elisabeth	" "
Ephraim Wilds	" Mary	" "
John Andrews	" Rebecka	" 27
Zacheus Curtis	" Joseph	Apr. 17
Thomas Hazen	" Jacob	" 24
200 Mr. Capen's number.		
Isaac Cummins	his Isaac	" "
Timothy Dorman	" Elizabeth	May 15
John Nichols	" Edward	Jun. 26
John Cummins	" John	July 17
John Estie	" Mary	" 31
Philip Knight	" Benjamin	Aug. 21
Joseph Bixby	" John	" 28
John Curtis	" Ephraim	" "
Capt (John) How	" Abigail	Sept. 4 1692.
Mr Timothy Perkins	" John	" "
Samuell Stanley	" Joseph	Oct. 16
Mrs. Hannah Buckman	her Joses	" 30
Elisha Perkins	his Jacob	Nov. 13
Mr Tobijah Perkins	" Tobijah	Jan. 8 1692-3
Isaac Estie Jun	" Abigaill	" "
Timothy Perkins	" Jonathan	" 29
Abraham How	" Israell	Mar. 12
Thomas Perkins	" Hannah	" "
Thomas Andrews	" Esther	" 26
Daniell Clarke	" Elijah	Apr. 2
Samuell Howlet	" Samuell	" 9
Lucy Wood wife of Nathaniel &	Sarah Waters	" 30
Zerubbabell Endicot	his Zerubbabell	May 28
Joseph Estie	" Edward	July 16
George Bixby	" Nathaniell	" "
William Foster	" Sarah	" "
My own (Capen)	Joseph	Aug. 6
William Pebody	" Hannah	" "
Daniell Reddington	" Phebe	" 13
John Hovey Jun	" Dorcas	" 20
Ephraim Wilds	" Ephraim	Sept. 3
Lucy Wood	her Nathaniell	" "
Joseph Haile	his Joseph	" 17

Mr Baker	his Elizabeth	Sept. 24
Jonathan Foster	" Jonathan	" "
Phillip Knight	" (Rebecka?)	" "
Michael Dunnel	" (Thomas?)	Oct.
John Towne	" David	" 29
Nehemiah Abbot	" Mary	Nov. 5
John Estie	" Hannah	Dec. 24
Mr John Bradstreet	" John	Feb. 4 1693-4
G]oodwife Willis	her Sarah	Apr. 29 1694
J]onathan Bixby	his Lydia	May 6
G]oodwife Eames	her Anna	" "
T]homas Towne	his Sarah	" 13
T]imothy Dorman	" Mary	" 27
Thomas Reddington	" Thomas	June 3
Joseph Bixby	" Mary	" "
Ephraim Curtis	" Elizabeth	" 24
Daniell Clarke	" Mary	Aug. 19
T]homas Hazen	" { Mary	Sept. 9
	twins { Lydia	" "
Hannah Putnam once Hanna		
"Borman" or "Dorman"	her Hannah	Sept. 16
W]illiam Smith	his William	" 23
Mr] Timothy Perkins	" Richard	" 30
Is]aac Estie	" Sarah	Oct. 7
Jo]hn Gould	" Sarah	" 14
B]enjamin Bixby	" Nathan	Nov. 4
Elizabeth Upham of Mauldin	her Thomas	" 18
Isaac Pebody	his Francis	Dec. 2
John Stiles	" Marcy	" "
John Curtis	" Hephzibah	Jan. 6
Thomas Andrews	" Thomas	Feb. 24 94-5
Samuell Stanley	" Sarah	Mar. 10 95
Tobijah Perkins	" Joseph	Apr. 7
John Andrew	" Anne	" "
William Averill	" Elizabeth	" "
Abraham How	" Mark	May 5
Elisha Perkins	" Ruth	June 9
Timothy Perkins	" Abigail	" "
Thomas Perkins	" Martha	" 30
Daniell Clarke	" Daniell	July 7
J]oseph Hail	" Jacob	Aug. 11
S]amuel Perly Jun	" Abigail	" "
Ephraim Smith	" Mary	Sept. 1
Dan]iel Reddington	" Jacob	" 8

John Estie	his	Susanna	Sept. 29
Ephraim Wilds	"	Jonathan	Oct. 27
Samuel Smith	"	Phebe	" "
Jo]siah Wood	"	Mary	Dec. 8
W]illiam Pebody	"	John	" 22
Nehemia Abbot	"	Elizabeth	" "
Ja]cob Pebody	"	Mary	Feb. 9 95-6.
John Curtic Jun	"	Priscella	Mar. 22 96
J]ohn Towne	"	Samuell	Apr. 5
J]ohn French	"	Elizabeth	" 12
Timo]thy Dorman	"	John	May 31
Jo]nathan Bixby	"	Jonathan	" "
J]ohn Cummins	"	Isaac	Jun. 14
P]hillip Knight Jun	"	Elizabeth	July 5
Ab]raham Foster Jun	"	Abraham	" 12
E]phraim Curtis	"	Ephraim	" 26
Z]acheus Curtis	"	Deborah	Aug. 9
J]oseph Bixby	"	Thomas	" "
Elea]zer Putman	"	Eleazer	" "
Dan]iell Foster	"	Katharine	" 23
Caleb Jackson	"	Joshua	" 30
Thomas Nichols	"	Anna	" "
Joseph Estie	"	Lydia	Sept. 20
Thomas Robinson	"	Hannah	Oct. 4
300			
Mr Timothy Perkins	"	Jacob	" 18
John How	"	Martha	Nov. 1
	"	Sarah	" "
	"	James	" "
Goodwife Wood	her	Obadia	" "
John Hovey Jun	his	Mary	" 15
Isaac Estie Jun	"	Isaac	" 22
Ensign Dorman	"	Lydia	" 29
Mr (John) Bradstreet	"	Margarett	Dec. 6
Thomas Towne	"	Edna	Jan. 3 96
Thomas Perkins	"	Robert	Mar. 7 97
John Estie	"	Jemima	" "
Isaac Pebody	"	Isaac	" 21
William Averill	"	Joseph	" "
Daniell Clark	"	Jacob	" 28
Joseph Pebody Jun	"	Joseph	Apr. 4
Ephraim Smith	"	{ Elizabeth	" 11
	twins	{ Hannah	" "

Isaac Cummins Jun	his Alice	May	9
Johnn Averell		"	16
Nathaniell "		"	"
Job "		"	"
Ebenezer "		"	"
Thomas "		"	"
Paul "		"	"
Isaac "		"	"
Hannah "		"	"
Abigaill "		"	"
Mary "		"	"
Thomas Hazen	his Hephzebah	"	"
Robert Willit	" Robert	"	23
John Curtis	" John	"	"
Sarah Smith	her Sarah	"	"
John Andrews	his John	"	30
Samuell Porter	" Ellenor	"	"
Thomas Reddington	" Margaret	Jun.	13
Thomas Perley	} entred into Covenant 2 on thar fathers acount at ye same time &	"	2(0)
Nathaniell "		"	"
Isaac "		"	"
Jeremiah "		"	"
Mary "		"	"
Sarah "		"	"
Alice "		"	"
Mr. Tobijah Perkins	his Daniell		
& Thomas Perley	" John at ye	Same time	
Samuell Stanley	" Nathaniell	July	4
Michael Dunnel Jun	" Sarah	"	"
Abraham Smith	" Nathan	"	11
(my own (Capen) erased	" Nathannell	"	14
John Gould	" Hannah	"	18
Joseph Andrews	" Lydia	Sept.	5
Thomas Perley	" Mary	"	"
Capt How	" Joseph	Oct.	3
Joseph Hale	" Mary	"	"
Joseph Estie	" John	"	10
Daniell Reddington	" Phineas	"	24
Ephraim Wilds	" Susanna	"	" 1697
No more baptisms till			
Ephraim Wilds	his Dorothee	Dec.	22 1700
John Howlett	" John	"	"
Robert Stiles	" Jemima	Mar.	9 1701
Jacob Foster	" Isaac	"	16

J]ames Waters	his Elizabeth	Apr.	6
S]amuell Gould	" Samucll	" "	
D]aniell Reddington	" Nathaniell	May	11
Jo]hn How	" Mark	"	25
Jo]hn Perkins	" William	"	"
Jo]hn Curtis	" Lydia	"	"
E]phraim Curtis	" Jacob	Jun.	1
Is]aac Pebody	" William	"	29
A]bigail Bishop	her Abigail	"	"
T]imothy Dorman	his Sarah	"	6
W]illiam Averell	" Stephen	"	"
T]imothy Foster	" Jeremiah	"	"
Lu]ke Hovey	" Darcas	July	20
W]illiam Hobbes	" Susanna	Aug.	2

his wife had ben baptiz^d o her own account & then did ow y^e covenant.

Jo]hn Esty	his Nathaniell	Aug.	24	
T]homas Gould	" Thomas	Sept.	14	
Jo]hn Kenney Jun	" Mary	"	21	
D]aniell Clark	" Israel	Oct.	5	
T]imothy Perkins	" Hephziba	"	12	
D]aniell Foster	" Mehetabel	"	19	
L]ucy Wood	her Margaret	"	26	
E]benezer Sherwin	his Susanna	Nov.	9	
S]amuell Smith	" Samucll	"	16	
]ho Perley	" Moses	Dec.	21	
J]ohn Cummins	" Susanna	Jan.	11	1701-2
J]ohn Gould	" David	Feb.	22	
Jose]ph Hale	" Moses	Mar.	1	1702
Jo]hn Andrews	" Susanna	"	15	
J]ohn Perley	" John	"	"	
Jo]seph Towne 3d	" Joseph	Apr.	19	
Thom]as Perley	" Lois	"	26	
S]amuell Porter	" Elizabeth	"	"	
Th]o Hazen	" Jeremiah	May	3	
B]enjamin Foster	" Amos	"	10	
M]ichaell Dunnell	" Mary	"	"	
P]eter Shumway	" Oliver	"	"	
El]isha Perkins	" Joseph	"	17	

500

I]saac Esty	" Hanna	"	24	
B]enjamin Smith	" John	Jun.	21	
J]onathan Bixby	" Mary	"	28	
J]ohn French	" Kezia	July	12	

Jo]hn Bussel	his Lydia	July 19
daughter of J Curtis		
Sa]rah Smith	her Mary	Aug. 2
Th]omas Dunnell	his Jonathan	" 16
I]saac Burton Sen wt his whole family		
Sons.	John	" 23
	Isaac	" "
	Jacob	" "
	Henry	" "
	Hannah	" "
	Lydia	" "
	Elizabeth	" "
& ye wife of Joseph Esty,	Jane Esty	" "
& ther	Benjamin	" "
Nathaneel Avery	his Jacob	" "
wife of William Towne,	Margaret	" "
&] her children,	Hannah	" "
Hannah & John children	John	" "
by her 1 st Husband,	Mary	" "
John Willard.	William	" "
	Isaac	" "
in all Baptisd 17		
Ephraim Wilds	his Jacob	Sept. 7
Richard Kymballs	Hannah	" "
Jacob Foster	" John	" 13
Ephraim Smith	" Priscella	" 20
Isaac Pebody	" Esties	Oct. 4
John Perkins	" John	
Samuell Towne	" Samuell	
William Hobbs	" Dina	
Daniell Reddington	" Dorcas	N 22
Nathaniell Porter	" Mehitabell	
John Howlett	" Mary	Dec. 27
John Pritchett	" Elizabeth	" "
Tho Gould	" Jacob	Jan. 31 1702-3.
John Dunnel	" Kezia	Mar. 7
Benjamin Bixby	" Jemima	" 14
William Chapman &		" 21
Elizabeth Chapman (Adults)		" "
Zacheus Gould	" Elizabeth	" "
Samuel Smith	" Susanna	" "
Peter Shumway	" Jeremiah	" "
William Averell	" James	Apr. 11

Anne Perkins			Apr. 11
William Towne	his	Ichabod	" 18
John Curtis	"	Mary	" "
Ebenezer Averell	"	Mehetabel	May 2
Caleb Foster	"	Lydia	" 16
Joseph Towne	"	Joseph	" 30
	"	Benjamin	" "
	"	Nathan	" "
	"	Daniell	" "
	"	Jesse	" "
	"	Nathaneell	" "
Ephraim Curtis	"	Isaac	" "
John How	"	Mary	" "
Benjamin Esty	"	Benjamin	Jun. 6
John Kenney Jun	"	Elisha	" 27
John Hovey Jun	"	Joseph	July 11
Tho Towne	"	Mercy	" 18 1703
Timothy Perley	"	Joseph	" 25
Daniell Foster	"	Phineas	" "
Timothy Perkins	"	Esther	Aug. 22
Joseph Borman	"	Hannah	" "
Elizabeth Chapman			Sept. 19
ye wife of W. Chapman			
Joseph Towne 3 ^d	"	Archilaus	Oct. 3
Amos Dorman	"	Dorothee	" 24
Samuell Porter	"	Eliezer	" 31
Mr Timothy Perkins	"	Hannah	Nov. 21

Thus far in old meeting hous 572

Samuell Stanley	his	John	Dec. 11
Daniel Clarke	"	Humphry	" 19
Ebenezer Shurwin	"	Jonatha	Jan. 9 1703-4.
Thomas Dorman	"	Deborah	Feb. 13
Nathaniell Porter	"	Nathaniell	" 27
Tho Robinson	"	Daniel	Mar. 12
Joseph Towne	"	Amy	" 26
Daniell Reddington	"	Martha	May 7
Benjamin Foster	"	Deborah	" "
Tho Perley	"	Asa	" 21
Benjamin Bixby Jun	"	Benjamin	" "
Tho Dunnell	"	Mary	" 28
Ephraim Smith	"	Hephzeba	June 11
Isaac Pebody	"	Joseph	" 18
Ephraim Wild	"	Priscella	" "

John Perkins	his	Elizabeth	June 18
Nathaniell Averill	"	Abigail	July 16
Ebenezer Averill	"	Susanna	" 22
John Andrews	"	Joshua	" 30
Corpral Curtis his daughter			
Smiths		Hanna	Aug. 6
John Pritchett	his	Mary	" 13
Isaac Cummins	"	Jemima	" 20
John Perley	"	Martha	" 27
N: W wife			
Goodwife Wood	her	Abigail	Nov. 5
John French	his	John	" 26
Thomas Gould	"	Deborah	Dec. 3
Caleb Foster	"	Jonathan	" "
600			
Jacob Foster	"	Ezekiel	" 31
Zacheus Gould	"	Mary	Apr. 8, 1705.
Abraham Foster	"	Daniell	" 15
Samuell Smith	"	Solomon	" "
Daniell Foster	"	Hannah	May 6
Margaret Towne ye wife of Joseph Towne 3 ^d			
& her		Israell	May 13
David Shepley			" 27
& a child of Tho Andrew his daughter Swett Lydia			" "
John Howlett	his	William	Jun. 17
Deborah Perley wife of Timothy P			" 24
William Towne	his	Jeremiah	" 24
Benjamin Bixby	"	Martha	July 1
William Averil	"	Rebecka	" 15
David Shepley	"	David	Aug. 26
Mr Joseph Andrews	"	Nathaniel	Sept. 23
John Curtis	"	Sarah	" 30
Samuel Porter	"	Hephzebah	Oct. 7
Peter Shumway	"	David	Dec. 23
John Dunnell	"	Tryphena	" 30
Daniell Clarke	"	Sarah	Jan. 6 1705-6
Michael Dunnell	"	Michael	" 13
Nathaniell Porter	"	Mercy	" 20
Daniell Waters			" 27
Eliezer Foster	his	Elizabeth	Feb. 17
Ephraim Wild	"	Priscella	Mar. 10
Isaac Pebody	"	Sarah	" 24
Daniel Waters	"	Mary	" 31 1706.
John Stanley			Apr. 7

Isaac Esty	his Richard	Apr. 7
John How	" Sarah	" "
Amos Dorman	" Judeth	May 5
John Chapman		" 26
Anne Chapman		" "
Benjamin Estie	" Ebenezer	" "
Ebenezer Averill	" Ruth	Jun. 16
Thos Caves		" 23
Hannah Dunnel &		" "
Ann Caves		" "
Tho Dorman	his Eleanoer	Jun (30)
Samuel Towne	" Phillip	" "
Samuell Smith Son-in-law of		
John Curtis	" Samuell	(July)
Tho Cummins	" Samuell	Aug. 4
John Cummins	" Stebbins	" 18
Tho Robinson	" Stephen	Sept. 1
John Perkins	" Mary	" [8
Caleb Foster	" Sarah	" ["
John Burton	" Isaac	" 15
John French	" Mary	Oct. 27
Ephraim Smith	" John	Nov.
John Pritchett	" John	Dec.
Samuel Potter	" Esther	Jan. [1706-7.
Ebenezer Foster	" Jemima	Feb.
Nathaniell Averil	" Sarah	"
John Perley	" Jane	Mar. 2
Jacob Foster	" Israell	
David Shapley	" Richard	Apr. 6
Daniell Waters	" Hannah	" 20
John Esty	" { David	May 4
	{ Jonathan	
	Kezia	" 4, 1707
Benjamin Foster	his Kezia }	"
Thomas Dunnell	" Ruth }	"
Samuel Stanley	" Hannah }	"
Benjamin Bixby	" Mary }	"
Isaac Pebody	" Anne	Jun. 8
John Gould	" Lydia	" "
William Averell	" Jabez	" 15
Isaac Cummins	" Pelatiah	" "
Daniell Foster	" Jeremiah	" "
John Andrews	" James }	July
Joseph Robinson	" Mercy }	"

Ephraim Curtis	his Ebenezer	
Job Averel	" Job	Aug.
Daniell Clark	" Dan	Sept.
William Towne	" Debora	"
Lucy Wood	her Hephzeba	"
Zacheus Gould	his Priscella	"
Joseph Shumwa		Dec. 7
Doreas Shumwa		" "
Samuell Smith	" Joseph	Jan. 4
Eliazer Foster	" Habijah	
Ebenezer Averill	" Hannah	Feb.
Ephraim Wilds	" Samuell	
Michaell Dunnell	" Stephen	Mar. 14 1707-8
William Porter	" Ruth	Ap
John Dunnell	" Susanna	A
Thomas Perley	" Abigail	
Paul Averill	" Ezekiel	M 9
Peter Shumway	" Mary	
Thomas Dorman	" Thomas	
Caleb Foster	" Caleb	Jun.
Thomas Perley Short Tho	" M	" 1708
John Perkins	" Jemima	July
Mary Wood Daughter of N Woods		18 1708
Thomas Curtis	his Thomas	July
Joseph Bixby	" Lydia	"
Luke Hovey	" Luke	Aug. 8
Isaac Esty	" Rebecca	"
Joseph Towne	" Elisha	Oct.
Ephraim Smith	Sarah	N
Daniell Waters	his David	
Samuell Smith	" Elizabet	
S]amuell Stanley Jun	" Samuell	Jan. 9 1708-9
J]ohn How	" John	Mar. 6 1708-9
Samuell Smith	" Phebe	" 13 1708-9
J]ohn Burton	" Benjamin	Apr. 10 1709
Nathaniell Porter	" Abigail	" 17
Samuell Porter	" Samuel	" 24
T]homas Dunnell	" David	May 15
Nath]aniell Foster	" Hannah	Jun. 5
W]illiam Hobbs	" William	
	Daniell	
	Joseph	
I]saac Pebody	" Hephzebah	July 10 1709
Nathaniell Averell	" Meriam	" 17
Benjamin Bixby Jun	" John	" "

J]acob Foster	his Martha	July 24
J]ohn French	" Joseph	Aug. 14
J]oseph Towne	" Amos	Sept. 4
S]anuell Gould	" Jonathan	" "
&	" Patience	" "
	" Tryphosa	" 25
J]ohn Dunnell	" Hannah	Oct. 9
E]phraim Wilds	" Gideon	" 16
Benjamin Foster	" Hephzeba	Nov. 13
Paul Averell	" Benjamin	" 27
Benjamin Foster	" Martha	Dec. 4
John Gould	" Elizabeth	Jan. 15
Timothy Perkins		" 22
Phillip Squire		
Ebenezer Foster	" Ruth	Feb. 5
Jacob Robinson	" Jacob	" 12
William Averil	" Moses	" 26
Michael] Dunne]l	" Hannah	Mar. 19
Thomas Curtis	" John	" 26 1710
John Towne	" John	Apr. 9
Daniell Waters	" Jemima	" "
John Pritchett	" William	" 16
Caleb Foster	" Stephen	" 30
William Towne	" Mercy	May 14
Jesse Dorman	" Philemon	" 21
Samuella Potter	" Lydia	June 4
Ivory Hovey	" Anne	" 10
Job Averell	" Judith	" 18
Joseph Towne	" Bartholomew	" "
John Perkins	" Kezia	" "
Nathaniell Wood	" Zeruah	" "
Ebenezer Averell	" Mary	Aug. 20
William Porter	" Judith	" "
John Hovey	" Susanna	Sept. 24
My son John (Capen)	" Joseph	Dec. 24
Daniell Foster	" Asa	Jan. 21 1710-11
John French	" Samuel	Feb. 4
John Perley	" Jonathan	" "
Jacob Esty	" Jacob	" "
John Gould	" Mary	" "
Samuella Shumway		Mar. 11
Nathaniell Porter	" Thomas	Apr. 1
Jacob Robinson	" Amos	" 8 1711
Samuella Smith	" John	" 15
twins	" Mercy	" "
	" Nathaniell	" "
Nathaniell Borman		

Peter Shumwa	his	Samuell	Apr. 22
John Averill	"	John	" 29
John Dunnell	"	John	" "
Jacob Foster	"	David	Jun. 3
Samuell Stanley	"	Jonathan	" "
Samuell Smith	"	Margaret	" "
Ephraim Wilds	"	Amos	July 1
Ephraim Dorman	"	Ephraim	" "
Samuell Smith	"	Mary	Aug. 19
Thomas Hunkins	"	Lydia	Sept. 2
Nathaniell Averill	"	Daniell	" 16
Ebenezer Nichols	"	Joseph	Oct. 14
Benjamin Bixby	"	Kezia	Nov. 4
Caleb Foster	"	Mary	Dec. 30
Ivory Hovey	"	Dorcas	" "
Thomas Gould	"	Mercy	Jan. 27
Samuell Porter	"	Jerusha	Feb. 3
Amos Dorman	"	Amos	Mar. 9
Thomas Curtis	"	Phebe	" 23
Joseph Towne	"	Mary	" 30 1712
John Towne	"	Elizabeth	" " "
William Porter	"	Benjamin	Apr. 6
Benjamin How	"	Benjamin	" 20
John Perkins	"	Susanna	" 27
Jesse Dorman	"	Ruth	" "
Zacheus Gould	"	Sarah	May 4
William Hobbs	"	Humphrey	" "
John Burton	"	John	" "
Daniell Waters	"	Mary	" "
Joseph Knight	"	Abigail	" "
John Gould	"	Anna	" 11
Paul Averill	"	Paul	Jun. 1
Thomas Buzzell	"	Thomas	July 6
Jacob Stanley	"	Miriam	" 13
John Curtis	twins	{ Sarah	Aug. 24
		{ Hannah	" "
Simon Bradstreet	his	Elizabeth	" 31
Isaac Esty	"	Moses	Sept. 6
y ^o widdo Benjamin Smith owned			
y ^o covenant & had 4 children			
		Benjamin	" 28
		Stephen	" "
		Rebaka	" "
		Sarah	" "

Ephraim Dorman	his Mary	Nov. 23
800		
Ebenezer Averell	" Lydia	Dec. 14
Samuell Stanley	" Abigail	" "
Jacob Pebody	" Jacob	Mar. 1 1713
John Perley	" Samuell	" 15
Jacob Robinson	" John	Apr. 19
John Towne	" Bartholomew	May 17
Dorcas Butler	her Mary	" 31
Caleb Foster	his Philemon	Jun. 6
Job Averill	" Israell	" 21
Paul Averill	" Sarah	July 5
Jacob Esty	" Lydia	Aug. 2
Joseph Cummins	" Joseph	" "
Ephraim Wilds	" Nathan	" 9
Peter Shumway	" John	" 16
Samuell Smith	" Abigail	" 30
John Nichols	" John	Sept. 6
Samuell Potter	" Abigail	" "
Nathaniell Porter	" Elijah	Oct. 18
John Cummins	" Rebecka	Nov. 1
Joseph Knight	" Hannah	" "
Hannah Clarke		Dec. 6
Samuell Smith	" Samuell	Jan. 3 1713-4
Jacob Stanley	" Joanna	Feb. 14
John Averill	" Thomas	Mar. 7
Abraham How	" Mercy	" "
Benjamin How	" Sarah	" "
Samuell Potter	" Mary	" 14
Thomas Gould	" Yeates	Apr. 4 1714
Joseph Towne	" David	" "
Joseph Gould	" Priscella	" "
William Towne	" Kezia	" "
William Porter	" Seth	" 25
Simon Bradstreet	" Simon	" "
John Perkins	" Ruth	May 9
Amos Dorman	" Thomas	Jun. 13
John Gould	" John	" 20
Ivory Hovey	" Ivory	July 4
Samuell Porter	" David	" 11
Nathaniell Averill	" Jeremiah	" 25
Thomas Curtis	" Hannah	Aug. 1
David Balch	" David	" 15
Timothy Perkins	" Ruth	" 29

Nathaniell Borman	his Abigail	Sept. 5
Samuell Stanley	" Mathew	Oct. 10
John Howlett	" Thomas	" 23
John Perkins	" Elisha	Jan. 2
846 in all thus far.		
Michael Dunnell	his Jacob	Feb. 6, 1714-5
Jacob Pebody	" Rebecca	" "
William Hobbs	" Benjamin	May 1, 1715
Ebenezer Averill	" Jemima	" "
John How	" Zerriah	" 15
John Averil	" Emma	
Job Averil	" Kezia	
John Nichols	" Samuell	Aug. 14
Jacob Estie	" Isaac	" "
Timothy Perkins	" Jonathan	" 28
Samuell Potter	" Mary	Sept. 4
John Dunnell	" Sarah	" 11
Joseph Knight	" Phillip	" "
Caleb Foster	" Sarah	" "
Francis Pebody	" Francis	" 25
Zacheus Gould	" Abigail	" "
Joseph Gould	" Joseph	Oct. 2
Thomas Potter	" Jerusha	" "
Samuell Smith	" Rebecca	" 9
Samuell Smith	" Priscella	" "
Ebenezer Nichols	" Rachell	" 23
Jacob Robinson	" Elizabeth	Nov. 6
John Perley	" Ruth	" 20
Samuell Stanley	" Ruth	Dec. 4
John Abbot	" Remember	" "
John Capen	" Mary	Feb. 5, 1715-6
Abraham How	" Jemima	" 12
Israell How	" Israell	" "
Ephraim Wilds	" Juliana	" 19
Stephen Perley	" Deborah	" "
Nathaniell Porter	" Joseph	
ye wife of Phillip Nealand upon	her Phillip	
her owning ye covenant.	his Rebecca	Apr. 15 1716
Jacob Stanley	" Hannah	" "
John Jeffors	" Anna	" 22
William Porter	" Joseph	May 6
Son Baker (Thomas)	" Abigail	" "
Joseph Towne	" Abigail	" "
Ivory Hovey	" Abigail	" "

Simon Bradstreet	his Dudley	Jun. 3
Tho Gould	" Benjamin	" "
John Wilds	" John	" 10
Isaac Cummins	" Jerusha	" 17
Phillip Nealan	" Sarah	" "
Dorcas Butler	her Valentine	" 24
Joseph Cummins	his Thomas	July 15
John Perkins	" Dorethee	Nov. 4
David Balch	" John	" "
Nathan Towne	" Phebe	Feb. 3 1716-7
	& " Katherine	" "
John Wilds	" Katherine	" "
John Clarke		" 10
Joseph Gould	" Amos	Mar. 2
John Averill	" Katherine	Apr.
Jacob Pebody	" Abigail	" "
Samuell Killum	" Samuell	" 21
Joseph Cummins	" Jacob	May 19
Tobijah Perkins	" Elizabeth	" "
John Cummins jun.	" John	" 26
Samuell Potter	" Elizabeth	Jun. 30
Joshua Towne	all baptiz ^d on ye owning of ye covenant & all ye families	
John Towne		
Gideon Towne		
Eliezer Lake		
Jacob Towne		
Abigail Ramsdel		
Phebe Gould		
Stephen Towne		
Jabez Towne		
Elisha Towne		
John Towne	his Samuell	
Timothy Ramsdel	" Abigail	
	& " John	
John Gould	" Phebe	July 21 1717
Joseph Knight	" Josiah	Aug.
Eliezer Lake	" Lydia	" "
	& " Priscella	" "
John Perkins	" Isaac	Sept. 22
Timothy Perkins	" Timothy	" "
Margaret Willard owned ye covenant was baptiz ^d also		
Benjamin How	his son Benjamin	Oct. 6
Ebenezer Nichols	his Kezia	" "

Samuel Stanley	his David	Nov. 3
James Jetton	" Hanna	" "
John Abbot	" John	" "
Caleb Foster	" John	" 10
Ebenezer Averill	" Phebe	" 24
Thomas Perkins	" Robert	" "
Thomas Potter	" Thomas	Dec.
Son John Capen	" Mary	" 15
Ephraim Wilds	" Elijah	Jan.
Zacheus Gould	" Zacheus	Feb.
Thomas Goodhall	" Thomas	"
Abraham How	" Hephzeba	Mar.
Son (Simon) Bradstreet	" John	" 16
Nathaniell Porter	" Eleanour	Apr.
Son (Thomas) Baker	" Priscella	May 4
Stephen Perley	" Allen	" 11
Widdow Hobbs	" Mary	" "
Francis Pebody	" Mary	" 18
Samuell Smith	" Rebecka	"
Nathan Towne	" Joseph	"
John Gould	" Kezia	Jun. 22
Joseph Towne	" Phebe	July 6
Samuell Smith	" Elizabeth	" 20
John Burton	" Samuell	
John Perkins	" Rebecka	
Ivory Hovey	" Aaron	Sept.
John Averill	" Ebenezer	Oct.
Timothy Ramsdell	" Katharine	N
Thomas Gould	" Nathaniell	"
Thomas Dunnel	" Abigail	
John Wilds	" Zebulon	{ Dec. 21 1718
John Cummins	" Hannah	{ idem
Jacob Peabody	" Nathaniell	Mar. 1 1719
Joseph Gould	" Ruth	Apr. 5
John Abbot	" Mercy	" 19
Jacob Estys	" Anna	May 3
Abraham Foster	" Abraham	" 10
Tobijah Perkins	" Joseph	" 24
965 so far		
Amos Dorman	" Mary	Jun. 7
Thomas Curtis	" Israell	" 14
Samuell Potter	" Samuell	" 28
Philip Nealand	" Samuell	" "

John Towne	his Jonathan	July 19
Benjamin How	" James	" 26
Isaac Cummins jun	" Abigail	Aug. 2
	& " Elisha	" "
Patience Bennit		Sept. 13
Eliezer Lake	" Abigail	" 20
Samuell Stanley	" Jacob	Oct. 4
Michael Dunnell	" Abigail	" 11
Charity Dunnell		Dec. 13
Thomas Baker	" John	" 20
John How	" Joseph	" 27
Stephen Perley	" Sarah	Ja.
Abraham How	" Sarah	Feb.
John Perkins	" John	" 28 1719-20
Joseph Towne	" Hannah	Mar. 27 1720
Thomas Potter	" Martha	" "
Francis Pebody	" Dorothee	Apr.
Thomas Perkins	" Thomas	" 24
Simon Bradstreet	" Margaret	
Widdow Ann Averil	her Abiel	
Thomas Dunnell	his Esther	May 8
John Gould	" John	July 3
Ebenezer Nichols	" Aquilla	" 10
Zacheus Gould	" Eliezer	" 17
John Chapman	" Rebecka	" "
William Porter	" Jonathan	" 24
David Balch	" Joshua	" "
Joseph Robinson	" Martha	" "
Timothy Ramsdell	" Timothy	Aug. 7
Job Averil	" Samuel	" 14
Joseph Cummings	" Sarah	" 21
Elizabeth Iles	her Elizabeth	" 28
John Abbot	his Jacob	" "
Ivory Hovey	" Ann	Sept. 25
John Wilds	" Elisha	" "
Isaac Cummins jun	" Mary	Oct. 2
Nathaniell Porter	" Mary	" 9
Sarah Merrifield		" 23
Robert Knolton	" Hannah	Nov. 20
Lieut Joseph Gould	" Mary	Jan. 1
Jacob Esty	" Mary	Feb. 12 1721
Mr Conant	" William	Mar. 12
John Cummins jun.	" Mercy	" 19

Jacob Towne jun.	his Ruth	Mar. 26
Jacob Pebody	" Priscella	Apr. 2
Robert Andrews	" James	" 23
Abraham Foster jun	" Sarah	ma
Thomas Perkins Secund	" Judi	m
Benjamin Knight	" Ruth	"
Thomas Potter	" Ezekiel	May 21
Phillip Nealand	" Mary	"
Jacob Towne	" Joshua	Sept.
Ephraim Kymball	" Ephraim	
Joseph Cummins	" Abigail	J
John Towne	" Abigail	Feb.
Tho Curtis	" David	Mar. 11 1722
Samuel Boyd	" Eliezer	" "
Francis Pebody	" Samuell	" 18
John Abbot	" Abigail	" "
Tho Baker	" Elizabeth	" 25
John Curtis	" John	Apr. 1
Tim Ramsdell	" Joseph	" "
William Isles	" William	" "
Abraham How	" Ruth }	
Isaac Cummins jun	" Joseph }	
Samuell Smith	" Hephzibah	May 20
John Wilds	" Ezra	" 27
John Gould	" Richard	Jun 10
Nathan Towne	" Solomon	"
Samuell Stanley	" Elizabeth	
Daniell Towne	" Daniell	
Job Averell	" Susanna	Sept.
Samuell Curtis	" Hannah	
Simon Bradstreet	" Priscella	
Thomas Dunnel	" Susanna }	Sept. 30 1722
	" Jacob }	
	" Amos }	
Joseph Towne	" Martha	
Lieut (Joseph) Gould	" Anna	Nov. 4
Robert Andrews	" Robert	" 11
Benjamin Knight	" Margaret	"
Nathan Bixby	" Amos	"
Timothy Perkins	" William	
Daniell Redington	" Daniell	
John Chapman	" Mary	Mar
Jacob Perkins	" Catharine	Apr.

Zacheus Gould	his Susanna	Apr. 20
John Wilds	" Sarah	May 19
Benjamin Towne	" Benjamin	" "
Thomas Stevens	" Mary	" "
William Porter	" Jabez	June 9 1723
Francis Pebody	" Nathaniell	" "
Robert Perkins	" Elizabeth	Jun. 23 1723
Jacob Pebody	" Thomas	Aug. 25
William Redington	" Elizabeth	Sep.
Tobijah Perkins	" Tobijah	Oct. 6
Thomas Potter	" Joanna	" 20
Mark How	" Hannah	Dec. 1
Jonathan Perkins	" Jonathan	Jan. 5 1723
Aaron Esty	" Isaac	" 26
John Perkins	" Thomas	Mar. 8
Isaac How		" 22 1724
John Abbot	" Nehemia	" 2(9)
Samueller Curtis	" Rebecca	Apr.
Samueller Smith	" Robert	
Nathaniell Towne	" Jemima	Jun. 7
Jacob Perkins	" Hannah	" "
Samueller Potter	" Hannah	}
Daniell Towne	" Amos	
Gideon Towne	" Abner	
	& Gideon	
Thomas Perkins Ensign	" Thomas	" 28
John Burton	" David	July 5
Jacob Towne	" Jacob	" "
Samueller Towne	" Mary	" "
Jacob Dorman	" Mercy	" 12
Nathaniell Ramsdell	" Elizabeth	" "
Ephraim Kymball	" Eunice	" "
William Iles	" John	" 26
Ebenezer Nichols	" Elizabeth	Aug. 9
Capt. Tho Baker	" Priscella	" "
Jacob Reddington	" Dorcas	" "
Abraham Foster	" Thomas	" 16
Jacob Peabody	" Martha	" 23
John Gould	" Stephen	Sept. 20
Thomas Curtis	" Benjamin	Oct. 25
Eliezer Lake	" Eliezer	" "
Daniell Reddington	" Thomas	" "
Samueller Bradstreet	" Ann	" "

Thomas Potter	his	Anthony	Nov. 15
Nathan Towne	"	Jonathan	" 22
Simon Bradstreet	"	Lucy	" 29
Noah Dodge	"	Abigail	" "
Capt Joseph Gould	"	Sarah	Dec. 20
Joseph Cummins	"	Daniell	" "
Mark How	"	Love	" "
Abraham How	"	Abraham	Jan. 3
Samuell Howlett	"	Martha	
Aaron Esty	"	Aaron	" 31
Dorcas Whittingham	her	Anna	Feb. 7
Francis Peabody	his	William	May 9 1725
Paul Averill	"	Joseph	" 23
Jacob Dorman	"	Ruth	" 30
Isaac Cummins	"	Hannah	" "
Samuell Perkins	"	Thomas	" "
Timothy Perkins	twins	Timothy	Jun. 20
		Kezia	

Rev. Joseph Capen died 30 June 1725

Joseph Capen His Book Ex Dono Reverendissimi Magistri Josiah
Flint 30 Aug. An Dom 1679

SKETCH OF MRS. WILLIAM JARVIS

OF

WEATHERSFIELD, VERMONT.

BY MRS. MARY PEPPERELL SPARHAWK JARVIS CUTTS.

EDITED BY HER GRANDSON
CECIL HAMPDEN CUTTS HOWARD.

(Continued from p. 139.)

PART II.

IN May, 1816, Mr. Jarvis came in his carriage for his bride, it being before the days of steam cars and stage coaches. Her sister, Eliza Bartlett (then Mrs. Sprague) beloved by all who knew her, died in March, and consequently, though the wedding was not delayed, it was a very quiet one. The service was performed in the morning, then a collation; and the bride and bridegroom, Miss Catherine Bartlett, a younger sister, bright, humorous and active, and Mr. Jarvis' two little girls, Mary and Elizabeth, began their journey to Vermont.

Alas! Vermont proved a stern step-mother to Mrs. Jarvis. She left a large cheerful family circle, parents, sisters, friends, a home filled with every comfort and convenience, to preside over a large, neglected house, which her own industry and energy must transform to order and comfort.

The house had been sadly mismanaged and showed plainly the want of woman's care and taste. It had fallen into that state between the departure of Mr. Jarvis' aunt, Mrs. Benjamin Jarvis, and his own illness and the coming of his wife; his only assistance during the intervening period being the inefficient services of his fireman's wife.

Mrs. Jarvis, in many respects, resembled her father

more than any of the other children ; she possessed his executive ability, energy, industry and perseverance, and a remarkably well-balanced mind.

With her sister's aid she began immediately the work of reform and improvement. She could only obtain green, untutored girls, daughters of the neighboring farmers, who required constant training and instruction, a continuous tax on her patience and fortitude. While the work of cleaning and putting in order was going on, friends of the consul's, from the neighboring towns, began to call upon her.

The first of these was General Lewis R. Morris and lady. He was a son of the signer of the Declaration of Independence and a man of talents ; they owned a beautiful place four miles distant. The intimacy that grew up between these families only terminated with their lives.

At this period provisions, etc., were brought in stout, two-horse wagons from Boston, a three days' journey. The teamsters had their "taverns" and regular stopping places.

The farmers took their own produce down in the winter and brought back their own stores. Mr. Jarvis was a bountiful provider and whatever his wife required in the family he ordered from Boston, and these teams brought up the supplies. Mr. Jarvis was generous, liberal and hospitable, enjoyed society and had perfect confidence in his wife's ability to entertain his friends handsomely. Several gentlemen in Windsor had a standing invitation to dine with him every Saturday for two or three years.

Dr. Leonard Jarvis' family, the Consul's cousins in Claremont, for many years dined at Weathersfield every Saturday. The Consul's family also usually returned the visit weekly for some years. Doctor Jarvis was very skil-

ful, kind and attentive and became Mrs. Jarvis' favorite physician for her children. Doctor Torrey of Windsor, a talented man, was the family physician. At that time Mr. Samuel G. Jarvis, Dr. Leonard Jarvis' father, was living, a genial, warm-hearted, agreeable, old gentleman, and "William's wife" soon became a favorite.

The Doctor's wife lived in warm friendship with Mrs. Jarvis for many years. They had now two children. In July some of the Consul's aunts and cousins from Boston and Maine came to spend a few weeks with himself and bride. The Consul and his aunts enjoyed this meeting exceedingly, as would also Mrs. Jarvis, but with half trained servants it was no trifling task day after day to have a handsome dinner prepared. With her methodical habits, Mrs. Jarvis never failed to be dressed and ready to take the head of the table, laid with punctilious exactness at one o'clock. She presided with suavity and dignity, and the Consul, remarkable for his conversational powers, sustained a lively conversation with the guests. As I look back, through the vista of years, it seems wonderful that she could so ably have overcome all opposing elements. The friends enjoyed their visits highly, and complimented Mrs. Jarvis on her success in presiding over the Consul's table and household. They dreamed not of the obstacles and discouragements with which she had to contend.

While this family party was assembled the Consul received a copy of Guy Mannering, then recently published, and Mr. and Mrs. Jarvis and their aunts read it aloud in the evenings; they became so fascinated that they sometimes sat up till past midnight to pursue the interesting romance. As the autumn approached the guests departed, and there was more rest and comfort for the mistress of the household. Mrs. Jarvis found some cultivated pleasant ladies in Windsor, whose society she much enjoyed.

One from Newburyport, and one from Salem, with whom she had been formerly acquainted, were warm in their friendship. A few years later she formed many agreeable acquaintances in Charlestown, Bellows Falls, and Claremont. It was common to ride eight and ten miles to make a call in Vermont at that period.

Dr. Jarvis' two sisters, who were born and educated in Boston, were lovely intelligent girls and were delighted to come to the Consul's and visit "Cousin Anna" and Miss Catherine Bartlett. They were a very agreeable addition to Mrs. Jarvis' society. At that time gentlemen and their families travelled in their own carriages, and they had many a pleasant call and visit from their former friends in this way.

In January, 1818, in a covered sleigh, abundantly supplied with buffalo robes and a pair of horses, Mr. Jarvis drove his wife, her sister and the children to Haverhill, to visit her beloved parents and sisters; a most interesting reunion. After spending a week at the dear old paternal abode, they went to Boston to visit mutual friends there.

En passant it may be mentioned here that the Consul for many years took his wife and family to Boston, to some eligible private boarding-house for change and recreation; then afterwards to her father's in Haverhill. As his children increased he had a sleigh of larger dimensions built; for he made it a point to take all his children with him. It was then a three days' journey. On her return home Mrs. Jarvis' sister Sarah accompanied her, a lovely young lady, remarkable for the elegance and suavity of her manners, a most agreeable and useful companion for her sister.

In June, 1818, Mrs. Jarvis' first little girl was born, Ann Eliza. This was a joyful era in the family; the Consul was very fond of children, and the little one was a

great pet with him, as well as with the little girls. The Consul's mansion became proverbial for its hospitality each passing year. Freed from domestic cares, he began to write for the papers, and to members of Congress to advocate the protection and encouragement of American manufactures; for after the second war with England, manufactures and agriculture were at the lowest ebb. He was one of the very first who labored in this cause, and perhaps no man in America ever labored so perseveringly and continuously. During the first years of Mrs. Jarvis' residence in Vermont, poor people in the neighborhood sought employment of her; some to spin and weave linen into towelling; some took fine merino wool and spun and wove flannel; others spun stocking yarn from the fine wool, carding it themselves, and knit long stockings that came over the knee for Mr. Jarvis, six pairs at a time.

This was when domestic manufactures were in their infancy; but through the Consul's and other statesmen's untiring labors, to encourage the manufactures of the United States, in a few years woolen factories began to be extensively established, and the home loom and spinning wheel were entirely superseded. Oh! the changes that machinery has wrought since that day of small things! The manufacturing cities that have sprung up,—Lowell, Lawrence, Nashua, etc., etc.! The thousands and thousands of spindles and looms running by steam! The change seems too marvellous to have been compressed into one lifetime; yet Mr. and Mrs. Jarvis both witnessed the magic power that exerted such an influence over the country. The first year of Mrs. Jarvis' residence in Vermont was her most arduous one. She required an exact discharge of their duties from her domestics; ruling with diligence, but at the same time she was just and equal and granted them many privileges when the duties were accomplished. She gained the reputation of being an excellent mistress,

and many of the more respectable farmers were glad to have their daughters under her wholesome instruction and discipline. Girls remained with her a long time, until they were married; some seven and eight and fourteen years. Intelligent, respectable American girls.

One very great addition to Mrs. Jarvis' cares and responsibilities were the workmen who carried on the farm. In those days there were no labor-saving machines, no mowing machines, horse rakes, or cultivators, etc. Of course it required a great many hands to perform the labor on such an extensive farm. A large addition had been made to the house by Mr. Jarvis to accommodate them when he first came to this country. Mrs. Jarvis kept one woman especially to cook and wait upon them. During the haying and harvesting, when thirty workmen were often employed, two girls were required. Oh! the pans of doughnuts, and the brick ovens full of pies that were made! for, beside the three regular meals, there was a lunch sent into the field morning and afternoon. Mrs. Jarvis was obliged to have a general supervision to see that everything was provided for their comfort. It was at this busy season, too, that she usually had most guests from the cities. Under her wise administration, everything went on with regularity and order, yet not without much hard work, and for the mistress of the family continual care and responsibility. When she first came to Vermont, candles only were used in the house, and in the early winter fifty dozen or more of candles were made and packed away in boxes, a steady day's work for two girls. This provision of candles lasted many years for the kitchen department; but Mrs. Jarvis soon introduced sperm oil lamps for the family. In about twenty years after, mowing machines began to be introduced which greatly lessened the number of workmen.

The winter of 1820 was a dark and gloomy one. Mr.

Jarvis over-exerted himself and took a violent cold which settled in his eyes. For four long months he was shut up in a darkened room, with a screen between him and the open fire, and a shade over his eyes. Two able physicians were in attendance who blistered freely, but the pain and inflammation continued. His wife was his careful and tender nurse. His two little girls and their cousin and teacher, Miss Humphreys, gave up school and devoted the whole day and evening till nine o'clock, P. M. to reading aloud in turn to him. He was able to come down to the darkened parlor every day, and reading was his only resource. In February Mrs. Jarvis became the mother of another little girl, whom she named Harriett Bartlet, for a beloved sister who had recently died.

As the warm weather came on, Mr. Jarvis was able to ride out and attend to his accustomed duties, but never again could he read more than five minutes at a time or write anything but a common letter. All his letters, memorials to Congress and articles for the papers were written through dictation by his wife and two elder daughters, and in two or three years the younger of these two daughters, Elizabeth, became his favorite amanuensis as she caught his ideas with great facility and precision.

Mrs. Jarvis' executive ability was displayed not only in the discipline and management of her domestics, but in cutting out her husband's under-clothing; his fine shirts, and flannel under-garments made from his merino wool. There were no sewing machines in those days; no nice seamstresses in the neighborhood; so that she was obliged to make his shirts, which she did, six at a time. Sometimes her sisters assisted her; but the amount of sewing she performed with her own hands for years was truly wonderful. System, perseverance and industry accomplished wonders, a bright example to the young people of the present day.

Her household duties were dispatched early in the morning, making a supervision of kitchen and pantries to see that all things were conducted right. Then before eleven she made her toilet for the day, and was ready to sit down with her husband when he returned from his walk or drive about the farm. Her presence and society were always desired by him; she was ready to play a game of backgammon or read aloud as he preferred; but as they grew older one of his daughters read the papers, or periodicals, and she took her needlework and listened to the reading.

She usually devoted most of the afternoon and sometimes part of the evening to sewing, executing her work with great rapidity. She considered sewing an important duty. There was then no alternative.

Her work table and basket were kept in the most perfect order and were furnished with an abundance of the best materials for sewing that could be obtained. In fine weather the Consul often took his wife and children out for a drive in the afternoon, which Mrs. Jarvis greatly enjoyed. She never ceased to find rest and recreation in the beauties of scenery and fresh air. The writer has attained to a considerable age, and been in many families, but she can truly say she never saw a more devoted self-sacrificing wife, or one who studied with more care the tastes, wishes and comforts of her husband. Truly it might be said of her, "Her price is far above rubies. The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her. She looketh well to the ways of her household and eateth not the bread of idleness. Her children arise up and call her blessed. Her husband also and he praiseth her." "Let her own works praise her."

By slow degrees she had every room repapered, painted and carpeted, which wrought a great change and gave the house a bright and cheerful appearance. The Consul bought Turkey carpets for the two south parlors, which

opened into each other, both warm, pleasant rooms. After his return from Europe he advocated the useful far above the ornamental. Mrs. Jarvis had two windows full of flowering plants, in the culture of which she was very successful, and a bright open wood fire made the winter parlor very cheerful. The children too had their canaries, fine singers, of which the Consul was very fond. Had not Mrs. Jarvis made the wilderness to blossom as the rose?

At the time of Mr. Jarvis' return from Europe money was very scarce with the farmers, and to accommodate them he loaned them money at six per cent, took a mortgage on their farms and let them keep it so long as they paid their interest annually. It was a great help to them and in a few years the number of farmers who availed themselves of this privilege was surprising. This was only one of his constant efforts to help his countrymen.

In August, 1821, their first son was born, which occasioned great rejoicings. When the family physician congratulated the Consul on this event, he replied, "I have always thanked God for all the girls he has sent me; I am not more thankful for a son." This son outlived two other sons, and became the staff and stay of his parents in old age. He was named Charles, for the Consul's father. Their next, a son, was named William; and the next Thomas Jefferson. In August, 1825, William, a lovely boy, died suddenly after a fortnight's illness, to the great grief of the whole family. The others being ill the Consul took them to Nahant for sea air, which restored them to health.

On their return they made a visit in Salem at Mr. J. E. Sprague's, who had married Miss Sarah Bartlett, his first wife's sister. Mr. Sprague had a large pleasant house, and he and his lovely wife were very happy. In 1826, Mrs. Jarvis had a constant succession of guests

from May. In July, Mr. and Mrs. Duncan, a bride and groom from Haverhill on their wedding tour, came for a visit. During their stay twin daughters were added to Mr. and Mrs. Jarvis' family group.

In December, 1831, Mrs. Jarvis had another daughter, Catherine Leonard, and in May, 1835, her youngest, Louisa Bailey.

The children had a teacher at home in childhood, and, as soon as they were old enough, Mrs. Jarvis used her influence with her husband to have them placed at the best schools the country afforded. The sons were sent to Exeter Academy to fit for college.

As Mary and Elizabeth began to grow up they had friends and parties of their own, and their kind mother did all in her power to promote their enjoyment. In September, 1829, Mary married Hampden Cutts, Esq., an eminent lawyer of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and a lineal descendant of Robert, one of the three brothers Cutts who first emigrated to that place. Everything that could be done Mrs. Jarvis did for the comfort and happiness of this her first daughter who was married.

In September, 1830, a year later, Mrs. Jarvis had the misfortune to lose her father, Hon. Bailey Bartlett, who, crowned with years and honors, was removed to God's upper kingdom, and his tender wife survived him but one year. All his daughters were married except Catherine who had been devoted to her parents. In February, 1833, Elizabeth, Mr. Jarvis' second daughter, married David Everett Wheeler, a prominent lawyer of New York City. After the marriage of her sister Mary she had done nearly all the reading and writing for her father, and he missed her exceedingly. Harriet was Mrs. Jarvis' next daughter to be married, in 1843, to Rev. J. De Forest Richards.

Anne, Mrs. Jarvis' first born, was the young lady now at home. She inherited her mother's industry, order and perseverance, her father's conversational talents and love of reading. She was greatly beloved by father, mother and sisters. She married Hon. Samuel Dinsmoore of Keene, N. H., and they were a very happy couple.

After so many of his daughters were married, the Consul was desirous to have the children and grandchildren assemble round him at Thanksgiving and sometimes at Christmas. It was a Herculean task for Mrs. Jarvis to prepare for so many guests to dine and pass two or three nights, as those at a distance came invariably the day before and remained until the day following, and there were often as many as thirty together. Few ladies would so often have undertaken it, but Mrs. Jarvis' powers seemed equal to every demand on her energy and executive ability.

These gatherings were a great pleasure to her husband—a great festival to the children and grandchildren, and Mrs. Jarvis enjoyed the glorious reunions. The Consul's cousins in Claremont were always invited to dine and pass the evening. Mrs. Jarvis' plum puddings and mince pies were the admiration of all that partook of them, and the elaborately furnished table bore testimony to her care and skill.

It was at a Christmas gathering in 1841 that Thomas Jefferson (whose name was changed to William), after his brother William's death, was taken ill with pneumonia, Christmas morning, and died in just a week from that day. It was a most grievous affliction to Mr. and Mrs. Jarvis. He was a tenderly loved son, and when he passed upward the shock was so great that his mother fainted away.

In the spring the Consul determined to add another

story to his house, thus making four more sleeping rooms and many closets, a great convenience to Mrs. Jarvis and the daughters, and which their Thanksgiving parties rendered absolutely necessary for the accommodation of their guests. About this time Mr. Jarvis gave the land for a church, and Mrs. Jarvis gave liberally towards its erection and the support of the pastor.

Her sister Abby had married Rev. Mr. Kimball, and he was the third pastor settled over the church. He preached alternately there and at Ascutneyville, where they had a pleasant residence. It was a great happiness to Mrs. Jarvis to have her sister established near her, and they often met at each other's houses.

The daughters of the family were fast passing away.

Elizabeth died in 1848, leaving a sorrowing husband and two children. Margaret, in the bloom of youth, preceded her suddenly in 1847 at the age of twenty-one years. It was a terrible grief to her twin sister Sarah. In 1849 Mrs. Dinsmoore, at the height of her prosperity (her husband having just been elected Governor of New Hampshire) surrounded by loving friends, passionately loved by her husband, was attacked with brain fever. Mr. and Mrs. Jarvis went to Keene to see her and found her very ill. The fond mother again went to Keene with her son Charles, but only in time to see the vital spark leave the body; a very heavy loss to Mr. and Mrs. Jarvis and an irreparable loss to her two little boys.

Sarah, who had married her second cousin, Dr. Samuel G. Jarvis, was next taken. In July, 1855, after a tedious illness, she too was summoned to join the blest assembly, leaving her husband and two little boys inconsolable. The only unmarried daughters, Kate and Louisa, had been absent a good deal at Mrs. Sedgwick's school at Lenox, and other places, but returned home in 1849, before Mrs.

Dinsmoore's death, to take their turn in reading and writing for their father and aiding their mother.

Now a change came over the dear old family mansion. The happy hearts and cheerful voices of the children no longer cheered it, except on rare occasions. The mail coach that so often brought friends and letters and papers twice a day had ceased. The railroad had been built on the other side of the river; the Weathersfield mail was left at Claremont Station, and a mail carrier was employed to convey it. This change was much felt by both Mr. and Mrs. Jarvis. The public house was closed (there were no horses now to change for the coach) and after a while the store. There was a paralysis in all business. As years increased, Mrs. Jarvis' health became impaired. She had several illnesses, and was obliged to go to the seashore to recruit, with one of her younger daughters. The fortitude with which she bore up under bodily pain and disease was remarkable. In all times of emergency she was cool and self-possessed.

Mr. Jarvis had always suffered more or less with rheumatism and his weak eyes, and though his mental faculties remained unimpaired and vigorous, yet his bodily infirmities increased. Mrs. Jarvis was scrupulously attentive to every detail that could promote his comfort and health. During the last years of his life he required many attentions, and she was a most careful and gentle nurse. Their son Charles was a great blessing to both parents. He had relinquished the practice of the law, to devote himself to them, and never was there a more self-sacrificing devoted son.

In April, 1859, the Consul had a slight paralytic shock and was never well again. He continued until October; when (surrounded by his faithful wife, children and some of his grandchildren and three of his wife's sisters), at

the age of eighty-nine years, the corruptible put on incorruption; the mortal, immortality. It seemed as if the light of that household had gone out.

Relatives came from Boston, New York and the vicinity to attend the funeral, which was a very large one. Mrs. Jarvis survived her husband ten years; her son decided to remain with his mother to smooth her declining years. His first work was to introduce modern improvements in the house, to make it more comfortable. This had been completed and a beautiful home provided for them both, when the war of 1861 broke out.

He believed it his imperative duty to give himself up to the service of his country, and in a few months he entered the army. It was a bitter, bitter trial to his aged mother. A very strong affection existed between them, and she could not at first be reconciled to this sacrifice. Her fortitude and strength of mind enabled her at last to submit to it, though not without much suffering. The year after the Consul died, her daughter Kate married Leavitt Hunt, Esq., of New York City, and she and her youngest sister Louisa immediately set out on a tour in Europe. Ere the separation from her son took place, Mrs. Jarvis invited her brother Bailey, his wife and two daughters to reside with her. Her son begged as a personal favor of his aunts Mrs. Longley and Mrs. Sprague to spend six months with his mother, knowing how much happiness their society afforded her.

Mr. Hunt returned to America soon after the outbreak of the war and entered the army as aid to General Heintzelmann. He was stationed at Arlington Heights and Washington; and his wife and wife's sister were with him. After enduring incredible hardships and suffering, at the end of a year, Major Charles Jarvis was permitted to come home for a few weeks on a furlough. When he rejoined

his regiment his mother accompanied him as far as Boston, and remained there as long as his business detained him. When the final parting came, the son returned three times to bid her farewell. It seemed as if he could not tear himself away from her. It was their last farewell. Two months after his return to his regiment came a telegram to his sister, Mrs. Cutts, in Brattleboro, that he had been shot in North Carolina and his remains were coming on with an escort of officers. She immediately forwarded the telegram to her dear mother, and hastened to her on the first train. Who can describe the grief and anguish of that bereaved mother, when the tidings reached her! But she bore the agony without a tear until her daughter reached her, when she fell on her neck and her grief burst forth in tears and sobs of anguish. Ere the sealed casket, draped with flags, and the military escort arrived, she was calm and self-possessed, and ready for the duty of the hour. It was an irreparable loss to his mother. She never recovered from it. Letters of condolence and sympathy flowed in upon her. Her noble son was greatly respected, and every one felt the tenderest sorrow for this sorely bereaved and venerated mother. In the summer of 1868 she spent some weeks with her widowed sisters Mrs. Longley and Mrs. Kimball in Haverhill. Mrs. Sprague had died, surrounded by her sisters, children and nieces, two or three years before. Soon after Mrs. Jarvis' return her daughter Harriet, with her two youngest children came on from Alabama, where she had resided with her husband and family for some time, to visit her much loved mother. Her coming on seemed quite providential; in a few days afterwards her mother had a paralytic shock. She thought her end was approaching and sent for her sisters and daughters. She seemed rejoiced to see them, and her expressions of affection were

very touching. She was perfectly calm and patient, and grateful for every attention. She said one day, "I never knew any one have so much done for them. Were I a queen, I could not receive kinder ministrations."

Her son-in-law, Dr. S. G. Jarvis, was her attendant physician, and an own son could not have been more affectionate, respectful and watchful over her.

As she grew more comfortable, the family returned to their homes, leaving her daughter Harriet and an excellent nurse with her. In January, she had another attack, and once more summoned her dear ones around her. She had sweet words of love for each, and calm and peaceful, trusting in the great Redeemer, she fell asleep January 12, 1869, aged eighty-one, and awoke in Heaven the just made perfect! She was greatly loved and respected by all, for her many noble and estimable qualities of heart, and mind. She was laid at rest in the beautiful cemetery a quarter of a mile from the house beside her husband and children. Two sisters, two brothers and four daughters, survived her.

It is no more than just to conclude this sketch by a brief notice of the noble woman who wrote it.

The virtues described by her so vividly were faithfully portrayed in her own life. Of her family of nine children she survived all but three. Her husband died four years before her in April, 1875. This sketch of her father's second wife was written only three years previous to her death, and never published. She inherited her father's love of justice, and from a number of distinguished ancestors, among whom may be mentioned Sir William Pepperrell, Chief Justice Sewall, Colonel Church and others, came a variety of talents, happily combined in herself. She is known as the author of a life of her father, written between his death, and that of his wife's and pub-

lished in 1869, under the title of "Life and Times of William Jarvis." She also published many minor contributions in various papers. Her strength of character and sweet disposition were ever the most prominent features of her life. She was extremely social in her nature, and delighted ever in having her friends and relatives around her. None could help responding to the warmth of her affection. She passed away in 1879, loved by all with intensity, leaving a beautiful record to which it would be difficult to do justice.

NOTE.—Since the writing of this sketch in 1876, Mrs. Jarvis' brothers and sisters have all followed her, except Mrs. Abby Bartlett Kimball, who survives at a green old age, the only living member of a once powerful, noted family.

While this article has been in type and its issue deferred by an unavoidable delay, the youngest daughter of Mrs. Jarvis has also passed away. Miss Louisa Bailey Jarvis died at Weathersfield, Vermont, Jan. 5, 1888, and was interred in the family plot. The only surviving members of the family are the daughters Mrs. Richards and Mrs. Hunt.

GENEALOGY OF THE ALLEN FAMILY OF MANCHESTER,
MASS., FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO
THE YEAR 1886.

BY JOHN PRICE.

NOTE.—Explanation of abbreviations: æ. = aged; b. = born; bapt. = baptized; d. = died; m. = married; dau. = daughter; unm. = unmarried. Old style is used previous to 1752; after, new style.

N. B. Any of the descendants of Wm. Allen, the early settler of Manchester, who have information differing from, or in addition to, the genealogy of the Allen family as here given, would oblige the compiler by furnishing him with that information through Box 28, Manchester Post Office.

It is not claimed that the genealogy of the Allen family is perfectly correct, but is as nearly so as the facilities for the object obtainable would furnish the facts.

1 William Allen, one of the first settlers of Manchester, Massachusetts, was born in 1602. He was from Manchester in England, and came over to Cape Anne, now Gloucester, for, and with, the Merchants' or Dorchester Co. in 1624, the members of that company remaining there for about three years, erecting a house for their accommodation and carrying on the business of fishing; but, not succeeding as well as desired, they left Cape Anne, went to Naumkeag and there took up their residence, and were there on the arrival of Governor Endecott and the settlers who came with him in 1628.

According to the deposition of Richard Brackenbury of Beverly taken Jan. 20, 1680 (when he was eighty years old), in which he deposes "that he came to New England with Gov. Endecott & landed at Salem 6th of Sept., 1628, & found living there, old Goodman Norman, & his son,

William Allen & Walter Knight & others, & that they came over in what was called the Dorchester Co.

They had sundry houses built in Salem, as also John Woodbury, Roger Conant (his son Roger first child born in Salem), Peter Palfrey, John Balch & others; and also that they had a house built at Cape Anne, for ye Dorchester Co. which house was pulled down by Gov. Endecott's order, and brought to Salem" (Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., Vol. XIII, p. 138).

William Allen probably resided in Salem until about 1640, when he removed to Manchester, then called "Jeffries Creek," a part of Salem. He was admitted freeman May 18, 1631. He was one of the petitioners in 1640 to the General Court for "Jeffries Creek" to be erected into a village.

He was one of the selectmen of the town in 1645 (the year when the town was incorporated, it being the ninth in Essex Co.) and also in 1668, and probably in many other years the records of which are lost.

He was a carpenter and built the first frame house in the town on the plain, so-called, where he resided.

Tradition says that he also built the first sawmill which was located near the residence of the late T. P. Gentlee, Esq., and just above the stone bridge which spans the stream; and on the stream to which it gave the name of "Sawmill Brook" which name it still retains.

This William Allen was the progenitor of most of the numerous families of Allens who have resided in this town and vicinity. In the Salem records he is said to have been an "influential and enterprising citizen." He sold his house in Salem to John Bridgman 9th of 4th mth. 1650.

He married Elisabeth Bradley in 1629 or '30. She was born 1603; died 1632.

Children :

- i Persis, b. Feb.—, 1631.
- 2 ii Samuel, b. Jan. 8, 1632.

His first wife dying 1632, he married, second, Elisabeth ———, about 1633.

Children :

- iii Elizabeth, b. Sept.—, 1634.
- iv Deborah,¹ bapt. 23-2mo., 1637.
- v Bethiah, bapt. 16-11mo., 1639; d. Feb.—, 1640.
- 3 vi Onesiphorous, bapt. 3-5mo., 1642.
- vii William, bapt. 31-3mo., 1646; }
- viii Jonathan, bapt. 29-5mo., 1649; } history unknown.

He died May 10, 1678.

His will is recorded in the 72nd folio of the first book of Essex Probate Records, dated 7th June, 1678, proved 26th 4th mo., 1679.

Herein he styles himself "William Allen Sen. of Manchester," makes his wife Elisabeth full and sole executrix of his property, to be disposed of after her death. In his will he gives to his "son Samuel, the remainder of the 25 acre lot of the upland, and a share of the meadow."

To his "sons Onesiphorous and William my whole 50 acre lot, and an acre of salt marsh at lower end of my orchard."

It is remarkable that both of these sons had houses of their own, and were to have lands adjoining them.

In the inventory presented which amounted to £186 10s. among other lands and effects are mentioned fifteen acres of upland lying on the bounds of Beverly, joining to Wenham Great Pond, also two oxen, one cow, two heifers, two sheep and a horse.

The widow Elisabeth testified that her husband William Allen did not give his son Samuel a double portion for

¹From records Salem First Church.

the reason that he, at the time of his marriage, helped him to build a house and gave him three cattle. William Allen and his wife were among the original members of the First Church in Salem, where the children of his second wife were baptized.

SECOND GENERATION.

2 Samuel² (*William*¹) born Jan. 8, 1632; married Sarah Tuck of Beverly, about 1660. He died in 1700. He resided at "Old Neck" and possessed a large landed estate there.

Children, all probably born in Manchester :

- 4 i Samuel, b. Aug. 4, 1663; bapt. 28-8mo., 1665, at Salem.
- 5 ii John, b. Feb. 12, 1666.
 - iii Sarah, b. Mar. 12, 1668; m. William Hassam, Dec. 4, 1684; d. 1711.
 - iv William, b. Mar. 18, 1670; d. Dec. 29, 1696.
- 6 v Joseph, b. June 26, 1672.
 - vi Alice, b. Sept. 20, 1674.
 - vii Rachel, b. Feb. 19, 1677.
 - viii Elisabeth, b. Mar. 18, 1679; m. Thomas Lee, Nov. 28, 1717; d. 1720.
- 7 ix Benjamin, b. June 4, 1681; bapt. Oct. 2, 1681.
- 8 x Jonathan, b. Sept. 4, 1684; bapt. Oct., 1684.

Samuel Allen was one of the selectmen in 1676, 1677, 1688, 1693.

3 Onesiphorous² (*William*¹) baptized 3-5mo., 1642; married Martha ———, about 1668.

Children, all born in Manchester :

- i Martha, b. Apr. 16, 1670.
- ii Mary, b. May 17, 1672.
- iii Onesiphorous, b. July 13, 1674; history unknown.
- 9 iv William, b. Mar. 7, 1677.
- 10 v John, b. May 17, 1679.
 - vi Richard, b. Dec. 10, 1684; history unknown.
 - vii Arabelah, b. Oct. 6, 1686; d. Apr. 16, 1748; unm.

He was one of the proprietors of the 400 acres. He died 1718.

THIRD GENERATION.

4 Samuel, jr.³ (*Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 4, 1663; married Abigail Williams, Mar. 17, 1686.

Children, all born in Manchester :

- i Sarah, b. July 14, 1687; m. Samuel Crow, Nov. 1, 1707.
- ii Abigail, b. June 10, 1690.
- iii Samuel, b. Oct. 7, 1692; died young.
- iv Hannah, b. May 22, 1695; m. Edward Lee, 1721.
- v Rachel, b. Oct. 1, 1698.
- 11 vi Samuel, b. Aug. 1, 1701.
- 12 vii Jeremiah, b. June 26, 1704.
- viii Martha, b. Jan. 26, 1706-7.
- ix Jerusee, b. Jan. 24, 1712.

Samuel Allen, jr., married, second, Sarah Tuck of Beverly, May 1, 1717.

5 John³ (*Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Feb. 12, 1666; married Elisabeth ———, 1689. She died 1725. He died 1737.

Children, born in Manchester :

- i John, b. Nov. 9, 1690; history unknown.
- ii Sarah, b. June 23, 1692; d. young.
- iii Jacob, b. Mar. 13, 1696-7; history unknown.
- iv Elisabeth, b. May 18, 1699; m. Robert Leach, jr., Feb. 23, 1725-6.
- v Hannah, b. Mar. 18, 1701; m. Edward Lee, July 11, 1721.
- 13 vi Josiah, b. April 28, 1703.
- vii Sarah, b. Sept. 28, 1706; m. James Killock of Gloucester, Dec. 7, 1738.
- 14 viii James, b. Aug. 26, 1708.
- ix Amos, b. May 26, 1711; lost coming from Virginia, 1754.
- 15 x Ezekiel, b. ———, 1716; lost at sea Nov. or Dec., 1752.

His first wife dying, he married, second, widow Margaret Hilton, Dec. 8, 1727. She died Nov. —, 1763, aged 84. He was selectman 1702.

Child :

- xi Nehemiah, b. ———, 1734; d. Jan. 20, 1749-50.

6 Joseph³ (*Samuel² William¹*) born June 26, 1672; married Catharine Leach, Oct. 28, 1696, born Oct. 1, 1680; died 1711.

Children :

- 16 i Joseph, b. Aug. 12, 1697.
- 17 ii Samuel, b. Jan. 23, 1698-9.
- 18 iii Benjamin, b. July 15, 1702.
- iv Robert, b. May 8, 1705; not traceable.
- v Percillah, b. Apr. 10, 1707.
- vi Isaac, b. May 30, 1709; }
- vii William, b. May 21, 1711; }

} history unknown.

His first wife dying 1711, he married, second, Sarah Knowlton, Jan. 20, 1712-13.

Children :

- viii Catharine, b. Dec. 27, 1713.
- ix Moses, b. Oct. 7, 1715; history unknown.
- x Sarah Knowlton, bapt. Dec. 8, 1717.
- xi Elisabeth, b. Feb. 24, 1718; m. Stephen Cross, Feb. 15, 1738-9.

7 Dea. Benjamin³ (*Samuel² William¹*) born June 4, 1681; married Abigail Hill, ———, 1705. She was born ———, 1678, and died Mar. 30, 1720. He died Feb. 22, 1747.

Children, born in Manchester :

- i Abigail, b. Sept. 13, 1706.
- 19 ii Bartholomew, b. July 26, 1708.
- iii Abigail, b. Nov. 19, 1710.
- 20 iv Elisha, b. May 25, 1711.
- v Lydia, b. Feb. 23, 1712-13; m. William Hooper, jr., Nov. 12, 1730.
- 21 vi Stephen, b. Oct. 22, 1714.
- vii Nehemiah, b. Feb. 15, 1717; pub. July 23, 1738, to Elisabeth Pierce.
- viii Sarah, b. Mar. 11, 1719-20; d. April 9, 1720.

He married, second (after the death of his first wife), Sarah Tuck of Beverly, Dec. 8, 1720. She died Sept. 25, 1749.

Child :

ix Benjamin, b. — ; was lost at sea in the spring of 1748.

He was selectman in 1714, 1721, 1725, 1734, 1735.

Benjamin Allen and Samuel Lee were the first deacons of the Congregational Church, chosen as such at the formation of the church about 1716. He served till his death, a period of thirty-one years.

8 Jonathan³ (*Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Sept. 4, 1684 ; married Mary Pierce, 1709, who died 1762, and he died Dec. 4, 1768.

Children, all born in Manchester :

- i Miriam, b. Aug. 27, 1710 ; m. Andrew Hooper, Nov. 4, 1729.
- 22** ii David, b. May 25, 1711.
- 23** iii Jonathan, b. Mar. 24, 1713.
- 24** iv Azariah, b. Dec. 9, 1714.
- v Malachi, b. Dec. 19, 1716 ; d. Sept. 6, 1717.
- 25** vi Mallaca, b. Nov. 25, 1718.
- 26** vii Jacob, b. June 13, 1721.
- 27** viii John, b. Aug. 24, 1723.
- ix Luke, bapt. June 12, 1726 ; not traceable.
- x Joseph, b. Sept. 3, 1727 ; d. young.
- xi Joseph, b. July 6, 1729 ; history unknown.
- xii Mary, b. July 18, 1730 ; m. Jacob Lee, Feb. 6, 1753.

9 William³ (*Onesiphorous*,² *William*¹) born Mar. 7, 1677 ; married Sarah Walker, Nov. 19, 1700. She was born 1678, and died Dec. 1763.

Children :

- i Martha, b. Oct. 23, 1702.
- ii Mary, b. Sept. 27, 1704 ; m. Josiah Lee, Apr. 25, 1737.
- iii Sarah, b. May 25, 1707.

10 John³ (*Onesiphorous*,² *William*¹) born May 17, 1679 ; married Alice Bennett in Beverly, Nov. 15, 1705.

Child :

- i Eunice, b. July 28, 1710 ; m. King Calf, Feb. 24, 1733.

FOURTH GENERATION.

11 Samuel⁴ (*Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 1, 1701; married Sarah ———, 1718.

Children:

- i Sarah, bapt. May 31, 1719.
- ii Hannah, b. Apr. 29, 1721; m. Solomon Driver, Dec., 1742.
- 28** iii Samuel, b. Mar. 4, 1722-3.
- 29** iv Ambrose, b. Dec. 27, 1724.
- v Jeremiah, b. Apr. 16, 1727; history unknown.
- vi Jerusha, bapt. Aug. 24, 1729.
- 30** vii William, b. June 9, 1731.
- 31** viii John, b. July 30, 1733.
- ix Abigail, bapt. Apr. 29, 1737.
- x Joseph, bapt. Dec. 3, 1738; history unknown.
- xi Dorcas, bapt. Aug. 3, 1740.
- xii Michael, bapt. Aug. 22, 1742; history unknown.
- xiii Mary, bapt. Mar. 23, 1745.

He was town clerk in 1740, and selectman in 1753.

Samuel was a merchant, and built the house that stood where the house of Mr. Jacob Cheever now stands. He sold his estate in Manchester and removed to Chelmsford, Mass.

12 Jeremiah⁴ (*Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born June 26, 1704; married Lydia Tuck of Beverly, Nov. 14, 1727, who was born Nov. 18, 1705, and died Jan. 26, 1782. He died July 15, 1777.

Children:

- 32** i Jeremiah, b. Apr. 6, 1728.
- ii Lydia, b. June 8, 1730; m. Aaron Lee, Apr. 3, 1751.
- iii Eunice, b. Nov. 24, 1734; m. Edward Lee, Feb. 10, 1751-2.
- iv Abigail, bapt. Aug. 2, 1741.

13 Josiah⁴ (*John*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born April 28, 1703; married Margaret Hilton, Nov. 12, 1724. She was baptized May 26, 1706.

Children, probably all born in Manchester :

- i Josiah, bapt. June 27, 1725; d. young.
- ii Jacob, bapt. Dec. 18, 1726; history unknown.
- iii Margaret, bapt. Sept. 22, 1728; m. Stilson Hilton, July 23, 1747, and d. Sept. 7, 1799.

33 iv Josiah, bapt. Aug. 30, 1730.

- v Amos, bapt. Apr. 21, 1734; lost at sea, Mar., 1770.
- vi Abigail, bapt. Aug. 24, 1735.

His first wife dying, he married Mary Foster; married in Wenham, Apr. 25, 1744.

Children :

- vii James, b. Oct. 19, 1746; history unknown.
- viii Jacob, b. Mar. 22, 1747-8; history unknown.
- ix Annis, b. July 9, 1751; d. Feb. 12, 1783.
- x Elisabeth, b. Oct. 27, 1754; d. Dec 5, 1754.

Josiah was killed by the Indians, in the spring of 1758.

14 James⁴ (*John*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 26, 1708; married Jerusha ———, Dec. 13, 1767.

Children :

- i Elisabeth, b. June 7, 1769; m. Nathan Lee, May 22, 1787.
- ii Molly, b. Sept. 23, 1771; m. Joseph Perry of Portland, Dec. 3, 1801.
- iii James, b. Aug. 24, 1774; m. Nov. 6, 1803, Anna Lee.

15 Ezekiel⁴ (*John*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born 1716; married Sarah Hassam, daughter of Jonathan and Mary (Bennett) Hassam, Apr. 19, 1749. She was born Dec. 25, 1727; died Sept. 12, 1803. He was lost at sea, November or December, 1752.

Children :

34 i Ezekiel, b. June 22, 1749.

- ii Benjamin, b. July 23, 1751; lost at sea, 1767.
- iii Jonathan H., b. July 29, 1753; history unknown.

16 Joseph⁴ (*Joseph*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 12, 1697; married Anne Edwards March 3, 1752. She

was born June 26, 1730. He was lost at sea, November or December, 1752.

Child :

- i Anne, bapt. Jan. 7, 1753; d. Jan. 11, 1753.

17 Samuel⁴ (*Joseph³, Samuel², William¹*) born Jan. 23, 1698-9; married Hannah Marsters about 1740 or 1741. She was born May 3, 1720.

Children :

- i Michael, b. Aug. 18, 1742.
- ii Thomas, b. June 7, 1744; lost at sea Mar., 1770.
- iii Mary, b. Mar. 12, 1745-6.
- iv Zadock, b. Feb. 23, 1748-9; not traceable.
- v Anna, b. Sept. 28, 1750; d. Oct. —, 1750.
- vi Jeremiah, } twins; { bapt. Feb. 2, 1752.
- vii Zerubbabel, } twins; { bapt. Feb. 2, 1752; d. Feb. 21, 1752-3.
- viii Anna, b. Sept. 18, 1754; m. Jacob Lee, Mar. 6, 1770.

18 Benjamin⁴ (*Joseph³, Samuel², William¹*) born July 15, 1702; married Remember ———, 1729. She was born 1702; died Sept. —, 1763. He died Nov. 30, 1760.

Children :

- i Joseph, bapt. Aug. 16, 1730; lost at sea, 1758.
- ii Andrew, bapt. May 20, 1733.
- iii Abigail, b. Aug. 22, 1735; m. Jeremiah Allen of Gloucester, Mar. 20, 1760.
- 35 iv Ezra, } twins; { b. Jan. 15, 1737-8.
- 36 v Bartholomew, } twins; { b. Jan. 15, 1737-8; lost at sea, Mar. —, 1770.
- vi Eunice, b. Mar. 13, 1740; m. Obed Carter, Dec. 18, 1760.
- 37 vii Andrew, b. Apr. 15, 1743.
- viii Rachel, b. Sept. 18, 1746.

19 Bartholomew⁴ (*Benjamin³, Samuel², William¹*) born July 26, 1708; married Abigail Cressee of Salem, Nov. 13, 1729. She was born Oct. 15, 1707.

Children :

- i Abigail, b. Aug. 19, 1731; m. Daniel Cressee of Beverly
- ii Sarah, b. Feb. 4, 1732-3.

Bartholomew was lost at sea, Mar., 1770.

20 Elisha⁴ (*Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born May 25, 1711; married Hannah Leach, Oct. 24, 1738. She was born Sept. 10, 1719; died Oct. 6, 1785. He died Aug. 1, 1780.

Children :

- i Elisha, b. July 3, 1740; probably died young.
- ii Hannah, b. Jan. 13, 1741-2; d. Oct. 24, 1757.
- iii Patience, b. Feb. 8, 1743-4; d. Oct. —, 1757.
- iv Sarah, b. Oct. 11, 1746; m. John Hill, Mar. 12, 1765.
- v Benjamin, b. Dec. 3, 1748; lost at sea, 1767.
- vi Elisha, b. June 26, 1752; d. June —, 1753.
- vii Patty, b. May 11, 1754; d. Mar. —, 1778.
- viii Nathaniel, b. Aug. 5, 1756; d. Dec. —, 1757.

21 Stephen⁴ (*Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Oct. 22, 1714; married Elizabeth Lee, July 14, 1737. She was born July 10, 1720; died Aug. 24, 1794. He died Dec. 9, 1798.

Their first child, Nehemiah, was born in Manchester, when they removed to Beverly where the remainder of their children were born as found on the Beverly Records; afterwards they removed back to Manchester and died there.

Children :

- i Nehemiah, b. Oct. 22, 1741.
- ii Nathaniel, b. May 30, 1744; m. Joanna Thorndike of Beverly, April 19, 1778.
- iii Elizabeth, b. Oct. 9, 1746; m. Joseph Haskell, Dec. 11, 1766.
- iv Joseph, bapt. Oct. 12, 1746. Elizabeth and Joseph were probably twins.
- v Thomas, b. Dec. 26, 1748; d. at sea Mar., 1770.
- vi Anna, b. May 10, 1751.

- vii Ruth, b. Mar. 29, 1753; m. John Cheever, April 13, 1802.
- viii Amos, bapt. June 8, 1755; d. at sea, Mar., 1770.
- ix John, b. May 1, 1757; lost at sea, 1777.
- x Susanna, b. Oct. 1, 1759; m. John Knight, Nov. 11, 1779.
- xi Rachel, b. Sept. 17, 1762; m. Isaac Lee, —, 1784, and d. May 15, 1862, æ. 99 yrs., 8 mos.
- 38 xii Stephen, b. May 30, 1764.

22 David⁴ (*Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born May 25, 1711; married Mary Hibbard, Jan. 15, 1732–3. She was born Dec. 22, 1706.

Child :

- i Elizabeth, b. Oct. 16, 1734; m. Samuel Samples, Jan. 16, 1755, and had four children; she m., 2d husband, Eleazer Crafts, Jan. 6, 1767, and they had six children. She d. Mar. 16, 1824, æ. 89 yrs., 5 mo.

23 Jonathan, jr.⁴ (*Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Mar. 24, 1713; married Priscilla Lunt of Ipswich, Dec. 24, 1734.

Children :

- i David, b. Oct. 25, 1736; d. Nov. 8, 1752.
- ii Rachel, b. Jan. 8, 1738–9; m. Jonathan Herrick, Jan. 5, 1758.
- 39 iii Jonathan, b. Mar. 16, 1742.
- iv Priscilla, b. May 6, 1747; m. Andrew Lee, Dec. 25, 1765.
- v Henry, b. Nov. 30, 1749; d. Nov. 13, 1752.
- vi David, bapt. Sept. 16, 1753; history unknown.
- vii Henry, b. July 3, 1755; d. July 30, 1757.
- viii Molly, b. Sept. 29, 1759; d. Oct., 1764.

Priscilla his first wife dying, he married, second, published Apr. 28, 1764, Sarah Dodge of Beverly, May 29, 1764.

24 Azariah⁴ (*Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Dec. 9, 1714; married Lydia Hooper, Jan 15, 1735–6. (Baptisms taken from the Records of the Congregational Church.)

Children :

- i Azariah, bapt. Jan. 1, 1737.
- ii Lydia, bapt. Oct. 28, 1739; d. —.
- iii Isaac, } twins; { bapt. May 24, 1741; d. Jan. 12, 1753.
- 40 iv Azariah, } bapt. May 24, 1741.
- v Abner, bapt. May 22, 1743; d. Dec. 2, 1760.
- vi Anna, bapt. Dec. 29, 1745; m. Dec. 7, 1762.
- vii Edward, bapt. Oct. 2, 1748; d. Oct. —, 1748.
- viii Lois, bapt. Oct. 29, 1749; m. Daniel Morgan, Dec. 31, 1767.
- ix Lydia, bapt. Sept. 2, 1753; m. James Brown, Dec. 11, 1770.

Azariah lost at sea, November, or December, 1752.

25 Mallaca⁴ (*Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Nov. 25, 1718; married Priscilla Hooper, Feb. 28, 1739–40. She was born Mar. 24, 1720; died Nov. 7, 1752. He was lost at sea, November, or December, 1752.

Children :

- 41 i Malachi, b. Mar. 10, 1740–1.
- ii Priscilla Lee, b. June 8, 1743.
- iii Elizabeth M., bapt. May 11, 1747.
- iv Simeon, b. July 12, 1750; m. Hannah Brown, Dec. 30, 1772.

26 Jacob⁴ (*Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born June 13, 1721; married Sarah Lee, Jan. 3, 1743–4. She was born April 21, 1723; died July —, 1765. He died Mar. 23, 1805.

Children :

- i Sarah, b. (date torn off); bapt. Nov. 23, 1746.
- 42 ii Jacob, b. April 23, 1749.
- iii Lucy, b. Nov. 3, 1751; m. George Towgel of Marblehead, Sept. 13, 1772.
- iv Bethiah, b. Feb. 5, 1755; m. 1st, Samuel Driver, Dec. 1, 1772; m. 2nd, Aaron Lee.
- 43 v Isaac, b. Feb. 6, 1758.
- vi Amos, b. June 8, 1761; lost at sea Mar., 1770.

He married, second, Mary Tarring, published Oct. 13, 1765, and had one child. She was born July 20, 1740; died Aug. 18, 1815, aged 76.

Child :

- 44 vii Nathan, b. July 25, 1768.

27 Dea. John⁴ (*Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Aug. 24, 1723; married Lydia Osborne or Osment, published Dec. 30, 1744; married in Beverly, May 26, 1745. She was born Nov. 6, 1728; died Nov. 6, 1777. He died Feb. 28, 1788.

Children, all born in Manchester :

- i John, bapt. Aug. 31, 1746.
- ii Nehemiah, bapt. Nov. 13, 1748; d. young.
- iii Lydia, b. Dec. 5, 1750; m. Samuel Edwards, Dec. 27, 1770.
- 45** iv Nehemiah, b. Nov. 24, 1753.
- 46** v David, b. Feb. 10, 1755.
- vi Annis, b. May 1, 1757; m. Asa Herrick, Jan. 29, 1778.
- vii Ruth, b. Oct. 8, 1759; d. Nov. —, 1759.
- viii Joanna, b. Sept. 29, 1760; m. John S. Girdler, Dec. 7, 1779; d. Aug. 30, 1841.
- ix Molly, bapt. June 19, 1763.
- x Betsey, b. Jan. 9, 1767; m. Thomas Stevens of Marblehead, May 9, 1786.

His first wife dying, he married, second, Elizabeth Pitman of Marblehead, Oct. 12, 1780. He was selectman 1759, 1762, 1763, 1764 to 1769, inclusive, 1777, 1779 to 1781; town clerk 1777, 1778. He was chosen deacon Feb. 16, 1758, and served till his death, thirty years.

FIFTH GENERATION.

28 Samuel⁵ (*Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Mar. 4, 1722–3; married Sarah Marsters; published Nov. 17, 1750; married Feb. 20, 1750–1. She was born Nov. 26, 1728; died Feb. 27, 1815, aged 87. He died Dec. 12, 1814, aged 92.

Children :

- i Twin children, b. 1752; d. a few days old.
- ii Benjamin M., b. May 1, 1753; lost at sea, spring 1774.
- iii Ruth, b. July 25, 1755; m. Nehemiah Allen, Dec. 8, 1774.
- iv Samuel, b. Sept. 25, 1757; d. Mar. —, 1781.
- v Ede, b. Dec. 11, 1761; m. Robert Knowlton of Hopkinton, N. H., Nov. 23, 1780.

29 Ambrose⁵ (*Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Dec. 27, 1724; married Mary Bear, Feb. 27, 1745-6, born Aug. 21, 1728; died May 9, 1799. He was lost coming from Lisbon, 1756.

Children :

- 47 i Ambrose, b. May 17, 1749.
- 48 ii Samuel, b. Mar. 9, 1750.
- iii Molly, b. April 6, 1751; d. May 9, 1799.
- iv Jerusha, b. Jan. 15, 1753; m. Benjamin Crowell, Aug. 17, 1775.
- v Elizabeth, b. Aug. 4, 1756; m. William Hassam, May 15, 1780. "She was published first to him July 22, 1775; but he was seized by a press-gang shortly after and served nearly five years on board a British frigate during the greater part of the revolutionary war. He then succeeded, with a number of others in making his escape, and returning home was published the 2^d time Ap'l 29, 1780, and was married as above. She died Feb. 10, 1833" (Hassam Family Genealogy, p. 6). He d. April 9, 1833.

30 William⁵ (*Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*,¹) born June 9, 1731; married Abigail Hooper, Nov. 7, 1751. She was born Nov. 10, 1733.

Children :

- 49 i William, b. Dec. 3, 1752.
- ii Abigail, b. May 23, 1755; d. Aug. 29, 1774.
- 50 iii John, b. Aug. 5, 1757.
- iv Lydia, b. Sept. 20, 1760; d. Sept. 1, 1765.
- 51 v Hooper, b. Jan. 4, 1763.
- vi Asa, b. July 4, 1766; d. Dec. 23, 1767.
- vii Samuel, b. Sept. 10, 1768; d. Sept. 22, 1769.
- viii Lydia, b. Aug. 14, 1770; d. Sept., 1775.
- ix Child, b. ———, 1771; d. Nov. 13, 1773.
- x Daniel, bapt. Aug. 9, 1772.
- xi Nabby, bapt. Oct. 27, 1776.

31 John, jr.⁵ (*Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born July 30, 1733; married Sarah Ringe or Rust of Gloucester, Dec. —, 1756. She was born Oct. 27, 1736.

Child :

- i Anna, b. Dec. 31, 1758.

His first wife dying, he married, second, Mrs. Ruth Lee, April 19, 1768. She was born Sept. 7, 1748.

Children :

- ii John, b. Sept. 13, 1769; d. Dec. 16, 1769.
- iii John, b. Jan. 5, 1771; d. Mar. 23, 1771.
- iv Ruth, b. June 18, 1772.
- v David, b. Aug. 30, 1774.
- vi Ethan, b. Aug. 30, 1777.
- vii Lydia, b. Jan. 7, 1780; m. George Hall, Sept. 16, 1802.
- viii Elizabeth, b. Feb. 21, 1782.

32 Jeremiah⁵ (*Jeremiah⁴ Samuel³ Samuel² William¹*) born April 16, 1728; married Eunice Gardner, June 17, 1748.

Children :

- 52** i Jeremiah, b. April 6, 1749.
- ii Eunice, b. April 27, 1751.
- iii Abigail, b. July 23, 1753.
- iv James, bapt. Dec. 7, 1755.
- v Daniel, b. Mar. 15, 1758.
- vi Oliver, b. May 3, 1760; d. Feb. —, 1765.
- vii Nathaniel, bapt. Sept. 18, 1763.

33 Josiah, jr.⁵ (*Josiah⁴ John³ Samuel² William¹*) born Aug. 30, 1730; married Rebecca Tewksbury, Nov. 14, 1754. She was born July 14, 1732; died in Beverly, 1821, aged 80. He died in 1777, in the Revolutionary War.

Children :

- i Rebecca, b. Jan. 27, 1758; m. Nicholas Woodbury of Beverly, Dec. 28, 1785.
- ii Josiah, b. Aug. 23, 1763.
- iii Thomas, b. Oct. 24, 1765; d. June 17, 1787, at sea.
- iv Margaret, b. Sept. 19, 1767; d. Feb. 13, 1773.

34 Ezekiel⁵ (*Ezekiel⁴ John³ Samuel² William¹*) born June 22, 1749; married Mary Proctor, Aug. 25,

1791. She was born in Essex, Nov. 30, 1765. He died Aug. 20, 1794.

Child :

- i Ezekiel, b. Nov. 3, 1792; d. Mar. 9, 1873, æ. 81; unm.

She married, second, Maj. Burley Smith, Oct. 24, 1799; died Aug. 14, 1832.

35 Ezra⁵ (*Benjamin*,⁴ *Joseph*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Jan. 15, 1737-8; married Lucy Bennett, Dec. 23, 1760. She was born April 10, 1741.

Children :

- i Lucy, bapt. Sept. 11, 1763; d. Sept. —, 1765.
- ii Ezra, b. April 26, 1766.

Their father was lost at sea in 1765.

36 Bartholomew⁵ (*Benjamin*,⁴ *Joseph*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Jan. 15, 1737-8; married Jane Morgan, Mar. 18, 1760, who was born Aug. 18, 1738.

Children :

- i Jacob, b. —, 1760; d. Oct. 23, 1774.
- ii Jenny, b. July 4, 1761.
- iii Anna, b. Jan. 18, 1764; d. Nov. —, 1765.
- iv Rachel, b. Sept. 1, 1765; m. Isaac Lee, jr., Dec. 18, 1783.
- v Benjamin, b. Sept. 19, 1767.
- vi Bartholomew, b. Aug. 19, 1769.

He died at sea, Mar. —, 1770. She married, second, Lawrence McLaughlin, Aug. 31, 1772.

37 Andrew⁵ (*Benjamin*,⁴ *Joseph*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born April 15, 1743; m. Elizabeth Killam of Wenham, published Dec. 26, 1766.

Children :

- i Andrew, b. Aug. 26, 1768; d. Sept. 26, 1769.
- ii Oliver, b. Aug. 10, 1769.
- iii Andrew, b. Mar. 21, 1771.
- iv Betty, b. April 16, 1773; d. May 14, 1775.

38 Stephen⁵ (*Stephen*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹), born May 30, 1764; married Betsey Baker, Dec. 25, 1787. She was born Mar. 13, 1770; died Feb. 4, 1846, aged 76. He died Sept. 2, 1805.

Children :

- i Betsey, b. Dec. 23, 1789; m. Thomas Wells of New Hampshire, Mar. 22, 1807.
- ii Nancy, b. Jan. 9, 1791; m. James Knowlton, June 14, 1813.
- iii Joah, b. Mar. 15, 1795; m. Enos Merrill of Hopkinton, N. H., Mar. 23, 1817.
- 53 iv** Stephen, b. May 13, 1797.
- v Oliver, b. Oct. 12, 1801.
- vi Susan, b. Mar. 16, 1803; m. Samuel Crowell, Nov. 20, 1825; d. Mar. 5, 1847.

39 Jonathan⁵ (*Jonathan*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Mar. 16, 1742; married Sarah Dodge, 1764.

Children :

- i David, b. June 30, 1765; d. Sept., 1765.
- 54 ii** Jonathan, b. Oct. 23, 1766.
- 55 iii** Daniel, b. July 16, 1768.
- iv Elisha, bapt. Apr. 5, 1770.
- v David, b. Feb. 7, 1772.
- vi Mark, b. Feb., 1775; d. Aug. —, 1775.
- vii Mark, b. Feb. 9, 1777.
- viii Sarah, } twins; { b. Feb. 20, 1779.
- ix Molly, } { b. Feb. 20, 1779.
- x Rachel, bapt., Sept. 2, 1781.

[To be continued.]

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XXIV. OCT., NOV., DEC., 1887. NOS. 10, 11, 12.

OUR NEW DOMAIN.

Few spots in America, of equal area, possess a greater wealth of local history than the block of about four acres of land bounded by Essex, St. Peter and Brown streets and Washington Square in Salem. Besides enclosing two large libraries located here for a generation, and now numbering together some seventy-five or eighty thousand volumes, enriched with works of art, and likely to retain their present domiciles for many years to come, these four streets bound a level tract which has been successively the home of such interesting characters as the gallant Captain Gardner who fell while leading his men against King Philip and the Narragansetts in the great swamp fight of 1675, and Major, the Honorable William Browne, a famous pre-revolutionary magnate whose mansion-house became afterwards the residence of William Gray, at one time the largest ship-owner in the United States, and was occupied as that famous hostelry and stage house, the Sun Tavern, from 1800 until its disappearance on the erection of the Manning building, now Bowker Block.

This square is also the location of the birthplace of Prescott, and of the residence of Capt. Joseph Peabody and of his son, Col. Francis Peabody; the house owned by the

former having been erected and occupied by the Honorable Nathan Read, who is claimed to have been the first inventor to apply steam-power to propulsion on land and water, and having been demolished in 1855 to make way for Plummer Hall. The mansion-house of Capt. Joseph White, the scene of the most dramatic crime ever perpetrated in New England and later the residence of the Honorable David Pingree; the Andrew house, in his boyhood, a favorite visiting place of Governor Andrew, which that great magistrate never outlived the hope of possessing; and the house in which the Nestor Governor Bradstreet died, March 27, 1697, after passing therein the last years of his protracted and eventful life,—all these are included within the designated limits. In the early years of the settlement the town pound was also within or near them and Brown street was designated for a time as “y^e lane leading from prison lane to y^e pound.” Since the year 1865 this interesting locality has been the resting place of all that remains of probably the oldest church edifice in the Union, a meeting house erected in 1634 by the first religious society gathered on the soil of New England and used by them under the guidance of Hugh Peters and Roger Williams, for school and municipal as well as church purposes, until 1672,—the very burr, as it were, which held and protected, at that early day, the priceless kernel of New England congregationalism.

It has been thought well in connection with the establishment this year, for the first time, of the Essex Institute in a local habitation of its own, to put on record in a brief summary what these crowded acres have to tell.

It is much to be regretted that diligent research has failed to determine to which of the original settlers these acres were at first granted. Lucie Downing, sister of Governor Winthrop, wife of Emanuel Downing who seems

to have been "an adventurer" as early as October, 1629, and to have come over probably not before October 21, 1637, and certainly as early as the spring of 1638, in which year Felt finds him to have been a member of the first church, to have taken the oath of freeman and to have been granted land,—this Lucie Downing, the mother of the famous Sir George, who gave his not unsullied name to Downing street in London and Downing College at Cambridge, conveys, August 8, 1656, these four acres to Joseph Gardner in the words following, viz. :

12° : 6° m° : 1656

Lucie Downing of Salem in New England by y^e advice Concent & allowance of Em : Downing her husband as appears by seve^{ll} Letters und^r his hand hath given graunted & confermed to Joseph Gardner there son a mesuage or tenem^t in Salem scituate upon fower acres of ground Intire hauing y^e comon on y^e east, y^e streete or highway fro y^e meeting house to y^e harbour on y^e south & a lane that goes to y^e north River on y^e west w^{ch} sd p^rmisses y^e s^d Lucie giues unto y^e s^d Joseph as his dowry & mariage porcion wth Ann y^e daughter of y^e s^d Emanuel & Luce Downing his wife as appears by a writing dated y^e 8 August 1656 : this is entered by way of causion.

witness to y^e deed

W^m Hathorn

George Norton

Mr Downing before leaving England had expressed to Governor Winthrop his wish to secure a house either by lease or purchase in advance of his coming. He writes "To the Honourable his verie loving brother John Winthrop Governor of the Massachusetts in New England," in these words :

"Good Brother :

. . . . Its noe small comfort to me that I haue hope

ere long to enioy your Companie, I purpose God willinge to sett forth hence in the begynning of Aprill at furthest and to take your sonne hence with me."

"I follow your councell in coming to the bay before I resolve where to pitche. I pray helpe me to hire or buy some howse (so as I may sell yt againe if I shall remove) in some plantacion about the Bay. Thus for present I take leave and rest leaving you and your affayres to y^e blessed protection of y^e Almighty.

Your assured and louing brother,

Em. Downinge."

21 9ber 1637.

That Mr. Downing had a mansion house here as early as 1644, is put beyond doubt by his deed of mortgage acknowledged before Mr. Deputy Governor Winthrop, December 20 of that year, granting to Thos. Fowle and John Winthrop, Jr., Esq., "his mansion house at Salem wth foure Acres more or lesse thereto adjoineing, and twenty Acres more purchased of M^r Endecot lyeing upon y^e South River." The Mansion House and four acres would seem to be the same as the "mesuage or tenem^t" conveyed by Lucie Downing to Joseph Gardner in 1656, and there are not wanting astute conveyancers who suppose from the terms of this mortgage that the homestead as well as the "twenty Acres more lyeing upon y^e South River" were both "purchased of M^r. Endecot." The mortgage further recites a deed dated the eighth day of June, 1640, "whereunto is annexed a bound of Sixe hundred pound" to secure said Fowle and Winthrop. But it was only in November, 1640, that the General Court established a system of registering deeds substantially like the admirable one now in use in New England and other parts of the Union, but not yet adopted in the old country. It is described in an act of

the "Gen^{ral}l Co^rt held at Boston, y^e 7th Day of y^e 8th m^o 1640."*

If any trace of this deed of June, 1640, exists it has escaped notice. But frequent mention of the Mansion House pushes its date back to a period about as early as the mortgage to Fowle and Winthrop. In 1649, Hu: Peter is writing to his "Hon: frend Iohn Winthrop iu: Esqr at Pequoit River or elsewhere," about the "100 l Mr Downing's house is bound to me for:" and again in 1654, he writes him, "Mr. Downing is not honest, owes mee 100 l for which his house is bound to mee." Peter Palfray deeds in 1653 a half acre "over & against Mr. Downing's house in Sa-

* "For avoyding all fraudulent conveyances, & that every man may know what estate or interest other men may have in any houses, lands or other hereditaments they are to deale in, it is therefore ordered, that after the end of this month no morgage, bargaine, sale or graunt hereafter to bee made of any houses, lands, rents or other hereditaments, shalbee of force against any other person except the graunter & his heires, unlesse the same bee recorded, as is hereafter expssed: And that no such bargain, sale or graunt already made in way of morgage, where the graunter remains in possession, shalbee of force against any other but the graunter or his heires, except the same shalbee entered, as is hereafter expressed, wthin one month after the end of this Courte, if the ptye bee wthin this iurisdiction, or else wthin 3 months after hee shall returne. And if any such graunter, &c, being required by the grauntee, &c, to make an acknowledgment of any graunt, &c, by him made, shall refuse so to do it shalbee in the power of any magistrate to send for the party so refusing, & comit him to prison wthout baile or mayneprize, until hee shall acknowledg the same.

And the grauntee is to enter his caution wth the recordr, & this shall save his interest in the meane time; & if it bee doubtful whether it bee the deed or graunt of the pty, hee shall bee bound wth sureties to the next court, & the caution shall remaine good as aforesaid.

And for recording all such bargaines, &c, it is further ordered, that there shalbee one appointed at Ipswich, for w^{ch} Mr Samu: Symonds is chosen for that Cort to enter all such bargaines, sales, &c, of all lands, &c, wthin the iurisdiction of that Court; & Mr. Emanuell Downing is chosen in like sort for the iurisdiction of the Court of Salem; & all the rest to bee entered by Mr Stephen Winthrope, the recorder at Boston.

And that it is not intended that the whole bargaine, sale, &c, shalbee entered, but onely the names of the graunter & grauntee, the thing & the estate graunted, & the date; and all such entryes shalbee certified to the recorder at Boston wthin 6 months yearely.

And it is ordered, that the fee for every such entry shalbee 6d.

And it is hearby declared, that this order shall not extend to any graunt made or to bee made by any towneship."

lem," and John Horn (Orne) uses it as a landmark in his deed of two years later.

It would be unsafe to conclude that Downing was dead in 1656, because he does not join his wife in the deed to Gardner. During his absence in England in 1643 she had executed a deed to John Pickering, to which the subsequent assent of her husband seems to have been accepted. "Seve^{ll} Letters und^r his hand" may mean his several deed. A deed to John Marston in 1658, with other allusions, give some ground to think him then living.

No mention occurs of him in New England earlier than the two grants in Salem made "unto Mr Emanuell Downyng 16th of y^e 5th moneth 1638."

Mr. Downing's interest in the New England venture probably dated as far back as 1629 and in October of that year he seems to have met, at Mr. Deputy Goff's house in London, the members of the committee of the adventurers who were to consider of and prepare a scheme for the transfer of the government to New England. The first volume of the "Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England" has on its 391st folio an entry as follows, under date of the General Court held at Boston, September 6, 1638.

"Whereas Emanuel Downing Esq^r hath brought over at his great charges all things fitting for takeing wild fowle by way of duck coy, this Court being desiros to encourage them & others in such designs as tend to publike good, do give him full liberty to place the same duck coy in some convenient place wthin the bounds of Salem, as the town & he can agree & that it shall not bee lawful for any pson to shoote in any gun wthin halfe a mile of the pond where such duck coy shall bee placed, nor shall use any other meanes for disturbance of the fowle there; & if any man shall offend . . & if any pson shall be taken shooting,

or going aboute to shoote wthin y^e said limits & being not knowne to y^e said Emanuel Downing or his servants w^{ch} shall attend the said duck coy, it shall bee lawful for them to make seizure of his peace & detain the same till the cause be heard & determined."

On the same sixth day of the seventh month, 1638, as appears on the first folio of the first book of recorded deeds for Salem, John Humphrey, Esq., of Salem, "hath graunted unto Emanuel Downing of Salem, Esqu., the two ponds and soe much high ground about the ponds as is needful to keepe the duck coye private from the disturbance of plowman, herdsmen . . . passing that way w^{ch} he may . . . as he take not in above fifty acres of upland rounde about the same." This Felt takes to be the origin of the name "Coy Pond," near Forest River.

Mr. Downing was a barrister of the Inner Temple. In 1633 he appeared before the Privy Council in London in behalf of the colony, and again in advocacy of Endecott's laws when they were subsequently assailed, and as late as September 10, 1653, he was praying the General Court for the setting out, by metes and bounds, of lands already granted him.

Influential as Emanuel Downing certainly was in the early years of the colony, we know neither the date of his birth, of his death, nor of his arrival in New England, nor how he became possessed of this valuable property. The house which he seems to have built upon it, probably between 1640 and 1644, is thought to have occupied a position on Essex street, almost exactly midway between the easterly and westerly corners of the field, a little west of Plummer Hall, and near the site of the brick mansion erected by Capt. Joseph Peabody about 1819-20 and successively occupied by his sons Joseph Augustus and Francis. Felt thinks it disappeared about 1750 and Col. Benjamin Pick-

man, writing in 1793, states the date of its destruction as 1755.

At these dates, it would not have been a ruinously old house and, since it was one of the most elegant and pretentious houses in the colony, it would hardly have been hurried out of sight from age or lack of style. It had two massive stacks of chimneys and also two transparent, hollow columns of lead sash and diamond glass, great lanthorns, one on either side the front door, for lighting up the ample grounds in front, and these rose from the foundation to the roof and contained a cupboard-door at each floor of the house for inserting candles or other illuminating appliances on occasion of festivity or other need of light. The house was of no mean dimensions. In 1731-2 it was apportioned between the widow and eldest son of Benj. Ropes. The widow was assigned dower in the western half, which, with a lean-to (variously spelt "linter" and otherwise), had a frontage of about twenty-five feet on the street. It had its "grate chamber," its "grate starres," its "grate entry" and its "grate rume" and underwent, as late as 1726, most extensive and costly repairs at the hands of Capt. John Green and had its "Shingalls" and its "clay-bords" put in order and would seem, at the middle of the century, to have enjoyed the "promise and potency" of protracted life. The appearance of the house has been made familiar by the picture which has the authority of Felt, who derived it from a water color painting in possession of the Essex Institute, probably done by Bartole in 1819. The house was of two full stories with three high gables in front, and a chimney and a gable at each end: doubtless it had at least "seven gables."

It was better known as the Bradstreet house, Governor Bradstreet, the most valuable citizen, Colonel Pickman says, who ever lived in Salem, having come into possession

of it by marrying for his second wife when he was seventy-three years of age, Anne, the daughter of Emanuel Downing, who was left a widow by the tragic and lamented death of Capt. Joseph Gardner, Dec. 19, 1675. She married the Governor on the sixth day of the following June, at the age of forty-two, after fully protecting her property by a marriage settlement which opens in this theocratic phrase, "Whereas, by the All-wise Providence of God, "there is a marriage intended in convenient tyme betwixt "Mr Simond Bradstreete of Bostone & Mrs. Ann Gardner "of Salem " and is dated, May 2, 1676. She survived her second spouse, who died in this house at the age of ninety-four, and herself died sixteen years later, April 19, 1713, leaving by will her "dwelling house, out-housing, orchard, garden and appurtenances, situate in Salem aforesaid, lying between Major William Browne's on the west side, Capt. Bowditch, William Gedney and Beadle on the east, the main street on the south and a lane on y^e north" to the daughters of Col. John Wainwright of Ipswich, deceased, grand-nieces of Madam Bradstreet the testatrix. These ladies at once leased the grand old mansion, with which they probably had no associations of a sentimental nature, for a public house and here was opened by Elisha Odlin, first licensed as an Innholder by the General Sessions of the Peace at Salem, June 30, 1713, again June 29, 1714, and again August 10, 1715, the famous old "Globe Tavern" of which Felt finds no mention earlier than 1727, and gives no hint that he knew where it was. One Elisha Odlin, for licensed innholders in those days were among the best of people, appears soon after this as a preacher at "Aimsbury" and before December 27, 1715, Benjamin Ropes had become "mine host of the Globe Tavern," for on that day we read in the Sessions Court Records "Benjamin Roapes is admitted an innholder in y^e town of Salem at y^e

Sign of y^e Globe in y^e room of E. Odlin." Benj. Ropes, like all licensed landlords, must give sureties "for keepinge good rule & order and payment of y^e King's, his magestie's Excise," and he offered on his first bond no less a personage than Philip English. He was again licensed July 17, 1716 and June 25, 1717. He died before the close of this last year, but he died the owner of the Bradstreet mansion as well as the Landlord of the Globe Tavern. November 1, 1716, he had received from the grand-nieces of Madam Bradstreet a deed of the whole property "called & known by y^e name of y^e Globe Tavern." His widow, Ann, administered upon his estate and was licensed July 15, 1718, to carry on the business of the "ordinary," and the inventory of his estate, in which the ratio of "pewter muggs," butts of "Rumm," barrells of "Sydar" and half-pipes of Spanish wine to the more sober furniture of chamber, kitchen and table is as "monstrous" as Falstaff's "one-half pennyworth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack," gives a broad hint of what the business of an ordinary at that time was. This unsuspecting hostess had accepted one John Green as surety upon her license-bond and soon found herself entangled with her surety in a bond of a closer and more enduring nature. He was probably a pilot of that name who served the Port Royal Expedition in 1710, for he soon appears as Captain John Green. "Ann Roapes *alias dicta* Green" is licensed July 14, 1719 "in behalf of John Green" and July 28, 1720, and for the four years succeeding, he is licensed in his own name. The next season finds him ailing or absent and the license is issued, June 29, 1725, to John Green by Ann Green his attorney, and the old Globe Tavern knows the Greens no more at till or taproom after that season closes. Benjamin Ropes, her son by her first marriage, having come of age, now takes charge of his mother's estate at her re-

quest ; is licensed for several years as Landlord ; is at the cost of forty shillings for a new gate-post with "y^e sign of y^e Globe," in 1726 ; in 1729 pays a fine in company with two other Innholders who have "severally confest that they had suffered negroes at or in their houses to have Punch for which they were payed by them, which is contrary to the Law of the Province, they being taverners. Its therefore Considered by the Court that they each pay apiece of ten shillings to be disposed of one-half to the poor of y^e town of Salem and the other to y^e informer & costs & stand committed till performed." This at the General Sessions of y^e Peace July 22, 1729, and in 1731, he closes the ordinary and his probate accounts as well, by making partition betwixt his twice widowed mother, his sister, his two brothers & himself of the fine old Bradstreet Mansion, statelier house than which the Colony had not seen, with its "grate-rume" now sunk to those base uses sooner or later sure to overtake the waning fortunes of so many fine old mansions in every age.

But it must be clearly understood that the estate left by Madam Bradstreet to Mesdames Davenport, Winthrop and Dudley, her grand-neices, and by them conveyed to "Benj. Roapes, Innholder" was by no means the princely estate of four acres with which Lucie Downing with the "allowance" of Emanuel, her husband, be she wife or widow at the time, had endowed Capt. Joseph Gardner on his marriage with her daughter Anne, in August, 1656.

On the contrary, no sooner had Joseph Gardner become possessed of this valuable tract of land than he proceeded to set off parts of it. This may have been necessary in order to clear the homestead of mortgages and the mortgages may have been necessary in order to build the homestead. To his brother, Samuel Gardner, he conveyed first the strip containing three-quarters of an acre, next

adjoining the house and barn on the east and extending from Essex to Brown streets — this by deed dated August 13, 1656, — then, in 1659, a second strip of equal area lying to the east between the last and the Common, now Barton's Corner, so that his brother Samuel then owned all east of the homestead lot ; and in the same year 1659, he conveyed a one hundred foot strip running along St. Peter street, then Prison lane, to Richard Prince, and lastly by "turf and twig" and the most ironclad instrument which scrivener could devise, he conveyed to William Browne in 1664 the next strip of one hundred feet in width lying to the east of Deacon Prince's purchase and extending from Essex to Brown streets and as far east as the remaining homestead lot. But at some unknown date and in some unexplained manner, Lieut. Joseph had also alienated another lot with a narrow frontage of two and one-half rods, dividing the grants to Samuel from the homestead of which he died seized. This lot, as early as September 14, 1671, got into the hands of the Buttolphs of Boston, and on that date John Buttolph and Hannah, his wife, who was the daughter of Lt. George Gardner of Hartford and a neice of Lt. Joseph, convey it to Lt. Thomas Gardner. His daughter, Mary, married Capt. William Bowdish or Bowditch, the same who gave the name of Bowditch's Ledge to the Tenapoo by striking on that rock in the "Essex Galley," and in the settlement of Lt. Thomas Gardner's estate in 1696, Capt. Bowditch came into possession of this easterly moiety of the Plummer Hall property. It is described in the Buttolph deed of 1671, as fenced in by itself, with a dwelling house on it, doubtless the one removed by Nathan Read in 1793, and as bounded west and north by Joseph Gardner. The old house, which Col. Pickman thinks built as early as 1655, must have stood, as Col. Perley Putnam, in 1859, said it

did, somewhat further to the east than the successor to it which Mr. Read raised in the rear of it in October, 1793. An old well, covered with a stone slab, still remains as a landmark in the centre of the basement of Plummer Hall, and may serve some future antiquary in deciphering these ancient bounds.

So now, from his marriage portion of four acres, which had a frontage on the main street or, "highway from ye meetinge house to ye harbour" of not far from 625 feet, Joseph Gardner before his tragic death in 1675 had parted with an acre and one half, including the Institute estate and all east of it, to Samuel Gardner, and on the west with about as large an area in two estates to Richard Prince and William Browne, and also with the Buttolph lot, retaining only to himself the middle acre, or thereabouts, with the elegant "homestead, outhousings, barn, sheds and trees" and a frontage on the street of about one hundred and eighty feet. The average depth of the lots varied little from seventeen poles or two hundred and eighty feet.

The will of Joseph Gardner, dated 1665, left all he had to his wife Anne who came into possession in 1675 and at once married Governor Bradstreet—so that before the house was forty years old, it had a famous history. It had sheltered Emanuel Downing, so prominent a man as to have his son ranked second, when social rank was the sole criterion, in the first class in the Catalogue of Harvard. It probably sheltered that distinguished son of his who came from England with his parents, prepared for college with Rev. John Fiske, was a protégé of Hugh Peters, a connection by marriage, and his father's pastor, "spent," says Upham, "his later youth and opening manhood on Salem Farms" although he left college in 1642-3, as his mother wrote her brother, Governor Winthrop, "strongly inclined to

travill," and Upham thinks, "tended his father's duck-decoys at Humphrey's Pond, angled in our brooks and made the crack of his fowling-piece reëcho through the wild woods beyond Proctor's Corner." Possibly this quaint old roof-tree may not have looked down upon the mortal remains of its gallant young master too early lost in that bloody mêlée with the Narragansetts, of which Major Church writes in his "Entertaining History,"—"Mr. Church spying Capt. Gardner of Salem amidst the Wigwams in the East end of the Fort, made towards him; but on a sudden while they were looking each other in the face, Capt. Gardner settled down, Mr. Church stepped to him and seeing the blood run down his cheek lifted up his cap and calling him by name, he looked up in his face but spake not a word, being mortally Shot through the head."

Capt. Gardner was the son of Thomas Gardner of Cape Ann and later of Salem, who was sent out with the first comers to supervise the fishing venture. He is represented as a man of standing, and of parts. When the General Court in May, 1675, divided the Salem Militia into two companies he was made Captain of one of them and in December following marched his command, ninety-five strong, through Dedham Plain and Wickford to the bloody field. "Stone-Wall-John's Crew," says Hubbard, "picked off some of them while straggling," and these seem to have been a Sergeant and two men, Rice and Pikeworth of Salem and Batchiler of Wenham. Four others of his company, Capt. Gardner among them, were slain in the fray and ten wounded and the names of these honored dead as well as of the whole company he mustered and led so bravely are recorded for all time in the archives of the State.

But if the savagery of the foe, or the poor and primitive facilities for transportation, made it impossible to restore

the form of the dead captain to his honored home, and thus he was denied the rite of sepulture among the people he had marched forth so gallantly to defend, it is not hard to conjure up other scenes only less stirring, upon which those diamond-glazed windows must have looked out in the first century of our colonial life.

Who shall say what scenes of horror may not have been witnessed from the rear of this lofty mansion, when in 1692, an unobstructed view across "Downing's Field" showed the unhappy victims of the consuming frenzy dragged from their innocent homes to the jail in Prison Lane, and from their noisome quarters in the jail to Gallows Hill? Who shall say that the last agonies of the venerable Corey, whose place of death by torture is thought to have been the corner of Brown and Howard streets, may not have been witnessed from this very roof? Probably the Nestor Governor Bradstreet was married in this house and the "grate rume" may have echoed with the stately congratulations of the best quality of the colony on that auspicious scene, while the double lanthorn-columns at the doorway of the "grate entry" glowed with an unwonted brilliancy of candle lights and torches and shed hospitable beams abroad over lawn and shrubbery and trellis-vine and shade tree on that festal night of leafy June. And while the tavern doors stood open, who shall say what train bands tramping by on French or Indian marches, what dusty ranks of pikemen and musketeers with their matchlocks and partisans, with their halberds and helmets of steel, their snap-hances, their bandoleers and their leathern jerkins, may not have halted, weary and footsore, to refresh themselves with the stout ales or sparkling cider of the tap room and bid a tremulous good-by to the friendly gathering at "y^e sign of y^e Globe!"

The title to the homestead from its apportionment in

1731-2 is not difficult to trace, nor does it possess much interest for many years. Two of the heirs of Benjamin Ropes, innholder, divided the rear or Brown street half between them and the Essex street half was allotted, in three sections, to Benjamin, the administrator, who took the easterly portion of the house and grounds with a street frontage of about thirty-three feet, his line running through the "grate entry" and the barn, and bounded by Capt. Wm. Bowditch on the east. His mother took for dower the next portion, consisting of the other half of the house and barn, with a street frontage of twenty-five feet or thereabouts, and bounding westerly by her second son Thomas, who took for his share the remaining strip without buildings, forty feet wide on the street, and bounding westerly by a lot granted to Joseph Ropes by his father at the time of his original purchase, Nov. 6, 1716, also about two and one-half rods wide, bounded by the Browne Homestead on the west, and running through to the back lane leading to the Training Common. Benjamin Ropes, Senior, had further impaired his original purchase by granting a strip on the east about as wide as this last, to his neighbor Capt. Bowditch, the great grandfather of the astronomer, about a month before he died. So that the homestead, as the landlord of the Globe left it, was by no means as grand as when he acquired it. Moreover his sons Benjamin and Thomas had, before the final apportionment, each built a shop of some sort on the lot afterwards assigned him, so that the street front was encumbered before 1731 as it continued to be for near a century, and this fact confirms the statement that the Bradstreet House stood well back from the main street as every dignified dwelling house should. From the widow and heirs of Benjamin Ropes, Innholder, what remained of the Bradstreet homestead estate passed, by a score or more of deeds interesting only

to the conveyancer, in which figure the well-known names of Miles Ward, Nathaniel Ingersoll, George Williams, Peter Cheever, Josiah Dewing and Nehemiah Andrews, until the whole title rested once more between January 6, 1806 and August 13, 1807, in a single owner, with the exception of the southwest corner later bought by Col. Francis Peabody, and the owner was Capt. Joseph Peabody who had owned and occupied the estate on the east of it since the opening of the century. In 1819-20, Captain Peabody erected the stately brick dwelling house now covering the site, which was occupied successively by his son Joseph Augustus, until his death ten years later, and then for thirty years from 1836 by his son Col. Francis Peabody. The three great horse-chestnuts which adorned its front until within a decade were brought as saplings from Judge Putnam's grounds at the old Assembly House in Federal street, where Washington had danced a measure with Madam Carnes, and were planted by Mrs. Joseph Augustus Peabody, Judge Putnam's daughter. Two of them remain, of which the one next Plummer Hall, from some unexplained variety of species, or fortunate circumstance of soil or water, exposure to light or protection from weather, exhibits its spring foliage in advance of all its neighbors with as much regularity as Bonapartists expect the famous Napoleon horse-chestnut at the foot of the Champs Elysées to put forth each year its leafy welcome on the twentieth of March, the day of the return from Elba.

The familiar statuary, now transported to the Collins or Hooper estate, once the headquarters of Gov. Gage, was brought from Europe and placed in front of the Peabody mansion during the occupancy of Col. Francis Peabody, who made other changes, improving the access to the carriage entrance on the west by the removal of the Miles

Ward house, and adding a banqueting hall in the rear which probably has had no rival in the county either in the elegance of its appointments or in the brilliant companies of guests its stately walls have welcomed. Upon the death of Capt. Joseph Peabody in 1844, the estate was released by the heirs to his son Col. Francis, and after the death of the latter in 1867, it passed to the present occupant. At the rear on Brown street Colonel Peabody had an extensive family riding-school, with work-shops on the second floor devoted to scientific and mechanical experiment.

The residence next to this on the east, which in 1799 Capt. Joseph Peabody bought of Elizabeth, wife of Nathan Read, in her right, is described in the deed as the "large mansion house of Elizabeth Jeffrey." Madam Jeffrey was the widow of Hon. William Jeffrey, clerk of the County Courts, and the daughter of Joseph Bowditch, also a well-known county officer and wit, whose grandfather, Capt. William Bowdish or Bowditch, had married a Gardner and in this way become possessed in 1696 of one portion of this estate with a house older than 1671, and in 1716 by purchase from Benjamin Ropes, of the other. "At this writing," says Col. Pickman in 1793, "Mr. Nathan Read, who married Mrs. Jeffrey's only child is building a very large house in the rear of this." The house built in 1793 was designed by Macintire in his best style and was occupied by Mr. Read, by the father of the historian Prescott who was born there in 1796, and later by Captain Peabody and by Madam Peabody, his widow, until it disappeared in 1855 to make way for Plummer Hall. Its predecessor, the old colonial homestead of the preceding century, stood further towards the east and so far out into the street, which was but a lane in its early years, as to nearly reach the present curbstone; and so low, or rather the street at this point has been so much raised, that

when the late Col. Perley Putnam was at work as a young mechanic on the mansion erected by Mr. Read in the rear of it, he stepped on a plank from the second floor window of the old house into the first floor window of the new one. Both were of wood.

An excellent picture of the fine old Peabody mansion which was destroyed before "decay's effacing finger" had swept its lines, and which stands there at its best, with its great trees before it, and on the easterly side its ample carriage way, stables and horse-sheds extending in the rear as though in token that its hospitalities were not withheld even from dumb beasts, may be seen prefixed to Ticknor's life of William H. Prescott, who first saw the light in one of its eastern chambers.

Of Nathan Read, his career and his inventions, it seems well that the publications of the Institute should perpetuate some more extended notice than they now contain. His distinguished nephew, Judge David Read of Vermont, has made this possible by his elaborate publication of 1860-70, and from that work we extract the following account and the correspondence of rare local interest with which it closes.

Nathan Read was a native of Warren (formerly Western), Worcester County, Mass.; born July 2, 1759. His ancestors originally came from Newcastle-upon-Tyne; they then settled in the County of Kent, where they lived for several generations. Thence they emigrated to America at an early day, about 1632, and settled in the vicinity of Boston, where they resided for many years. His grandfather, when the country was new, and there were but few settlements in that section of the State, purchased a large tract of land in Warren upon which he settled, and where he spent the remainder of his life in the improvement of his lands. His father, Major Reuben Read, was an officer in

the Revolutionary service ; and his mother, whose maiden name was Tamison Eastman, was first cousin to Major General Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island. His father was an only son, and resided upon the homestead during his life. At the age of fifteen years, Nathan commenced his preparatory studies for College, and at the close of the summer vacation of 1777, entered Harvard University. His parents were desirous that he should qualify himself for the ministry, and he attended Professor Sewall's Lectures on the Hebrew language. He acquired a good knowledge of the language and, by appointment, gave a Hebrew Oration at a public exhibition of the University ; and during the interval between the death of Professor Sewall and the appointment of his successor, Mr. Parsons, he was engaged to instruct the class in Hebrew. He graduated in 1781, on which occasion he was selected to deliver the valedictory address. He was distinguished as a scholar, and left College with the respect of officers and students. After graduating he was engaged in teaching in Beverly and Salem, until 1783, at which time he was elected a tutor, in Harvard University, where he continued his labors as such until the commencement of 1787. He then resigned his place as tutor, and entered upon the study of medicine with Dr. Edward A. Holyoke of Salem, until October, 1788, when he gave up the idea of following medicine as a profession, relinquished its study, and opened an apothecary store in Salem.

While engaged in the study of medicine with Dr. Holyoke, and also while in his store, he devoted himself, more or less, to study and experiment in the mechanic arts, which indeed held a higher place in his mind than his medical studies or merchandise. It was during this period of time that he invented and constructed his models of a steamboat and locomotive carriage.

In October, 1790, he was married to Miss Elizabeth Jeffrey, daughter of William Jeffrey, Esq., Clerk of the County of Essex, and granddaughter of Joseph Bowdish. August 24, 1791, he was elected a member of the American academy of Arts and Sciences. April 4, 1795, he removed to his farm in Danvers, and built a permanent structure across Waters' River, which served the double purpose of a dam and bridge. In 1796, he and his associates erected and put in operation the Salem Iron Factory, for the manufacture of chain-cables, anchors and other materials of iron for shipbuilding, he having the chief superintendence of the work. While thus engaged, he invented and put in operation in the factory, designed for its own special use and benefit, with a view to the saving of labor and other economical purposes, a nail machine, since extensively used for cutting and heading nails at one operation, for which he received a patent, as the original inventor, from the United States Government on the 8th of January, A. D. 1798. This highly important invention obviated the very great labor and expense of the manufacture of those articles by hand.

In October, 1800, he was appointed a member of Congress for Essex South District, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Judge Sewall, the late member from that district; and in November, 1800, he was elected by the people of the district, a member of the succeeding Congress, for two years from and after March 4, 1801, and was a member during the severe contest in the House of Representatives for the Presidency, between Jefferson and Burr.

In February, 1802, while a resident of Danvers, he was appointed by Governor Strong a special Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Essex; and af-

ter his removal from Danvers to Belfast in Maine, which was in 1807, he presided as Chief Justice of the Court in Hancock County for many successive years. In 1815, he was elected an honorary member of the Linnæan Society of New England.

After removing to Belfast, Judge Read gave most of his time to agricultural pursuits; but he often indulged himself in new inventions in the mechanic arts and trying experiments therein; and during his whole life these and the natural sciences were his favorite study. He invented several useful agricultural implements for some of which he took a patent, but constructed them mainly because he had use for them on his farm. His farm consisted of some four hundred acres of land, finely situated near the head of Belfast Bay, lying upon the shore just south of the City of Belfast. His residence overlooked the Bay, with its attractive scenery; and here he spent the remainder of his life, ever taking a lively interest in all matters of a public character, especially such as were designed to improve the moral condition, and advance the intellectual and social development of the people among whom he lived. He regarded the cause of education as involving one of his highest duties; and at an early day, when the town was comparatively new, he was instrumental in establishing a high school in Belfast, that the youth of the place might be educated at home, the beneficial effects of which have long been appreciated.

He died at his residence in Belfast, January 20, 1849, in the ninetieth year of his age, and in the full possession of his intellectual powers, except for a few days at the close of his last sickness. He possessed a strong constitution, and a strong and highly cultivated mind; his aims were high, and he soared above the sordid interests of the world.

He never sought to make himself conspicuous, or to give publicity to his attainments or labors, but chose rather unobtrusive retirement. His deportment was always gentlemanly; his form fine, and his countenance highly intellectual. His conversation was ever interesting and instructive; and he lived and died with the respect and esteem of all who knew him. He was the last surviving member of his College class; and with two exceptions, — Judge Farrar and James Lovell — the oldest living graduate of Harvard University.

As early as 1788, as already noticed, while a resident of Salem, he became especially interested in the purpose of applying steam-power to the practical end of propelling boats and land carriages. He foresaw the importance of attaining such a purpose, and set himself to work to contrive the necessary machinery to effect it, which at that time was felt by all intelligent men, who had given their attention to the subject, to be a *desideratum*, a work yet to be accomplished. The idea as applied to boats was not new; various experiments had been tried, but were mainly directed to the mode of propulsion, without so much attention to the motive power; and all the experiments hitherto tried had proved a failure. To show the nature of those experiments, I will briefly notice them in their order, that the reader may judge of the cause of their failure, and of the necessity that then existed of great improvements in the steam-engine, in order to make the application of steam-power to boats and land carriages successful.

[Judge Read's biographer then enters upon an elaborate discussion of the claims of various inventors and the principles involved, which, however interesting, would be out of place here, and the points of which, having a local interest and value, are well illustrated in the following correspondence and documents.]

Salem, January 8, 1791.

SIR:—I forwarded last week to Mr. Remsen* models of several machines, drafts and descriptions of which are enclosed. The model of the boiler which I have forwarded, is an improvement upon one of those I exhibited last winter. The model I refer to consists of several annular vessels placed one above another within the furnace, in such a manner as to expose a very large surface directly to the fire. For annular vessels, placed in an horizontal position, I have substituted circular tubes, placed in a vertical position† within the furnace, which is formed by the boiler itself, in the same manner as the other was. In the last boiler, which is stronger, more simple and elegant in its construction, I have paid less regard to the evaporating surface than in either of the others—finding by experiment that the principle of evaporation suggested by your Excellency is perfectly just, when applied to close vessels. I am sensible that a pipe was several years since made use of by Mr. Rumsey for generating steam, and also perceive from the ‘Philosophical Transactions’ that a tube in the form of a worm of a still was used upwards of twenty years ago for the same purpose; *but I do not know that any other person but myself hath ever constructed a tubular boiler, formed in such a manner as to constitute of itself a complete furnace.* It is about three years since I first projected a boiler upon this plan. How far my improvements merit an exclusive privilege, the Honorable Board will judge. Should a Patent be granted, I suggest it may be delivered to Benjamin Goodhue, Esq., who will pay Mr. Remsen all charges that have arisen in consequence of my application.

I am, with the sincerest respect,

Your Excellency’s most obedient servant,

NATHAN READ.

To His Excellency Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State,
Commissioner of Patents, etc.

* Mr. Remsen was the Secretary of the Board of Commissioners.

† In the *Scientific American* vol. III, No. 11, new series, p. 174, September 8, 1860, the editors say, “The reason why we prefer a boiler with vertical tubes is owing to the favorable results which have been obtained with such a boiler on board the United States frigate *San Jacinto* in comparison with one having the old-fashioned tubes. We do not mean one that has the fire returned through the tubes; but water tubes, as explained in Isherwood’s *Engineering Precedents*.”

THE UNITED STATES :

To all to whom these presents shall come :

GREETING :

Whereas Nathan Read, of Salem, in the State of Massachusetts, hath presented a petition to the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Department of War, and the Attorney General of the United States, alleging and suggesting that he hath discovered the following useful devices, not before known neither used; that is to say, an improvement of the boiler of the steam-engine, by constructing it in such a manner as to constitute of itself a complete furnace that more effectually prevents the loss of heat than any other furnace that is wholly or in part foreign to the boiler itself, by reducing its size, and rendering it very portable, and at the same time increasing its force, by exposing within a small space a very large surface directly to the fire, and by connecting it with a reservoir in such a way as to be replenished with water with as much safety and conveniency when on board a vessel in motion as at rest. Also an improvement of the steam cylinder, by which it is rendered more portable and convenient for working in an inclined or horizontal position, and which is in the piston, which has two stems, or rods, one coming out at each end of the cylinder, and alternately acting with equal force and in contrary directions. And also a practical mode of driving or impelling boats or vessels of any kind in the water or against the current, by means of the chain-wheel, or rowing machine, constructed and operating upon the general principles of the chain-pump, and moved by the force of steam or any other power, in the same manner the chain-pump is moved; and praying that a patent may be granted therefor. And, whereas, the said discovery hath been deemed sufficiently useful and important: These are, therefore, in pursuance of the Act entitled 'An Act to promote the Progress of the Useful Arts,' to grant to the said Nathan Read, his heirs, administrators or assigns, for the term of fourteen years, the sole and exclusive right of making, using and vending to others to be used, the said discovery so far as he, the said Nathan Read, was the discoverer, according to the allegations and suggestions of the said petition.

In testimony whereof, I have caused these letters to be made Patent, and the Seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand, at the City of Philadelphia, this twenty-sixth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the sixteenth.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

[L. S.]

By the President :

THOS. JEFFERSON.

City of Philadelphia, Aug. 26, 1791.

Mem°.—In the summer of 1788 I went to assist Mr. Nathan Read in keeping his apothecary shop ; the following winter and in the summer of 1789 he was much engaged on mechanical and philosophical subjects ; particularly in the construction of a steam-engine whose power might be advantageously applied to the propelling of boats and carriages ; and in order to ascertain by experiment the effect that float-wheels would have upon the boat, I very well remember that he had a light boat built by a Mr. Pierce, to which was attached a pair of float-wheels to be moved by hand — the experiment was tried in Porter's River in Danvers. I was not a witness to it, but was told that it succeeded to his fullest expectations. The boat was afterward brought back and remained for some time in the back part of the shop ; why steam was not applied I then did not make inquiries, and soon after leaving his shop for other pursuits, I made no further inquiries about it, but have since understood it was for the want of a sufficient capital to put it in operation.

W. SHEPARD GRAY.

Salem, December, 1816.

I recollect y^e above facts stated by Mr. Gray, and remember to have seen Mr. Read row about y^e river in y^e boat ; but could not ascertain y^e time when y^e boat was made and used.

JOHN PRINCE.

Belfast, January 27, 1817.

HON. TIMOTHY PICKERING.

SIR : * * * * On examining my papers at Belfast, I find that it is upwards of twenty-six years since I invented the steam-engine, with horizontal arms, similar in principle to the engine for which Mr. Trevethick has recently received a patent in England. I have now in my possession a drawing of the engine ; and an accurate description of its principles, construction, and operation, and of the manner of connect

ing it with the boiler, copied in the year 1789, from my original draught, by Mr. William Shepard Gray, the cashier of Essex Bank.

With assurances of my highest respect and esteem,

N. READ.

[Judge Read to Hon. Timothy Pickering,* January 27, 1817.]

"On the same sheet of paper is a drawing, and in the same manuscript a description of a steamboat, constructed with paddle-wheels, in the same manner they are now used. This drawing of the boat was taken about the same time from one which I built and rowed myself across Porter's River, in Danvers, in the year 1789, in presence of Dr. Prince of Salem. I have good reason to believe that this was the first boat ever constructed with paddle-wheels, with an avowed intention of propelling it by steam.

"On the 8th of February, 1790, about two months before the passing of the act to Promote the Progress of the Useful Arts, I presented a petition to Congress for a patent for the above and other inventions, as will appear by the Journals of the House, and by my petition (if kept on file), a copy of which I have preserved. Some months after presenting this petition, I unluckily discovered, by looking into some of the first volumes of the 'Philosophical Transactions,' that an experiment had been made on board a French frigate, with a view to ascertain the comparative utility of wheels and oars in a calm.

"Unacquainted with the spirit of the law, and not knowing that a new application was deemed a new invention, I took out a patent on a new petition for a steamboat, in the year 1791, to be propelled through the water by chain-wheels, — scrupulously avoiding the simple wheel, which answered my purpose perfectly well, — supposing I should not be entitled to a patent for it, in consequence of its hav-

* Colonel Pickering, as Secretary of State, had been ex-officio Commissioner of Patents.

ing been applied in another way on board a frigate. On the above statement of facts, which I can verify, *Query*, whether a patent for the above inventions, should I take one out, would be valid and of any use to me?

"The law requires that the invention should not be known or used before the application. The engine and boat, with paddle-wheels, were not known and used at the time I first applied for a patent; but my application was before the passage of the above act. Will my application to Congress, before the passage of the act, be considered in law equivalent to an application to the Secretary of State?

"The above questions are interesting to me, and I should like to have your opinion upon them when you are at leisure, if you will take the trouble to give it. Another question on which I should like to have your opinion is, whether the experiment made on the boat, constructed in the manner above mentioned, and with the avowed design of propelling it by steam, will any way invalidate Mr. Fulton's patent, so far as it includes the use of paddle-wheels of the same construction I invented and used many years before he applied for a patent?"

Colonel Pickering, of Wenham, Massachusetts, who was Secretary of State under the administration of John Adams, and a friend and acquaintance of Judge Read during his residence in Salem, and supposed to be familiar with his inventions, speaks of the invention of paddle-wheels as original with him, as late as 1817; which will appear from the following letters of introduction to Miers Fisher, of Philadelphia, and Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, given him on the occasion of his going to Washington, that year, on business connected with the patent-office:—

Wenham (near Salem), December 4, 1817.

DEAR SIR:— Allow me to introduce to you my much esteemed friend, Nathan Read, Esquire, the ingenious inventor and improver of several useful machines, on account of which he is now on his way to Washington.

I believe you were engaged as counsel for your friend, Colonel Ogden, in relation to his controversy with the Fultonites, before the Legislature of New Jersey. At any rate, I presume you are acquainted with the merits of the case. Mr. Read was the real inventor of the essential part of Fulton's machinery — the water-wheels as applied to propel boats by steam. Of this he can produce satisfactory evidence, which he will show you if your leisure admits.

I pray that Mr. Read, as a gentleman of science and distinguished worth, may receive your attentions.

With very respectful esteem,

I am your obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

RICHARD STOCKTON, Esq.

Wenham (near Salem), December 4, 1817.

DEAR SIR: You will permit me to introduce to you my worthy friend, Nathan Read, Esq., the ingenious inventor and improver of several useful machines, for some of which he has obtained patents, and is now going to Washington for others. Such a man will find a patron in every friend to practical schemes of public utility, and receive your attentions in particular. But what especially made me desirous of your seeing Mr. Read was the recollection of your zealous patronage (I think I do not mistake) of Mr. Fitch, in his essays to propel boats by steam. Mr. Read will satisfy you that he was the real inventor of the grand and essential parts of Fulton's machinery as applied to the moving of vessels—the water-wheels; and stated the same in his petition to Congress, in the year 1790, while sitting at New York, where it was publicly known, and where Fulton, I take it, aided by Chancellor Livingston, began his operations with those wheels.

With great respect and esteem,

I am your friend,

T. PICKERING.

MIERS FISHER, Esq.

Seventeen years later, Judge Read addressed to a friend the following exhaustive statement of his claims, with which these extracts must close. His allusion to his visit to Washington where he boarded in the same house with Dr. Manasseh Cutler, at a most interesting period, finds a friendly echo in the writings of Dr. Cutler recently collected and given to the public.

Belfast, August 22, 1834.

DEAR SIR: Fitch was the first who constructed a steamboat in America; Rumsey was the next. Fitch applied paddles, and could not propel his boat more than four miles an hour. Paddles were subsequently tried on a large scale, and found to be inadequate to the purpose. Rumsey at first used a pump, which drew in water at the bow, and forced it out at the stern of the boat. He next tried setting-poles for river navigation, but without success. Believing their failure was occasioned by their ill-constructed boilers and complex machinery, and believing also that steam might be advantageously applied to land carriages, I constructed in the year 1789 a small boiler, which, from its characteristic principles, I denominated a Portable Furnace Boiler. It occupied but little space, was light and strong, and so constructed as to require no other furnace than what itself constituted. It was especially designed for steamboats and steam-carriages, a model of each of which I had constructed the same year.

The boat was of sufficient size to carry a man and the necessary apparatus to propel it through the water. To the axis, which extended across the gunnel of the boat, were fixed two paddle-wheels which were constructed on precisely the same principles they now are for steamboats. With this boat, by means of a crank and without a fly-wheel, I rowed myself, soon after it was finished, with great rapidity, across an arm of the sea, which separates Danvers from Beverly. The Rev. Dr. John Prince, of Salem, and several other gentlemen were present, and saw the experiment. Of this fact, I have somewhere among my papers Dr. Prince's certificate.

I spent a considerable part of the winter of 1790 in the city of New York, and exhibited drawings and descriptions of my steamboat, steam-carriage, etc., to President Washington, to whom I had letters of introduction from General Lincoln, grandfather of the Professor. I also showed them to several members of Congress and, I presume, to upwards of fifty other gentlemen (some of them distinguished mechanics) in the city of New York, and explained to them the principles of the machinery and of the boiler designed for steamboats and land carriages.

I boarded at Mrs. Wheaton's, in company with Dr. Cutler and General Rufus Putnam, who were agents of the Ohio Company; and I recollect perfectly well, they introduced General Stevens to me, and I explained to him the principles on which my boat, boilers, etc., were constructed. If I am rightly informed, I presume this must have been the same gentleman who was afterwards largely concerned in steam navigation, and was at first connected with Chancellor Livingston in building a steamboat.

I first petitioned the Board of Commissioners for a patent for a steamboat with paddle-wheels; but, unfortunately, in looking over some

of the first volumes of the "Transactions of the Royal Society," published upwards of a hundred years ago, I discovered that an experiment had been made on board a French frigate, for the purpose of ascertaining the comparative utility of wheels and oars. Supposing at that time, in consequence of this discovery, that I should not be entitled to a patent for a boat with paddle-wheels, I took considerable pains to invent a substitute, which was a rowing machine, constructed on the principle of the chain-pump.

Having satisfied myself that this would answer a good purpose, and be the best substitute I could think of for the simple paddle-wheel, which I had successfully tried, I withdrew my first petition to the Board, and took out a patent for my new mode of rowing boats, and for a Portable Furnace Boiler, which required no other furnace than what itself constituted. It was constructed internally with tubes, on the same principle, and nearly of the same form, with those now used for locomotive engines.

I was too early in my steam projects. The country was then poor; and I have derived neither honor nor profit from the time and money expended on them. But it is gratifying to know that the simple machinery which forty-five years ago (without any knowledge of its having ever been used for that purpose) I selected as the most eligible for propelling boats through water, has been since that time successfully used in every quarter of the globe for that purpose. I was, however, still more gratified last spring, in viewing a locomotive engine, capable of moving a mile in two minutes, put in operation by steam generated in a portable boiler, constructed essentially on the same principle with one which I invented for that and other purposes about forty-six years ago, and for which I obtained a patent the first day that any patent was ever issued by authority of the United States.

I have a distinct recollection, when my petition to Congress was read in Congress Hall by the Clerk of the House of Representatives, that when he came to that part which related to the application of steam to land carriages, a general smile was excited among the members, and the idea was considered there and at Salem, where I had a model of a steam-carriage constructed, as perfectly visionary.

Yours truly,

N. READ.

An oil painting of considerable merit, copied on panel for the Essex Historical Society, from the likeness of Gov. Bradstreet, now hanging in the Senate Chamber at the State House in Boston, may be seen in the gallery of the Essex Institute, while a likeness of Nathan Read will be

found facing the title-page of the number of these Historical Collections for November, 1859, and the Peabody Academy of Science has a portrait in oil of Capt. Joseph Peabody, an engraving of whose face may also be found fronting page 229 of Lewis's History of Essex County.

We now cross the old boundary line which divided the estate conveyed in 1656-9 by Joseph to Samuel Gardner from the Downing homestead, and which accordingly constituted the westerly limit of the Samuel Gardner grant. It ran through in a straight course from street to street — all the lots but the Buttolph lot seem to have done this — and is probably the only one of the early division lines running north and south which maintains to-day its original course and still extends from "y^e streete y^t cometh strayte from y^e meetinge howse to y^e field or trayninge place" to "y^e lane y^t goeth from prisson lane by y^e towne powne to y^e Comon, comonly called y^e penn." So old deeds call Essex and Brown streets. It is now marked by enduring granite blocks, and divides the grounds and buildings of the Essex Institute from those of Plummer Hall.

Next east of the site of Plummer Hall had stood a house of great antiquity. Col. Pickman well remembered it and supposed it to have been built about 1660 by Mr. John Gedney, who died in 1688. Col. Pickman seems to be at fault in his conjecture as to its origin, but correct in his subsequent statement that High Sheriff William Gedney, son of John, lived in it. He died here in 1730. It seems to have been the homestead of Samuel Gardner who left it by will in 1689 to his son Jonathan. On the death of the latter without issue in 1693, his nephew and niece Henfield received, by his will, their portion of the homestead estate, with this house, which they sold by two deeds dated 1701-7 to Major William Gedney who had married their aunt Hannah Gardner, Jonathan's twin sister. In 1732

the house is described as "William Gedney's late dwelling, formerly Samuel Gardner's" and in 1741, through Bartholomew Gedney who held of William's devisee, this portion of the Gardner-Gedney homestead passed by deed to James Grant, who had married Hannah, a daughter of the Sheriff, "William Gedney's Mansion House" still standing upon it. The name of Gedney will be recognized as one of marked consideration. Besides the High Sheriff, Major William, the family furnished the colony with a Judge of Probate, a colonel, a physician, a witchcraft magistrate and a counsellor of Andros.

In 1750 the estate passed, with a dwelling house on it, by deed of James Grant, to Jonathan Gardner who died in 1791, and who, before Nov. 3, 1752 (See Essex Deeds B. 97 L. 302) had built a new house upon it which he left to his only child and namesake, and he was living there in 1793. This second Jonathan died in 1821, leaving the estate by will to his only child William Fairfield Gardner of whom Tucker Daland purchased it in 1834. Mr. Daland was one of the able merchants who were trained up in that busy counting room of Capt. Peabody in the old, framed warehouse at the foot of Elm street, the massive timbers of which are still the wonder of the town. After occupying the mansion for sixteen years he removed it to the northerly end of the tunnel, where it now stands. Mr. Daland in 1851 erected in its place the costly, commodious and imposing structure now the domicile of the Essex Institute. This continued to be the residence of members of his family until 1879 and became the property of the Institute in 1885 by purchase from the widow and heirs of Dr. Benjamin Cox, who married his daughter.

In front of the old Gardner-Gedney house stood an ancient and majestic mulberry tree whose branches roofed over the whole street and endangered the neighboring win-

dows by the temptation its luscious fruitage offered to the marksmanship of the passing school-boy. It would be pleasing, but probably it is not possible now, to connect the origin of this ancient tree, which survived the first decade or two of the present century, with Lucie Downing, *née* Winthrop, who conveyed the estate to Joseph Gardner as the marriage portion of her daughter Ann in 1656. The mulberry tree was amongst the earliest and fondest recollections of Lucie Winthrop's girlhood. She must have frolicked often with her brother John under that great, spreading mulberry which shaded the lawn by their old-world, ancestral, Groton homestead, and as often, doubtless, stained her dainty fingers with its juicy berries. In Queen Elizabeth's England, the mulberry was a new and favorite tree. Shakespeare too had his, in the garden at Stratford, and doubtless they were commoner here in the New England of the Stuarts than in our day. For our ancestors at the outset brought all their old-world habits and traditions with them and only abandoned or modified their ways of living, and that slowly, under the dominating stress of their occidental conditions and surroundings.

But the New England of the Stuarts is gone with the Downing house and the ancient mulberries of Shakespeare and Adam Winthrop and the Gedney mansion, and even the England of great Queen Bess has vanished also. New types of life are evolving themselves from past conditions on both side of the ocean. We of New England feel the influences other than English which are moulding so rapidly and so radically the American life of to-day less forcefully than do other sections of the country, but still we feel them. As in the coming time we grow more typically American and less provincially English, shall we not draw a deeper rather than a lessened pride and pleasure from the name of New England?

A HISTORY
OF
METHODISM IN SALEM.

BY JAMES F. ALMY.

A comprehensive history of Methodism in Salem would occupy more space than can be allotted to this communication which is a mere outline so constructed that the portions necessarily omitted can readily be supplied from the references.

Jesse Lee was the first of this denomination that preached in Salem, July 12, 1790. Kind Joshua Spaulding, the pastor of the Tabernacle Church, a man of letters, invited him to occupy his pulpit on this occasion. His contemporaries in the ministry were: Rev. Dr. John Prince of the First Church, the scientist, inventor, and the life of the scientific and literary libraries since incorporated into the Salem Athenæum; Rev. Dr. William Bentley of the East Church, a scholar of varied and extensive attainments, whose sermons were marked by freedom and originality indicating unitarian sentiments; Rev. Dr. Thomas Barnard of the North Church, a minister in the fourth generation, his father, grandfather and great-grandfather having occupied pulpits in Andover, Newbury and Salem, a gradu-

ate of Harvard, the patriotic minister who in 1775 broke off his Sabbath service and with his flock became the first named among those who resisted British aggression ending in Leslie's empty-handed retreat from the North Bridge ; and Rev. Dr. Daniel Hopkins of the South Church, scholar and teacher, who invites Jesse Lee to preach in his pulpit again and again. Probably several of these with members of their congregations were present. What a coterie of listeners and what a critical assemblage ! representatives of all denominations, save perhaps the English Church of which Rev. Nathaniel Fisher was rector, and the Quakers who had as yet little fellowship with those who maintained a hireling ministry.

Jesse Lee had a good time in preaching and interested the people for he was invited again to the same place and yet again, but it is recorded in his journal that, at last, objection on the part of the members closed to him the churches of Salem. His preaching apparently left no permanent impression. No house nor home, out of which most of the New England Methodist churches were born, seems to have been opened to his religious service. There is no account of conversions or nucleus of a society ; but God's records are more reliable than man's and the influence of Christian effort never dies. The foundations of the Glasgow Cathedral of David are the same in part as those of the humble monastery of St. Kentigern though five centuries of oblivion rolled between. The legends of St. Kentigern and St. Ninian of Galloway were kept alive in faithful hearts. So does the work of Jesse Lee knit itself to the later Methodism of Salem.

There are accounts of men and women who witnessed for the faith of Wesley through all those years. They met for prayer and conference and, later, were connected with churches at Marblehead and Lynn. An aged friend

of mine, who was a clerk in the office of the U. S. Marshal at Salem, during the war of 1812, informs me that, among the English residents who were obliged to report to him at stated times, there were Methodist people, and names Micklefield and Merritt, well-known families.

Ezekiel Cooper records in his journal that he preached in Dr. Hopkins' church in 1792. The intervening years are legendary until Samuel Berry came to Salem from Fitchburg in 1815. He gathered the company of Methodists, not a dozen in all, in a room on Sewall street opposite the site of the present church, and held stated meetings with them. He was the first practical organizer of a society, and he encouraged and sustained the work in Salem, with all he had of money or influence, though he was not even a local preacher. A baker by trade, producing bread of approved quality, he lived and preached the gospel as he went from house to house disposing of his wares. He made no secret of his Methodism. It was common for him to hear his people and faith ridiculed and reviled. Once, when told that, excepting himself, his company could not pay for a pint of corn he spoke of "the handful of corn in the earth, on the tops of the mountains" and of the riches of grace his people enjoyed. He died in 1854, an aged man, but not until his eyes had beheld the success of Methodism in Salem. He was an original subscriber to *Zion's Herald*, and I am told that it is still continued in his name. We shall often meet him in this narration.

Jesse Fillmore was appointed to Marblehead by the conference, June, 1818. He preached in South Salem in the brick school house, where the fire-engine house now stands, October 23 of that year, again at the same place November 6, a third time at a private house in North Salem July 9, 1819, and preached fourteen sermons in Salem while stationed at Marblehead.

Brethren from Lynn also held meetings ; B. R. Lewis and Salmon Stewart, local preachers, also other local preachers, names and residences not given. Reformation John Adams preached to a small society in Salem in 1821.

Jesse Fillmore was appointed to Salem by the Conference held at Bath, Maine, June 29, 1822. He found here a class of twenty-five members, in charge of Timothy Merritt, then stationed at Wood End, Lynn. The names of twenty are recorded as retained on trial or in full. The class met at Samuel Fenby's, in an up-stairs tenement, on the corner of Essex and Washington Sts., now occupied by the Price Block ; then at Sarah Doak's on Norman street, near Crombie ; an old house, which from the location and description must have been the same which Eleanor Putnam describes in "Old Salem" as the shop of "Mrs. Birmingham."

Fillmore states that every member was poor ; six were servant girls, three, poor widows and the few that had families, poor.

He boarded with Fenby and Berry, and then outside the pale. Fillmore was well received by prominent people outside the church whom he names, and also by the Salem pastors, some of whom preached for him. His first preaching service was held July 22, over a wheelwright's shop on Federal street, and for several months after, in the Town Hall ; then in a small hall on Sewall street over a tinshop. The congregations numbered from fifty to seventy-five. Collections for all purposes, for the first year \$179.64.

It is important to set forth fully the work of Jesse Fillmore in Salem, because his pastorate had a controlling influence on its Methodism and set back its progress more than a quarter of a century. The period of his ministry is still a factor in the opinion of Salem Methodism held by those who do not understand its history, especially among

the ministers of our Conference. It is due to Jesse Fillmore that the facts and circumstances of his work be plainly written out that his honor and integrity as a Christian man and minister may be vindicated. The following plaintive sentence is from a letter written in his latest days. "I have done nothing in all my life to forfeit the esteem of any man." I do not think you ever did, Jesse Fillmore. Your errors were of judgment, and in the positiveness of your nature, you seem to have been an honest man.

It is also a duty to show the justification of the course pursued by the Methodist church of Fillmore's time in Salem.

Fillmore came to Salem well recommended and well known. He had served the church in New Bedford as its first pastor; also at Marblehead, and had preached acceptably in Salem before he was stationed here. He found favor and succeeded in his work. Souls were saved; a continuous revival ensued. The work begun in his charge extended throughout the town, and it is recorded in 1826, that, during the two previous years, three hundred and seven persons had been received into five Salem churches, of whom one hundred and seventeen were heads of families. Fillmore's own flock increased and many, converted at his meetings, became members of other churches. Nothing, during all the years of his stay in Salem, is written or appears that reflects on his character. In the several investigations made, Fillmore is sustained. He was not a money lover. His first year's salary was \$125.50 and in no year was he paid \$200.

But Fillmore was not a practical man. He treated his church as though they were children. He did not set them at work to strengthen the stakes and lengthen the cords of their tabernacle. His success and the rapid increase in his church membership led him to think that it

had power to rank immediately with the older churches. He proceeded to make bricks without straw. He decided to build a church, though not a member of his flock had any means to aid him.

Evidently, Samuel Berry did not sympathize with Fillmore's plans, for his name does not appear in the first list of trustees.

Fillmore bought a lot of land on Sewall street, of A. Kneeland and wife, for \$600, and built a church $40\frac{1}{2} \times 60\frac{1}{2}$ feet, which cost \$4,000, but there is nothing to show that a dollar was ever paid on it or the land. Fillmore took everything in his own name, and became personally responsible for all pecuniary obligations. What a terrible mistake ! How blighting to the prospects of the enterprise !

He also was cheated, probably because he had no money. \$2,000 was ample for that edifice at that time. It was dedicated Feb. 11, 1824, and Daniel Fillmore, a godly man and brother of Jesse, preached the sermon.

Fillmore's troubles began with the new church, but he never seemed to realize the cause. The trustees ought to have bought the lot of land. They could have paid for it in time, for under the incentive everybody would have helped a little. Even if they had been so foolish as to build immediately, they might have struggled out. They were citizens of Salem and would have had the sympathy and help of their fellow-citizens outside the church. They would have had the sense of responsibility which goes with an obligation, but the obligation and responsibility were not on them at all, but rested on Fillmore, not a citizen of Salem. The act of doing and taking all on himself was so irregular that it was natural for the feeling to become general in the town that he was crafty ; that he would not trust the church, and that, somehow, he would take care of himself.

If Fillmore had not built this church he would have left Salem at the end of his two years, respected and honored, and his successors would have seen continued prosperity.

Evidently most of his church members believed in Fillmore, and expected that somehow the Lord would send relief through him, and when no such miracle was wrought they turned upon him, with the spirit of fierce despair.

Fillmore remained in charge at Salem until 1825, when Epaphras Kibby was appointed to the circuit of Wood End, Lynn, Marblehead and Salem. Henry Mayo was appointed to Marblehead and Salem in 1826, and Nathan B. Spaulding to the same circuit in 1827. In 1828, 1829 and 1830 the charge was left to be supplied. Probably none of the above preached as Salem pastors, for Fillmore located and supplied the pulpit until the coming of N. S. Spaulding, in 1832. He controlled Methodism in Salem—controlled its administration, but a spirit of disorder ruled the people. What could a second pastor do with a crushed and broken-hearted band of poor, despised Methodists, who, notwithstanding their abuse of Fillmore, adhered to him because they thought that somehow he would gain liberty for himself and them.

When Spaulding came, Fillmore had charge of the church under the presiding elder. He approached this residuary legatee of debt and proposed to buy the Fillmore plant. The house was for sale for the debts." An investigation showed the honest debts to be entirely out of the question, and Fillmore consented to take \$3600 in yearly payments of \$1000, and the balance in three years. It was accepted. The trustees gave their official obligation. A disciplinary record was recorded and Fillmore stepped aside, still personally responsible.

Jefferson Hamilton was appointed to Salem in 1833, and S. McReading in 1834, but pastors and people were so

handicapped with debt that little religious progress was made. At the end of 1835, under the pastorate of that blessed man, G. Pickering, who was appointed to Salem and Marblehead, the trustees had not paid a dollar on the debt, and had fallen behind \$200 in interest, which Fillmore paid from his own earnings abroad. The grip of that debt was never relaxed from this unfortunate man, and, though he paid all he could upon it, there was a time when it exceeded \$20,000.

In 1835 Samuel Berry induced the trustees to publish a notice that the church would be closed and meetings held in Washington Hall, in a building where is the block now occupied by Mr. H. W. Thurston. Fillmore, then in Providence, came on. The people said they could not pay for the house and support a preacher too, and steadfastly refused to enter the church. The presiding elder sustained the people but the bishop decided against him and bade the pastor preach in the church or be removed. A portion of the people went to the hall with an English local preacher not connected with the Conference, and Aaron Wait preached in the church, where the larger number remained.

An investigation by Mudge, Sanborn, Pickering and Fiske decided that one minister be stationed at Salem, to preach in the church, but a scarcity of preachers and a chagrined presiding elder led to leaving Salem to be supplied that year. The report of members then was ninety-six.

Pickering did not have a good time in Salem. He refused to preach in the hall and turned the charge over to Fillmore who preached until November, when J. W. Downing came, sometime after the Conference held that year in July, at Springfield. Downing influenced all but half a dozen of those who had gone to the hall to return, and Berry with them. The society increased in numbers,

and the trustees made another effort to grapple with Fillmore's debt, by the sale of pews. Fillmore took several, and the notes to him were reduced one-half. The sum of \$1,000, which tumbled in from somewhere, was assumed by Fillmore, though the house was held as collateral.

Dissension soon arose again. The income from pews sold was lost. The people paid in very little and when, in 1838, Stephen G. Hyler was appointed to Salem, everything was behind. The preacher's board was not paid, Fillmore was sued for it, but gained the case. These were consequential damages not allowed, though, I doubt not, Fillmore would have paid them if he had had the money.

But Hyler married a good wife in Salem, Micklefield by name, whose father was one of the English Methodists who had to report at the U. S. Marshal's office in 1812.

When A. D. Sargent came to the circuit of Wood End, Lynn and Salem, in 1839, the stewards of the Sewall Street Church would do nothing about supplying the pulpit, and the house was again closed. Fillmore came with Sargent but it was of no avail.

At the following Quarterly Conference, changes were made in the boards of stewards and trustees, out of order and arbitrary certainly; it was the desperate act of Fillmore, hounded by debt. This proud-spirited man might have found relief then, or years before, in bankruptcy. It would have been wise and justifiable, but his false sense of honor led him to prefer to owe a debt forever rather than cheat a creditor.

The friendly board of stewards mended nothing. Matters grew worse. Fillmore was preaching in Pembroke.

Bradley, a local preacher from Boston, supplied Salem. The disaffected members, headed by Berry, Pike and Andrews attempted to organize an independent Methodist

church. They met a few Sundays in Lyceum Hall, when the scheme fell through.

In the spring of 1840, before Conference, some transferred their membership to Marblehead, and held meetings in a small room on Derby street as a branch of that church. All this was rebellious, but under God, it cut the meshes of the net in which Methodism in Salem had been hopelessly entangled for fifteen years. If the people had followed Berry's advice they would have escaped years before; and here appears full justification of the conduct of the Methodist people of Salem, in that disastrous time.

I have said that Fillmore had a controlling influence on the Methodist church in Salem. From the beginning he commanded the people and decided how everything should be done. He built the church, made all the contracts and negotiated all arrangements on his own uncounselled judgment. He had not even a wife to advise him. He was too much centralized within himself to fall under the saving influence of a woman's love. If he had been married, the intuitive sense of the distaff might have saved him from his woful mistakes in judgment. We blame women for much, but there is no woman in this case. If there had been, Salem might now be the centre of Essex County Methodism.

Fillmore was captain of the ship. He overloaded her. She was waterlogged and dismasted in the storm, and bound to break in pieces on the rocks right ahead. The commander was drunk with his mad conceit. The crew had done their best; but now, when they saw certain destruction ahead, they escaped with their lives, and they did right. They took nothing from the ship, no chest, not even a boat. They plunged into the angry sea and swam ashore. Everything was lost, including twenty years of time.

Why did they not control Fillmore and refuse to let him build the church in 1824?

They were poor and inexperienced people — laborers and servants. Can you expect those whose ideas are limited to the capacity of their daily toil to forecast the future, or deal with questions which demand the widest comprehension? Yet they were the very same sort of people who, at Lynn, Marblehead and elsewhere, appeared as the first fruits of New England Methodism. If the foundations of the work had been built on their simple ideas, it would have grown in Salem as elsewhere.

Fillmore held on at Sewall Street and preached until 1845, unrecognized by presiding elder or conference. Negotiations were had with the new society and its pastors, and partial agreements were entered into, as to the disposal of the property in Sewall street, but the fear of debt prevented all conclusions. Fillmore became odious to the children of those whose Christian lives had been so grievous, and aversion towards him filled all the Methodist people. What a pitiful life he led, dragging the chain of his great mistake forever! He moved to Providence, but under his charter from the legislature, which authorized the election of trustees for life, continued his organization, called his annual trustee meetings in Salem and kept his records, until he sold the property in 1871. He struggled, personally, to pay the old debt and paid \$1,000 in 1864, but when he died he was still in debt on that meeting-house.

I noticed him in Salem, long before I knew who he was. He was a man to attract attention, one whom you would turn about to look at after he had passed. His figure, tall, spare and erect, was clad in well-brushed garments of faded black, and a tall, black hat of a pattern old. His gait was peculiar; it was decisive; he set down his feet

step by step as if conscious that he must keep something under. His face was noticeable. Of the rugged, Andrew Jackson type, smoothly shaven, set with stiff lines, yet unlike any other face of that mold I ever saw, was tinged with auburn blood, and so deeply freckled as to appear a yellowish brown, a shade lighter than his thick, sandy hair which never turned gray. Out of this mask, the glance of his gray eyes was sure to fall upon you. They seemed to look at everything but noticed nothing. They had grown weary with watching for what never came and were looking now into the past. I never saw that face kindle with emotion, or those eyes flash. Wretched old man! Who that knew him cannot forgive and pity him. We may regret his lack of judgment but let us commend him for what he would have done if he had known how. If Hawthorne could have focussed him, he might have found in Fillmore, the subject of as thrilling a tale as the "Scarlet Letter." He might have followed him beyond the grave and described his perturbed spirit walking still the streets of our city, trying to make his figures come right and gather up those misspent years. But we will leave him with God, whose tender love is now, we trust, his comfort in heaven. Since this article was written, I have been glad to learn that in his old age a woman did consent to marry him. A woman's love is wondrous pitiful.

The history of Salem Methodism in all the books except *Fell's Annals* begins in 1841. It is written in "The Pied Piper:"

"But when they saw 'twas a lost endeavor,
And Piper and dancers were gone forever,
They made a decree, that lawyers never
Should think their records dated duly,
If, after the day of the month and year,
These words did not, as well, appear:

‘And so long after what happened here,
 On the twenty-second of July,
 Thirteen hundred and seventy-six;’
 And the better in memory to fix
 The place of the children’s last retreat,
 They called it the Pied Piper’s Street.

* * * * *
 They wrote the story on a column
 And on the great church window painted
 The same, to make the world acquainted
 How the children were stolen away,
 And there it stands to this very day.”

The application of this quotation appears in the historical date as 1841, and in the *de facto* existence of a live Methodist church in the old edifice on Sewall street.

N. S. Spaulding, who came from Gloucester where he seems to have gone from conference, found the little company on Derby street — thirty determined Methodists in charge of Samuel Berry—and organized them into a church. In 1842, the number of members had increased to eighty; in 1843, Brother Merrill reported one hundred. These were the results of a gracious revival under Spaulding. There are no man worshippers among Salem Methodists, but the memory of Spaulding, after the lapse of half a century, is sweet to those living, who were converted under his pastorate, and to the children of those who have gone to heaven. The people had a mind to work with that godly man, and a new church on Union street was ready for dedication, Jan. 8, 1841. It was a plain, wooden structure, but larger and better than the old church and cost only half as much. The dedicatory services (sermon by Daniel Wise, D.D.) are referred to in “Zion’s Herald” of Jan. 27; there are also interesting references to this society Jan. 17 and 24, 1842. “Zion’s Herald” has the material to complete this history.

Within a year from the dedication one hundred were added to the church. The congregations filled the house.

The successors of Spaulding, Joseph A. and D. K. Merrill, Horace Moulton, P. Crandall and David Winslow had years of peace and progress. Winslow says, June 26, 1846, "The past six months have been to us times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Twenty-nine have joined on probation."

The church soon worked the ground within the scope of its location and reached a condition of growth that demanded a wider field.

As we look back, it seems a day of small things, and the little church on Union street a mere speck of influence in an out-of-the-way place. Poor and despised, you say, but please remember the twenty years of agony. It had done the best it could and the only thing under the circumstances to be done; but strength had come, and from 1848 to 1851 a restless feeling prevailed. The older members, including Samuel Berry, wanted to "let well enough alone." They could not forget those dreadful years. The new converts, many of them young and enterprising people, desired to move out and build again.

The Naumkeag steam cotton mills, in South Salem, completed in 1847, employed American help, country girls from Christian homes, who found another home in Salem Methodism. Some of the overseers were Methodists. They all agitated the question of a new church.

In 1849 the charge was left to be supplied. J. W. Perkins came in 1850 and a precious revival prepared the way for the greater work of Luman Boyden which began in 1851. It is proper to note here, that very many who were converted at Union street did not remain in that church. In the unsettled years of '47 to '51 it was an easy matter for a small dissatisfaction to influence individuals and families to leave that humble people and place of worship for

the finer churches and higher society of the town. If Methodism had retained all her converts in Salem her progress would have been a mighty one.

Luman Boyden quaintly says, in his account of his Salem ministry, written in 1870, "When my name was read for Salem that was altogether unexpected. I was not acquainted with a person in that city. Previous information concerning Methodism in Salem had given me (and many others) the impression that it was somewhat of an undesirable appointment." (The difficulties connected with the Sewall Street Church had often been discussed in conference. How far that shadow falls!) "While I was gathering up my books and papers after conference closed (being one of the secretaries) a brother came to me and said 'you will be obliged to build a church the first thing you do.' Another added, 'unless a church is built this year several have decided to leave the society.' My worthy predecessor confirmed this, but spoke highly of the society who were, with one exception, in favor of building in a special locality. The objector was an aged brother, extensively acquainted in Salem and of considerable influence. He had a strong will and, when he had taken a stand, seldom yielded." There you are again, Samuel Berry! God be praised for that iron will! It did good service for Salem Methodism and gave it new life in 1841. Boyden goes on, "I began to think a mistake had been made and questioned the presiding elders with no satisfaction. I told the Bishop I thought he had made one great mistake but he replied, 'I believe in one year you will think differently.' A visit to Salem, on his way from conference, comforted him in the warm greeting he received from the people. The first Sunday, May 4, did more. He met large congregations and a fine Sunday School. He says, "I was specially anxious to learn the peculiarities of the

church in the prayer-meeting. I found, in the evening, evidence of zeal, and, I thought, more than a usual amount of talent, and the Lord was with us."

Ah! Luman Boyden, God giveth talent to those who stand the years of trial in his service.

Boyden was a pastor as well as preacher, and hastened to visit the people. He soon found that a new church was needed; it ought to be built on the corner of Lafayette and Harbor streets; the church was united and spoke well of former pastors; they were ready to labor for the salvation of souls, but their pecuniary condition was such that unless the Lord opened the way no house of worship could be built, however much desired or needed.

Alas! Methodism in Salem had had an experience which had shaken the money out of it, and none had dared to enter up to this time.

The first board meeting, held May 12, was a peaceful season, and the principal discussion that of building a church. Samuel Berry pleasantly opposed and spoke of a debt on the chapel with the interest due thereon for two years, amounting in all to \$700. If they would raise this money he would talk about building a church. They tried to raise it and failed.

The first quarterly conference closed with no better results. In fact, Berry there flatly said, "If you build a church in South Fields, I will not give a dollar for it and neither myself nor my family will attend there. I know better places to build a church." Right again, Samuel Berry!

A committee, shrewdly suggested by Boyden, was appointed, including Berry, to look up locations. The old man put his foot in it when he consented to act on this committee, for it tacitly committed him to building a church somewhere, which he never intended to do. He meant to control the events which in the end controlled him.

While the committee on locations was allowed time to select the best lot, another important investigation was in progress, viz., where the funds could be raised to build a church anywhere. Abraham Bennett, head overseer at the Naumkeag Mills, a member of the church, invited Boyden to visit Smith, the agent, and he said to Boyden, "If you will build a church on the corner of Lafayette and Harbor streets, I will contribute \$500, and loan you \$5,000. I will buy two of the best pews and probably, part of the time will attend church there. Some of my overseers do not go to meeting because they cannot afford to pay pew rent. They can sit in my pews."

This interview settled the questions of the location and the church. Several board meetings were held with no results as to influencing Samuel Berry. At last Boyden issued a call for a church meeting on important business, without other explanation. When Samuel Berry heard of it he had a stormy, private interview with his pastor. Boyden revealed the purpose of the meeting, which was, to have a secret ballot, without discussion on the subject, yes or no. He sweetly argued his case and in the midst of Berry's opposition, offered to give up the meeting, saying, "Father Berry, if we are not united, we can do nothing."

Berry yielded and arose in the meeting and said, "Brethren and sisters, you know that I have been opposed to building a new church. [Sensation.] I have already helped to build two Methodist churches in this city" (this confirms the loss of his *chist* when he left the wreck), "and I am now an old man. If you build where the majority desire, it will greatly increase the distance from my house, and you know I have been decidedly opposed to the building of a church on Lafayette street [great sensation] but the statement you have heard from our pastor, and the

records of our meetings read by our secretary are correct, and I am convinced that if we build a new church we must be united, and I shall vote to build on Lafayette street." [Joyous commotion.]

The lot was bought of David Pingree, president of the Cotton Co. for \$2,500, less a subscription of \$250. The plans, by Graves of Boston, were submitted to Salem builders, resulting in responses at \$4,000, \$4,500, \$5,000 and \$5,500. Upon consulting with his brother builders the \$4,000 man backed out. Boyden says "midnight darkness veiled the countenances of the committee" (the people were building this church). They were about to vote to accept the contract for \$4,500, as the only thing to do, when Boyden's excellent judgment suggested that the proposals be again offered, to include outside contractors, which resulted in a proposition from Gibson and Rand (residence not given), to build the church for \$3,750 (bear in mind the cost of the church of 1824) which was accepted.

The corner stone was laid May 12, 1852, with the usual ceremonies, and a tin box containing current historical matter deposited therein.

The people raised all the money they possibly could among themselves and importuned everybody else. That was right! The women did bravely and undertook to furnish the house. Boyden gives quite a long and interesting account of their efforts among the storekeepers, and also the result of their fair held in the Town Hall, from which they realized over \$500. This fair had no lottery schemes and its success was a surprise to the city. Boyden says "When the report was published in the papers, doubtless many thought they had formed a wrong opinion of the Methodists."

The Lafayette Street Church was completed in January,

1853. The society enjoyed a glorious revival in the interim, at Union street. Before it began, however, Boyden explains how he remedied a serious defect in the conduct of the social meetings, namely, the custom of making long prayers and exhortations, which had probably grown up amid the discussions about building in '48 and '49. He preached a plain sermon on the subject which offended some, but at the following evening meeting Samuel Berry approved the sermon, and a change in the habit resulted in largely increased congregations. People had to come long before the time of service to obtain seats. Dr. Lyman Beecher, who for some time preached in the Howard Street Church in Salem, stated in a public meeting in Boston, that he stepped into the Methodist chapel in Salem after his meeting had closed. "It was crowded; God was doing a great work there and the minister was in clover."

Luman Boyden closes his account of the revival, as follows: "Among the members baptized and admitted to the church was my only beloved son who is now glorified with unnumbered millions in heaven."

The other churches in Salem felt the influence of this revival and for the first time proposed union meetings. These meetings were held, and also, for the first time, proposals for exchanges were received from other pastors which caused the Methodist people to realize that they were not, after all, poor and despised as they had heretofore felt. The writer never had any unity with this feeling, but cannot say but he might have called himself a worm of the dust, if he had lived and worshipped with the Methodists in Salem from 1824 to 1832.

It was a great day for Salem Methodism, Jan. 6, 1853, when the Lafayette Street Church was dedicated. The house was thronged with the very best people of the city

and Bishop Baker preached the sermon. Two stores were finished under the church and let for \$500 per annum. When Boyden left in April, 1853, the receipts for pews were \$250 per quarter. The idea was to reduce the debt of \$5,000, \$500 annually from these proceeds.

It was my privilege to listen to Boyden's farewell sermon,—the first sermon I heard in Salem.

A. D. Merrill followed Luman Boyden in 1853. My impressions of him were that he did not prosper in his charge.

Daniel Richards came in 1854. He brought his beautiful, young wife with him. She was a help and comfort to the people. She organized our Mutual Aid Society, which has done and continues to do good service. Richards was a good preacher then as he is now, and though he had no special revival, two young men came into the church during his pastorate, who were destined to have much to do with its work in Salem. There were other converts who have honored Methodism: P. W. Peterson, now a preacher in the Wisconsin conference, also Augustine Caldwell, formerly of this conference.

Richards did much good and through his influence the annual conference met in Salem in 1856. The people of all denominations had a great time entertaining the ministers. Doctor Butler went from that conference as a missionary to India.

J. A. Adams, stationed in 1856, remained one year. He seemed very much discouraged at the condition of affairs, and thought the church was going to ruin.

A. F. Herrick, in 1857 and '58, had two good years. He was a lovable Christian minister, very popular with the young people as well as others, an acceptable preacher and pastor. There was a good revival and many accessions were made to the church. During his pastorate, the loan

from Smith, reduced to \$4,000, was transferred to the Salem Five Cents Savings Bank.

John H. Mansfield did an excellent work in 1859 and 1860. The church, under him, enjoyed an important revival during which almost the entire, large choir were converted, and many others. The Sunday evening meetings were transferred from the vestry to the church which was always filled while he remained. Mrs. Mansfield, an intellectual, godly woman was of much service in the society.

When E. A. Manning came to Salem he was not known to us, but was warmly recommended by Mansfield. He came in a dark hour. Lincoln had just entered upon his first administration. The nation was in the preliminary throes of civil war. A majority of the southern states had seceded and organized a confederacy. The federal government was defied and preparations were being made to bombard Fort Sumpter. That first of April, 1861, was the beginning of the demoralization preceding the strife, more dreadful than the war itself. Business was dead, men were out of employment, and the country waited in suspense, not knowing what to do or think.

Manning, in preaching his first sermon, said, among other reassuring things, that he expected the year might be one of disaster "but if it comes to the worst I will share the lot of this people, and when our resources fail we will go together and dig clams for food."

The membership of the church had changed greatly since 1853. The influx of foreign labor had largely supplanted American female help in the mills, while a new management had changed the overseers. This explains what Samuel Berry meant in 1851, when he declared that there were better locations for the church than the corner of Lafayette and Harbor streets. Doubtless nothing better could have been done in 1851, but a church is built to stand forever

and you cannot depend upon a cotton mill to sustain a church. This location was on the southern border of the city and except for the mills had no natural feeders. South of it was mostly an open country. Few of the members lived within half a mile of the church, and most of them much farther away. Samuel Berry moved his home that he might enjoy the meetings, but died before it was ready for him.

It was an effort to attend this church from every part of the city. Its location was not convenient of access in comparison with any other Salem church, save for the mills and a few who lived in South Salem. But for the building up of that section since 1872 it would now be isolated. As that part of the city is to continue growing, the church will always do a good work.

Gershom F. Cox was appointed in 1862. The elastic nation had begun to adjust itself to the condition of internal war. The policy of the government was defined and a spirit of desperate endurance pervaded the public mind. Nevertheless, the depleted communities felt the loss of the men who had gone to fight. The churches also felt it. But Cox found other matters demanding serious and immediate attention. The society had suffered through poor management for ten years. The older members, who struggled with Boyden, were unwilling that young men should share in the guidance of its affairs, and they had drifted out of a successful course. The balances due at the close of ministries had not been met, but extended by loans until a floating debt had reached a point beyond which was bankruptcy. Cox made a thorough investigation and proposed a remedy which included a new management. He induced the members of the newly organized official board to assume the debt as individuals, and later, after exhausting the proceeds of a fair, he persuaded each person to pay

the balance of what he had assumed, and so the debt was blotted out. It seems to us that it disappeared as if by magic. New plans for meeting current expenses led to a new order of things, and the church in Salem dates another epoch from the ministry of Gershom F. Cox. His idea was to manage the finances of the church as the business of the world is done—settle the accounts of each year in full at the close of the year.

The ministry of Loranus Crowell, D.D., for three years from 1864 was a marked success. Everybody loved him. His family was a blessing to the people. He enjoyed his pastorate. Members were constantly added to the church, and during his pastorate the church at Beverly was organized from the loins of the Lafayette Street society. Crowell became very popular in the city and was elected a member of the school committee.

S. F. Chase followed Crowell and was pastor for two years.

Daniel Dorchester, D. D., was appointed in 1869 and remained three years. Under his pastorate the church attained the strongest position in her history. He was a popular preacher and a far-seeing manager. There were accessions to the church by conversions and by letter. The congregations were large. Dr. Dorchester received the largest salary ever paid by the church, which was raised easily, for the right man was in the right place.

During this prosperity the conviction came upon the church that Methodism had never had a fair chance in Salem, and something ought to be done to give it play. Lafayette Street Church was well enough and would always exert a powerful influence, but another enterprise must be started in a central location. After investigation the location of the old church in Sewall street was found to be the centre of population.

Ah! Jesse Fillmore, if the Lord had only given you wisdom to plan your enterprise as wisely as you selected your location, this history would be illuminated like "apples of gold in pictures of silver."

That spot and the contiguous location upon North street, about to be utilized for a beautiful, new Methodist church is the aorta of Salem. The group of streets within two hundred feet of it are thoroughfares through which one-half the population passes to reach the depot, and the business portion of the town, and through which the other half must pass in the common intercourse of society.

The old Sewall street church, with all the rights and privileges under Fillmore's iron-clad act of legislature was purchased of him by the descendants and successors of those who swam ashore from the drifting wreck in 1840.

The Lord shall comfort Zion, her places waste restore,
And of her silent wilderness, make Eden bloom once more.
His garden she shall then become and worthy of his choice,
Gladness and thanks in all her smiles and music in her voice.

Salem Methodism intended to be conservative in the new enterprise and proposed only to establish a Sunday school and chapel in connection with the pastorate at Lafayette street, but the interposition of Providence changed the plan and a church was at once organized. Thirty-five members of the home society were sent forth to colonize the new location. They were, indeed, of the very best and most influential members of the church which sent them forth, following them with its sympathy, prayers and material aid as they went to reestablish Methodism in her ancient seat. It was a sundering of tender ties, a going forth of those whose years from youth to middle age had been given to the cause of God in the mother church.

The closing memoranda of Methodism in Salem will have interlocking connections.

Among other to-be-remembered things accomplished under Dorchester's pastorate was an arrangement he made to pay the debt on the Lafayette Street Church, which would have been fully carried out but for the funds required to inaugurate the new enterprise.

Rev. Joshua Gill was the first pastor at Sewall street. A revival began, the work grew, and a successful Sunday school progressed under Matthew Robson, who had proved the ablest superintendent ever in charge at the mother church.

J. S. Whedon's pastorate at Lafayette Street was a marked success. His able sermons were attributed to his father. The young man relished the joke. A revival continued during the pastorate resulting in large accessions. The church was also enlarged, remodelled and refurnished, including a new organ, at a total cost of more than \$9,000. A fair held at the time under the management of Mr. Cox, who lived and died in Salem, netted \$2,000. It was opened and closed with prayer. [No lotteries.]

Rev. George L. Collyer at Lafayette Street for three years from 1875 to 1877 inclusive, was a successful and popular minister. Large attendance and revival interest. The thank-offering system introduced at this time was very popular and successful.

Rev. Daniel Steele, D.D., the ripe scholar and man of God, did a work in Salem which no preceding pastor had done. He taught the people the wonderful and beautiful things of the gospel, the rich culture of religion. There were many conversions during his pastorate. Though a sick man for part of the last year, he did a work which still has an influence. During Dr. Steele's pastorate, another change in the management of the Naumkeag Mills, and the hard times of those years, caused a loss to the church of over forty families.

George W. Mansfield followed Dr. Steele in 1880. He entered with great zeal upon the work. There were conversions, and some of the present influential members of the church were among the number. Mansfield retired by reason of nervous prostration near the close of his second year. He proposed that the church receive a new pastor from the conference of '82, but the society preferred to supply the pulpit. He was unable to resume his duties and Rev. C. L. Eastman was engaged in September to finish the year.

During the absence of Mansfield the people determined to pay the debt of \$7,000 on the church. Pledges amounting to nearly \$6,000 were obtained, strictly within the church and congregation. The balance was assumed by the Sunday school and the Mutual Aid Society. The money was all paid except \$400 within two years, and a jubilee held to which all former pastors were invited.

The pastorate of W. P. Ray began in 1883 and closed in 1885.

S. L. Gracey, D.D., is the present popular and successful pastor in his second year.

The pastorates of W. J. Hambleton, W. H. Meredith, Charles F. Rice and W. P. Odell in Wesley Chapel, now Wesley Church, were happy, and seasons of great spiritual prosperity and material growth. The brief struggle of the early days has long been over. There is no more popular church in our city and its condition may be noted from the following recently-published item.

Wesley Church is very prosperous. In the last three months it has received into church relations 24, and in the same period 40 have been added to the Sunday school, 19 in the last month. Both church and Sunday school were never so large as now. The church has some 350 members, and the Sunday school 375. Large congregations attend the church services. The choir is to be reor-

ganized and enlarged to the number of 25 under the direction of Mr. George Robie, the present chorister, and a new book introduced for use in the praise services only. The new church structure will be begun early in spring. It is to be of brick with terra cotta trimmings.

Rev. T. W. Bishop is the present popular pastor in his second year.

The mother church closely approaches her offspring in membership, and in some respects is stronger.

Salem has always been a conservative city and of slow growth. Population in 1776, 5,337 ; 1790, 7,421 ; 1820, 12,730 ; 1840, 15,082 ; 1850, 18,000, with about 30,000 at present. Methodism has gained, since 1840, 700 per cent on its membership in 1843, and in the same ratio on the population. Methodism is in the front rank of the Protestant denominations of the city in influence and membership.

Conversions in the Methodist church in Salem have been many and continuous, and exceed 3,000 since 1843 ; her membership represents a sincere and progressive body of Christian people, and includes men by no means behind their associates in the principal departments of business and social position. They are among the leaders as merchants, manufacturers and artisans.

Salem has begun to realize her importance as a central distributing and radiating point, and when she becomes a large city, as she surely will, Methodism may be reckoned as no mean factor in stimulating her growth.

The writer has satisfied himself, and tried to record that the work begun by Jesse Lee in 1790 joins that of 1887 and the fabric is without a seam.

GENEALOGY OF THE ALLEN FAMILY OF MANCHESTER,
MASS., FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO
THE YEAR 1886.

BY JOHN PRICE.

(Continued from page 240.)

40 Azariah⁵ (*Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) baptized May 24, 1741; married Sarah Leach, published Dec. 27, 1760. She was born —, 1737, d. Apr. 18, 1831, aged 94. He was lost at sea with Captain Colton, 1777.

Children :

- i Sarah, b. Dec. 26, 1761; m. Samuel Quimby of Essex.
- ii Azariah, b. May 12, 1763.
- iii Patty, b. June 8, 1765; m. John Ayres, Oct., 1787; d. Apr. 14, 1849, æ. 83.
- 56** iv Abner, b. Oct. 9, 1767.
- v Lydia, b. —, 1769; m. Thomas Low, Aug. 19, 1792; d. Dec. 28, 1853, æ. 84.
- vi Molly, b. Sept. 20, 1771; d. July 8, 1856, æ. 85, unm.
- 57** vii Richard, b. Apr. 8, 1774.
- 58** viii John, b. Jan. 1, 1776.
- ix Isaac, b. Nov. 17, 1777; d. Jan. 5, 1803, at sea.

41 Malachi⁵ (*Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Mar. 10, 1740–1; married Ruth Edwards, Jan. 12, 1762. She was born Jan. 22, 1740–1; d. Sept. 19, 1823, æ. 83. He died Dec. 9, 1829, æ. 89.

Children, (all born in Manchester) :

- i Malachi, bapt. Oct. 31, 1762; d. Nov. 16, 1762.
- ii Malachi, b. Mar. 4, 1764; d. June 17, 1787, at sea.
- 59** iii Aaron, b. Aug. 28, 1765.
- 60** iv William, b. Dec. 3, 1766.
- v Ruth, b. July 25, 1769; m. Thomas Lee, Apr. 21, 1791.
- vi Priscilla, b. Oct. 5, 1772; m. David Crafts, Nov. 29, 1792.
- vii Anne, b. May 4, 1775; m. Joseph Day, Aug. 12, 1798.

viii Lucy, bapt. Nov. 5, 1776; d. Sept. 12, 1777.

61 ix Simeon, b. Dec. 27, 1778.

x Daniel, b. June 17, 1781; d. Feb. 9, 1783.

xi Lucy, b. Apr. 28, 1783; d. Nov. 21, 1850; unm.

42 Jacob⁵ (*Jacob,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*)

born Apr. 23, 1749; married Elizabeth Norton, May 3, 1772. She was born Apr. 27, 1750.

Children :

i Elizabeth, b. Aug. 24, 1772; m. George Martin, June 16, 1797.

ii Annis, b. May 3, 1774; d. Sept. 24, 1775.

iii Annis, b. Jan. 12, 1776; m. Daniel Low, Aug. 19, 1792.

iv Jacob, b. Aug. 4, 1777; d. Aug. 21, 1777.

v Patty, b. Apr. 6, 1779; d. Sept. 16, 1844.

vi Jacob, b. Apr. 7, 1781; m. Polly Batchelder, Aug. 3, 1807; d. Aug. 1, 1812.

Jacob⁵ was lost at sea in 1780.

43 Isaac⁵ (*Jacob,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*)

born Feb. 6, 1758; married Rebecca Tewksbury, Mar. 30, 1779. She was born Oct. 6, 1758; died Sept. 10, 1807. He died Sept. 26, 1841, aged 84.

Children :

i Rebecca, b. Feb. 24, 1780; m. Wm. Tuck, Apr. 28, 1805.

ii Sarah, b. Oct. 16, 1781; m. John Woodbury of Lynn, Sept. 14, 1802; d. May 6, 1835.

iii Elizabeth, b. Oct. 14, 1783; m. Seth Dodge, Sept. 10, 1810.

iv Annis, b. Dec. 25, 1785; m. Isaac Galloup of Beverly, Oct 4, 1807; d. Nov. 23, 1844.

v Isaac, b. Feb. 28, 1788; d. March 9, 1790.

62 vi Jacob, b. Aug. 20, 1789; m. Lucy G. Galloup, Jan. 29, 1809; d. Aug. 2, 1852.

vii Amos, b. Aug. 18, 1792; d. Aug. 19, 1795.

viii Lucy, b. Apr. 28, 1795; d. June 1, 1797.

ix Lucy, b. June 27, 1797; m. James Austin, Nov. 26, 1829.

He married, second, Mary Foster, widow of Thomas Wells, Jan. 12, 1808. She died Feb. 1, 1843, æ. 82. s. p.

44 Deacon Nathan⁵ (*Jacob,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born July 25, 1768; married Elizabeth Perry,

July 5, 1792. She was born November 10, 1768; died Feb. 26, 1856, æ. 77. He died July 21, 1837.

Children :

- 63 i Nathan, b. Jan. 13, 1794.
- 64 ii John P., b. Apr. 12, 1795.
- 65 iii Enoch, b. May 24, 1797.
- iv Mehitable, b. May 30, 1799; m. Daniel Allen, Dec. 23, 1824; 2d husband, Joseph Allen, July 4, 1832.
- v Elizabeth, b. Feb. 28, 1801; m. John Peabody of Bradford, Jan. 14, 1840; d. Mar. 25, 1876.
- vi Foster, b. Apr. 26, 1803; m. Sally Dodge, Dec. 2, 1824. They had no children. She d. May 24, 1838. He d. Mar. 21, 1839.
- vii Mary, b. Oct. 6, 1806; m. Obed Carter, 2d, Nov. 17, 1825. No children. She died Aug. 7, 1876.
- viii Jacob, b. Sept. 11, 1808; m. Hannah Marsters, Nov. 17, 1831. Had no children. She d. Feb. 19, 1851. He d. Mar. 1, 1835.
- ix Naomi, b. Nov. 10, 1810; d. Nov. 18, 1810.
- 66 x Israel, b. Aug. 14, 1812.

Nathan was chosen Deacon before 1809, and served until his death, July 21, 1837.

45 Nehemiah⁵ (*John⁴, Jonathan³, Samuel², William¹*) born Nov. 24, 1753; married Ruth Allen, Dec. 8, 1774. She was born July 25, 1755.

Children :

- i Nehemiah, b. Oct. 8, 1775.
- 67 ii John, b. Feb. 14, 1777.
- iii Ruth, b. June 13, 1779; m. John Cheever; 2d wife, April 13, 1802; d. Dec. 5, 1824.

46 David⁵ (*John⁴, Jonathan³, Samuel², William¹*) born Feb. 10, 1755; married Elizabeth Edwards, Mar. 6, 1777. She was born June 30, 1758; died Dec. 13, 1832. He died May 15, 1794.

Children :

- i Elizabeth, b. Jan. 6, 1778; m. Asa Richardson, May 29, 1809.
- 68 ii David, b. June 8, 1780.
- iii Lydia, b. July 12, 1782; m. George Hall, Sept. 16, 1802.
- iv Nabby, b. Oct. 20, 1784; m. Joseph Godfrey of Boston.
- v John, bapt. Sept. 9, 1787; d. Sept. 29, 1789.
- vi Ruth, bapt. Sept. 15, 1794; m. Prescott Batchelder.

SIXTH GENERATION.

47 Ambrose⁶ (*Ambrose*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born May 17, 1749; married Hannah Lee, Dec. 24, 1767. She was born Jan. 18, 1750.

Children :

- i Ambrose, b. Oct. 25, 1768.
- ii Hannah, b. Aug. 17, 1770; m. Ezekiel Leach, June 24, 1793.

48 Samuel⁶ (*Ambrose*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Mar. 9, 1750; married Sarah Masterson about 1766.

Children :

- 69 i Nathaniel M., b. Nov. 3, 1767.
- ii Ruth, b. —; d. Nov. 14, 1772.
- iii Benjamin, b. —.
- iv Samuel, b. —.

49 William⁶ (*William*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Dec. 3, 1752; married Anna Lee of Gloucester, published July 7, 1776.

Children :

- i Anna, b. —, 1777; d. —, 1778.
- ii Anne, b. July 10, 1779; m. Sam'l Driver, Dec. 9, 1800.
- iii Polly, b. July 5, 1781; m. Daniel Appleton of Beverly, —, 1814.
- iv Nabby, bapt. July 20, 1783; m. — Maloon of Salem.
- 70 v Billy or Wm., b. Sept. 11, 1785.
- vi Charlotte, b. May 11, 1787; m. Humphrey Proctor, Jan. 25, 1806.
- vii Susanna, b. Aug. 16, 1789; d. Mar. 8, 1792.
- viii Nabby, b. July 10, 1790; d. May 8, 1811.
- 71 ix Thomas L., b. June 13, 1791.

His first wife dying, he married, second, Sally Edwards, Mar. 29, 1795. She was born Jan. 21, 1767; died Oct. 15, 1827. He died Oct. 24, 1827.

Children :

- x Mahala, b. June 19, 1796; d. Oct. 12, 1825.
- xi Woodbury, b. Oct. 11, 1802; m. Sally F. Tappan, Mar. 4, 1828.

50 Capt. John⁶ (*William,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Aug. 5, 1757; married Hannah Edwards, Nov. 22, 1779. She was born Nov. 13, 1762; died July 25, 1819. He died Oct. 20, 1822.

Children, (all born in Manchester) :

- 72** i John W., b. Aug. 5, 1781.
- ii Hannah, b. July 3, 1784; m. Dea. Andrew Brown, Dec. 16, 1804. She died Nov. 28, 1857, æ. 73.
- 73** iii James, b. Sept. 18, 1786.
- iv Nancy, b. Nov. 17, 1788; d. Mar. 19, 1794.
- 74** v Samuel, b. Mar. 20, 1791.
- vi Fanny, b. Jan. 28, 1794; m. Sam'l Cheever, as his second wife, Sept. 3, 1815; d. Mar. 6, 1819.
- 75** vii Daniel, } twins; { b. May 27, 1796.
- viii Nancy, } { b. May 27, 1796; m. Abial Burgess, jr.,
July 15, 1818; d. May 20, 1857. Wid.

The three sons of Capt. John were noted shipmasters, having followed the sea for the most of their lives and were always very successful.

51 Hooper⁶ (*William,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Jan. 4, 1763; married Sarah Kitfield Dec. 18, 1788. She was born Aug. 30, 1767; died Aug. 15, 1854, aged 87. He died Nov. 11, 1815.

Children :

- i Hooper, b. Dec. 25, 1791; d. Sept. 30, 1811.
- ii Sarah, b. April 17, 1794; d. June 11, 1812.
- iii Harriet, b. Aug. 29, 1800; m. Sam'l L. Tuck, Mar. 29, 1825.
- iv Elizabeth, b. Jan. 2, 1805; d. Feb. 28, 1826.

52 Jeremiah⁶ (*Jeremiah,⁵ Jeremiah,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born April 6, 1749; married Abigail Allen of Gloucester about 1769.

Children :

- i Moses, b. May 25, 1770.
- ii Elisha, b. Oct. 14, 1771.
- iii Aaron, b. May 30, 1773.

53 Stephen⁶ (*Stephen,⁵ Stephen,⁴ Benjamin,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born May 13, 1797; married Nanc

Cross, April 5, 1827. She was born June 24, 1805; died Mar. 10, 1864. He died Mar. 29, 1880, aged 83.

Children, (all born in Manchester) :

- i Caroline, b. May 28, 1827; m. Rufus C. Gault, Jan. 6, 1848.
- 76 ii Stephen B., b. July 7, 1828.
- 77 iii John R., b. Aug. 31, 1829.
- iv Nancy M., b. June 21, 1831; m. Wm. Somes of Gloucester, Feb. 28, 1854.
- 78 v George, b. June 20, 1833.
- 79 vi Elbridge, b. April 5, 1835.
- vii Emoline, b. June 28, 1838; d. Feb. 12, 1865.
- viii Louisa F., b. Oct. 18, 1840; m. John B. Knowlton, Oct. —, 1869.
- ix Lucy D., b. Oct. 4, 1842; m. Jason Edgerly.
- x Infant, b. Dec. 1, 1844; d. soon.
- 80 xi Rodney C., b. Feb. 17, 1847.

54 Jonathan⁶ (*Jonathan*,⁵ *Jonathan*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Oct. 23, 1766; married Anna Edwards, Dec. 26, 1786. She was born Mar. 10, 1766; died Oct. 11, 1840, aged 73. He died Dec. 5, 1849, aged 84.

Children :

- i Daniel, b. Apr. 16, 1787; m. Lydia ———, of Hopkinton, N. H.
- 81 ii Joseph, b. Dec. 16, 1789.
- iii Anna, b. in Hopkinton, N. H., July 30, 1790; m. Asa Proctor of Londonderry, N. H., Feb. 14, 1819.
- iv Saloma, b. Aug. 27, 1792; m. Benj. Kitfield, Apr. 3, 1851.
- v Nabby, b. Aug. 18, 1796; m. Winslow Dustan, Apr. 3, 1817.
- vi Elizabeth E., b. Mar. 1, 1798; m. Varnum Duntton, Sept. 20, 1817.
- vii Holton, b. Jan. 1, 1799; d. Mar. 30, 1871; unm.
- viii Jonathan M., b. Feb. 5, 1809; d. Jan. 31, 1851; unm.

Jonathan after his marriage removed to Hopkinton, N. H., where he resided for a number of years, and where several of his children were born, and then returned to Manchester where the remainder of his family were born, and where he ended his long life.

55 Daniel⁶ (*Jonathan*,⁵ *Jonathan*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born July 16, 1768; married Nancy Weir of Beverly about 1790.

Children :

- i Nancy W., b. Nov. 7, 1791; m. John B. Lord of Ipswich, Oct. 7, 1817; d. in Somerville, April 27, 1874, æ. 82.
- ii Arthur, b. in Hopkinton, N. H., July 29, 1793. Lost at sea.
- iii John or Jonathan, b. in Hopkinton, N. H., Feb. 3, 1796; lost at sea, Feb. 6, 1813.
- iv Luther, b. Apr. 4, 1798. Lost at sea.
- v Daniel, b. June 10, 1800; lost at sea, 1824.
- vi Calvin, b. — 1802; d. Oct. 13, 1832.
- vii Miranda, b. —, 1812; d. Aug. 13, 1847.
- viii John Arthur, b. Oct. 5, 1817; m. Mary A. Crafts, Feb. 29, 1844. She d. Nov. 29, 1845. He d. June 29, 1884.

Daniel's first wife deceased, he married, second, Elizabeth Lurvey, of Gloucester.

Child :

- ix Elizabeth, b. —.

Daniel was quite a noted singer; he left Manchester for Hopkinton, N. H.; and after residing there a while, returned to Manchester, and spent the remainder of his days.

56 Abner⁶ (*Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Oct. 9, 1767; married Lydia Lee, Mar. 30, 1790. She was born Aug. 9, 1764; died Aug. 19, 1852, aged 87. He died Mar. 6, 1830.

Children :

- 83 i Abner, b. Aug. 24, 1792.
- 84 ii Azariah, b. Aug. 25, 1796.
- iii Isaac, b. Oct. 15, 1798; m. Mary Burnham, Feb. 28, 1833; he d. Dec. 8, 1833.
- iv Charles, b. May 26, 1801; d. Jan. 25, 1879, æ. 77; unm.

57 Richard⁶ (*Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Apr. 8, 1774; married Polly Prince of Salem, Dec. 6, 1796. She was born Sept. 4, 1779;

died May 24, 1820. He died Mar. 15, 1837. He was a very enterprising shipmaster.

Children :

- i Richard, b. Sept. 27, 1797; d. Aug. 5, 1832; unm.
- ii Jonathan P., b. Sept. 13, 1799.
- iii Polly, b. Sept. 11, 1801; m. Charles Johnson, June 25, 1823; she d. Mar. 15, 1872, æ. 71.
- iv Irene, b. Aug. 10, 1803; m. Tyler Parsons, jr., Apr. 14, 1824.
- v John Prince, b. Oct. 2, 1805; d. Nov. 16, 1868, unm.
- 85 vi Henry P., b. Nov. 14, 1807.
- 86 vii Samuel P., b. Oct. 19, 1811.
- viii Augustus P., b. June 10, 1813; d. Aug. 23, 1815.
- ix Caroline, b. —, 1815; m. George Proctor, Dec. 15, 1835.
- x Augustus P., b. Mar. —, 1820; d. —, 1821.

He married, second, Bethia Driver, Sept. 18, 1823. She died July 14, 1833.

Child :

- xi Solomon D., b. Apr. 1, 1826.

He married, third, Rebecca Girdler, Dec. 22, 1833, who died Apr. 18, 1845.

58 John⁶ (*Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Jan. 1, 1776; married Ruth Leach, Dec. 26, 1797. She was born Apr. 17, 1778; died Oct. 13, 1843. He died Aug. 27, 1834. He was a noted shipmaster.

Children :

- i Ruth, b. Sept. 4, 1798; m. John P. Allen, Nov. 28, 1816; d. June 13, 1875.
- ii John, b. May 23, 1801; killed on the beach, June 6, 1814.
- 87 iii Benjamin L., b. Mar. 8, 1803; d. Sept. 24, 1865.
- 88 iv Isaac, b. Nov. 11, 1805; d. Apr. 27, 1879.

59 Aaron⁶ (*Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹), born Aug. 28, 1765; married Lucy Story, Dec. 3, 1789. She was born Sept. 5, 1771; died Mar. 24, 1794. He married, second, Sally Crafts, Oct., 1795.

She was born Sept. 8, 1773; died June 15, 1857, aged 84. He died Mar. 31, 1839, aged 74.

Children :

- i Lucy S., b. Jan. 1, 1797; m. Nathan Allen, Feb. 8, 1817; m. 2d, Benj. Leach, Jan. 7, 1830.
- ii Aaron, b. Sept. 4, 1799; d. at Buenos Ayres, S. A., Sept. 26, 1824.
- iii Sally, Nov. 4, 1801; m. Samuel Edwards, Jan. 8, 1823; she d. Jan. 27, 1863.
- 89 iv William H., b. Sept. 21, 1803.
- v Child, d. Feb. 11, 1808.
- vi Elizabeth, b. Dec. 28, 1808; m. William Young of Lanesville, Gloucester, Apr. 20, 1842; d. Apr. 26, 1883, in Manchester.
- vii Ruth Ann, b. Apr. 18, 1813; m. John Lothrop of Augusta, Me., Aug. 20, 1839; m. second, Capt. David Carter, Nov. 8, 1844.

60 William⁶ (*Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Dec. 3, 1766; married Hannah Edwards, Nov. 9, 1789. She was born Oct. 5, 1770. Married, second, Feb. 12, 1804, Mary Hunt.

Children by Hannah Edwards :

- 90 i Hannah, b. Sept. 19, 1791; m. Henry Allen of Salem.
- ii Priscilla, b. Dec. 6, 1795; d. Feb. —, 1806.
- iii Evelina, b. Dec. 1, 1797; m. Capt. Thomas M. Saunders of Salem, May —, 1823; she d. Oct. 19, 1879.

Children by Mary Hunt :

- 91 iv William E., b. July 10, 1806 in Salem.
- v Joseph A., b. Feb. 10, 1808; d. Nov., 1840; unm.
- 92 vi Charles H., b. July 31, 1810.
- 93 vii George F., b. Jan. 2, 1813.
- viii Frederick F., b. May 6, 1816; d. Sept. 22, 1818.

61 Simeon⁶ (*Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹), born Dec. 27, 1778; married Elizabeth Brown, Oct. 13, 1803.

Child :

- i Laura Matilda, bapt. July 19, 1807.

He died Sept. 16, 1816; she married, second, Josiah Ober of Beverly.

62 Jacob⁶ (*Isaac*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 26, 1789; married Lucy G. Galloup of Wenham, Jan. 29, 1809. She was born April 28, 1790; died April 9, 1871, aged 81. He died Aug. 2, 1852.

Children :

- 94 i Jacob A., b. in Beverly, Mar. 5, 1810.
- ii Lucy Rebecca, b. in Wenham, Jan. 6, 1814; m. Benjamin Severance, Feb. 15, 1842. She d. May 15, 1880.
- 95 iii Enos G., b. in Wenham, Nov. 16, 1815.
- iv Aaron H., b. in Lynn, Dec. 23, 1817; m. July 20, 1848.
- v Isaac S., b. in Cavendish, Vt., Jan. 29, 1819; m. Jan. 14, 1847.
- vi Salome M., b. in Cavendish, Vt., Mar. 17, 1821; m. A. Ferris, Dec. 31, 1840; d. June 22, 1847.
- vii John L., } twins; { b. in Ticonderoga, N. Y., Mar. 24,
- viii Samuel H., } { 1823; m. Oct. 13, 1842; d. Aug. 11, 1852.
- 1823; d. July 6, 1829.
- ix Charles W., b. in Ticonderoga, N. Y., June 19, 1824; d. July 11, 1825.
- x Susan T., b. in Ticonderoga, N. Y., Oct. 16, 1825; d. Oct. 9, 1828.
- xi Elizabeth D., b. in Ticonderoga, N. Y., Nov. 11, 1826; m. June 26, 1845; d. Nov. 29, 1877.
- xii Hannah R., b. in Ticonderoga, N. Y., Feb. 27, 1828; m. Aug. 29, 1850.
- xiii Susan T., b. in Ticonderoga, N. Y., May 20, 1829; m. Oct. 31, 1848.
- xiv Pyra W., b. in Elizabethtown, N. Y., Aug. 15, 1831; d. Aug. 30, 1831.

63 Nathan, jr.⁶ (*Nathan*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Jan. 13, 1794; married Lucy S. Allen, Feb. 8, 1817. She was born Jan. 1, 1797.

Children :

- i Nathan S., b. Nov. 18, 1818; d. April 21, 1824.
- ii Nancy C., b. Aug. 3, 1820; d. April 26, 1824.
- iii Lucy M., b. Oct. 18, 1822; d. April 27, 1824.
- iv Nathan, b. June 28, 1824; d. June 12, 1841.
- 96 v George F., b. Sept. 10, 1826.

Nathan, jr., died Nov. 10, 1826, and she married, second, Capt. Benjamin Leach, Jan. 7, 1830, and she is still living at the ripe age of 91 years (1888).

64 John P.⁶ (*Nathan*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born April 12, 1795; married Ruth Allen, Nov. 28, 1816. She was born Sept. 4, 1798; died June 13, 1875. He died Jan. 30, 1875, æ. about 80.

Children :

- i Eliza F., b. Sept. 25, 1820; m. Charles Lee, Nov. 25, 1846.
She d. Mar. 5, 1883.
- 97 ii John P., jr., b. Feb. 11, 1823.
- 98 iii Edward F., b. Jan. 30, 1827.
- iv Ruth L., b. May 15, 1831; d. June 1, 1839.
- v Ruthelia, b. Oct. 18, 1840; m. David Preston of Gloucester.

John P. was one of the selectmen in 1828 and 1829, and always took a very active interest in all parish and town affairs.

65 Enoch⁶ (*Nathan*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born May 24, 1797; married Susan Marsters June 10, 1824. She was born Mar. 11, 1805; died Nov. 4, 1826. He died July 8, 1842.

Child :

- i Susan M., b. in Salem, Mar. 22, 1825; m. Moses P. Greenleaf, Oct. 27, 1846.

He married, second, Eliza Peabody of Bradford, who died July 16, 1833.

Children :

- ii Infant, b. —, 1830; d. same year.
- iii Charlotte E., b. April 13, 1831; d. Nov. 13, 1861; unm.

He married, third, Abigail W. Rogers of Maine, June 17, 1834. He was chosen deacon of the Congregational Church, April 15, 1829, and served till his death.

[To be continued.]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PUTNAM FAMILY.

A genealogical record of the descendants of John Putnam of Danvers (1640) is being prepared by Mr. Eben Putnam of Cambridge with the coöperation of the Rev. A. P. Putnam of Concord.

Any information relating to the various branches of this family will be gratefully acknowledged by Eben Putnam.

Box 2713, Boston.

In Vol. XVIII of these Collections, page 309, allusion is made in an extract from the diary of John Adams, there quoted, to the pleasure-house of Judge Lynde standing, in 1766, on Castle Hill, and of which no trace has survived. Chief Justice Benjamin Lynde, Junior, inherited the Castle Hill farm, through his mother, from Major William Browne, his grandfather, who died 1716. Both he and his father, who was also chief justice of the province, made additions to the estate by purchase from Colonel Turner and others. The second chief justice built what he called an "Arbor" there Aug. 6, 1724, and seems to have planned a "Villa" there in 1732. "My Castle Hill New House" was raised Oct. 4, 1748, and is described as "Judge Lynde's Pleasure-house" by John Adams in his diary, Aug. 14, 1766. Judge Lynde devised it, by will dated May 10, 1776, and in 1799 Dr. Bentley describes the farm as still in the possession of the Lynde family, adding, "but the spacious building on the hill is suffered to decay."

Dr. Bentley alludes again to this locality on June 1, 1809. "Walked in at Woods' Gate to Holmes' Neck and

found the neck enclosed and the fields planted for the first time in the memory of this generation. Passed to Castle Hill upon which Mr. E. H. Derby has erected a small summer house of two small and square stories, the upper of smaller dimensions, in the Italian style. It wants the grandeur of the former house which occupied this space. The old farm house at the foot of Castle Hill is in a state of decay." Felt says it blew down in a gale, Sept. 23, 1815.

A question is also raised in Vol. xviii about the origin and significance of the name "Naugus Head," and a conjecture stated that it may have been a corrupt form of "Knockers' Head," or perhaps, like Saugus, an Indian word, since we find the syllable *Nau* in Naushaun and possibly in our own Naumkeag, and also find the two towns of Naugatuck and Saugatuck near each other on the Connecticut shore of Long Island Sound.

We have now to add another to the list of conjectures. In a "Plan of Salem in Massachusetts, Lat. 42° 35' N.: Reduced by a pentagraph from a plan drawn in 1758, by James Ford, in possession of the late Dr. Winthrop's Executrix; Cambridge, 26 Oct., 1787," the locality in question is designated as "Nogg's Head." If this settles one question it opens another. If this breezy elevation was Nogg's head, who was Nogg or Noggs? The plan contains other features of great interest, and is among the Collections of the Essex Institute.

In the present volume, page 246, reasons are given for the conjecture that Emanuel Downing may have been living at as late a date as 1658. In point of fact he was living at Edinborough, Feb. 2, 1657, and as late as Dec. 9, 1658, and writing letters which will be found in Mass. Hist. Collections, Fourth Series, Vol. vi, pp. 84-7.

INDEX OF NAMES.

- Abbot, 183, 185, 187, 188,
 199, 201, 202, 203, 204.
 Abbott, 126.
 Abercrombie, 144.
 Aborn, 146, 147.
 Aey, 56, 57.
 Adams, 3, 123, 129, 131, 147,
 268, 278, 294, 313.
 Agge, 160.
 Albamarlea, 27.
 Albemarle, 10, 21, 22, 35.
 Alfred, 16.
 Allen, 160, 223, 224, 225, 226,
 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232,
 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238,
 239, 240, 302, 304, 306, 309,
 310, 311.
 Allerton, 167.
 Almy, 275.
 Andreas, 67.
 Andreas, 159.
 Andrew, 41, 160, 184, 187,
 193, 242.
 Andrews, 64, 183, 184, 185,
 186, 187, 189, 190, 193, 194.
 Apes, 181.
 Appleton, 67, 104, 305.
 Atherton, 96.
 Atwood, 44, 128.
 Austin, 98, 303.
 Averel, 195.
 Averell, 189, 190, 191, 192,
 194, 195, 196, 198, 203.
 Averil, 193, 194, 196, 199,
 202.
 Averill, 187, 188, 193, 194,
 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201,
 205.
 Avery, 94, 98, 191.
 Ayres, 302.
 Babington, 10.
 Babson, 3.
 Bailey, 44, 46, 52, 53, 56, 58,
 59, 61, 124, 177.
 Baker, 73, 158, 181, 183, 185,
 187, 199, 201, 202, 203, 204,
 240, 294.
 Balch, 198, 200, 202, 224.
 Baldwin, 26.
 Bancroft, 143, 147, 148, 149,
 150.
 Barker, 44, 59, 60.
 Barnard, 104, 275.
 Barnes, 19, 78.
 Bartlet, 40.
 Bartlett, 123, 124, 125, 126,
 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133,
 134, 136, 138, 139, 206, 209,
 214, 215.
 Bartole, 248.
 Barton, 252.
 Bassett, 177.
 Batchelder, 4, 39, 303, 304.
 Batchiler, 254.
 Beadle, 249.
 Beale, 65.
 Bear, 237.
 Beecher, 293.
 Benedict, 3.
 Benezet, 104.
 Bennett, 48, 229, 231, 239,
 291.
 Bennit, 202.
 Bentley, 160, 275, 313.
 Berry, 277, 278, 280, 282,
 283, 284, 287, 288, 289, 290,
 291, 293, 295, 296.
 Birmingham, 278.
 Bishop, 190, 301.
 Bixby, 181, 183, 184, 185,
 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192,
 193, 194, 195, 197, 203.
 Blanchard, 4, 76.
 Blighe, 177.
 Blodgett, 43.
 Bond, 3.
 Bondfield, 65.
 Bonvill, 27, 28.
 Bonville, 18, 28.
 Booth, 11.
 Borman, 183, 187, 192, 196,
 199.
 Bosworth, 5.
 Bowdish, 252, 258, 261.
 Bowditch, 97, 160, 249, 252,
 256, 258.
 Bowdoin, 107.
 Bowen, 97.
 Bowker, 241.
 Boyd, 203.
 Boyden, 288, 289, 290, 291,
 292, 293, 294, 296.
 Boynton, 44, 50, 59, 61.
 Brackenbury, 223.
 Bradley, 224, 283.
 Bradstreet, 48, 49, 64, 65,
 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 184, 185,
 187, 188, 197, 198, 200, 201,
 202, 203, 204, 205, 242, 248,
 249, 250, 251, 253, 255, 256,
 271.
 Bradstreete, 249.
 Breed, 177.
 Brewer, 18, 177.
 Bridgman, 224.
 Broadstreet, 6r.
 Brocklebank, 48.
 Brooks, 3.
 Brown, 3, 72, 119, 149, 159,
 160, 235, 306, 310.
 Browne, 241, 249, 252, 253,
 256, 313.
 Buckman, 186.
 Buffum, 180.
 Burgess, 306.
 Burke, 160.
 Burlescombe, 36.
 Burnham, 159, 308.
 Burpee, 63.
 Burr, 261.
 Burrill, 177.
 Burton, 191, 194, 195, 197,
 201, 204.
 Busell, 181.
 Busk, 160.
 Bussel, 191.
 Butler, 198, 200, 294.
 Buttolph, 252, 25, 272.
 Buzzell, 197.
 Byrne, 160.
 Caesar, 15.
 Caldwell, 294.
 Calif, 229.
 Camden, 6, 10, 11, 15.
 Candige, 63.
 Capen, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185,
 186, 189, 196, 199, 201, 205.
 Capman, 157.
 Carbonell, 27.
 Carew, 32.
 Carlton, 51, 64.
 Carnes, 257.
 Carpenter, 158.
 Carrel, 49.
 Carrell, 66, 69.
 Carter, 232, 304, 310.
 Cates, 160.
 Caves, 194.
 Center, 48.
 Chadbourn, 98.
 Chaplin, 63, 69.
 Chapman, 191, 192, 194, 202,
 203.
 Charles I, 11, 31.
 Charles II, 19, 31.
 Chase, 297.
 Cheever, 230, 234, 257, 304,
 306.
 Cheney, 45.
 Chester, 30.
 Chipman, 97.
 Choate, 97, 122.
 Church, 221, 254.
 Chute, 146.
 Clark, 59, 188, 190, 195.
 Clarke, 185, 186, 187, 192,
 193, 198, 200.
 Cleaveland, 140, 141, 142,
 143, 144, 145.
 Cleaves, 119.
 Cleves, 116.
 Coburn, 70, 71.
 Cochran, 3.
 Codman, 119, 120, 121.
 Coffin, 49, 52, 67.

- Cogswell, 3, 159, 163, 164, 180.
 Coldam, 177.
 Cole, 45.
 Coleman, 158.
 Collins, 257.
 Collon, 302.
 Collyer, 299.
 Conant, 3, 26, 39, 78, 159, 202, 224.
 Constantine, 15.
 Coombs, 160.
 Cooper, 277.
 Copley, 33.
 Corey, 255.
 Cox, 153, 273, 296, 297, 299.
 Crafts, 234, 302, 308, 309.
 Crandall, 288.
 Cressee, 232, 233.
 Cressey, 44.
 Cromwell, 172.
 Crosby, 60, 67.
 Cross, 64, 228, 307.
 Crow, 227.
 Crowell, 140, 237, 240, 297.
 Cumins, 183.
 Cummings, 160, 202.
 Cummins, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 193, 194, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205.
 Curtie, 188.
 Curtis, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 203, 204.
 Curtiss, 184.
 Cushing, 97, 98.
 Cutler, 269, 270.
 Cutts, 123, 206, 215, 220.
 Dalton, 128.
 Damarell, 1, 10, 27, 28, 35.
 Dammerle, 28.
 Dammorys, 9.
 Danforth, 60, 149, 150.
 Daumarl, 10.
 Daumarle, 22.
 Daumerle, 10, 27, 35.
 Daunay, 33.
 Dauney, 33.
 Davenport, 251.
 Davis, 61, 80, 159, 160.
 Dawson, 160.
 Day, 158, 302.
 Deland, 273.
 Delves, 11.
 Dennis, 127.
 Derby, 314.
 Dewing, 257.
 Dickinson, 62.
 Dinant, 30.
 Dinham, 28, 29, 30.
 Dinsmoore, 216, 217, 218.
 Doak, 278.
 Dodge, 39, 75, 76, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 150, 157, 158, 159, 205, 234, 240, 303, 304.
 Dole, 49, 50.
 Donaldson, 160.
 Donnell, 49.
 Dorchester, 297, 299.
 Dorman, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 204, 205.
 Dow, 158.
 Downing, 11, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 249, 251, 253, 255, 272, 274, 282, 314.
 Downinge, 244.
 Downynge, 246.
 Drake, 29, 32, 33.
 Dresser, 47, 57, 64.
 Driver, 230, 235, 305, 309.
 Dudley, 251.
 Dugdale, 6, 26.
 Dummer, 66, 67.
 Duncan, 128, 215.
 Dunlap, 160.
 Dunnel, 184, 189, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 199, 201, 203.
 Dunnell, 202.
 Dannels, 183.
 Duntun, 307.
 Dustan, 307.
 Duty, 44.
 Dwight, 3.
 Dwinel, 159.
 Dynam, 29.
 Dynham, 29.
 Eames, 187.
 Eastman, 260, 300.
 Easty, 182.
 Eaton, 150.
 Edgerly, 307.
 Edward, 33.
 Edward I, 2, 10, 11, 21, 22, 38.
 Edward II, 10, 28, 37.
 Edward III, 21, 27, 28, 30.
 Edward IV, 28, 30, 31.
 Edwards, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119, 121, 122, 160, 231, 236, 302, 304, 305, 306, 307, 310.
 Elliott, 32.
 Elithorp, 61, 62.
 Elizabeth, 8, 9, 11, 32, 36.
 Ellis, 23.
 Ellsworth, 44.
 Emerson, 154.
 Endecot, 244.
 Endecott, 3, 8, 223, 224, 247.
 Endicot, 185, 186.
 Endicott, 2.
 English, 250.
 Epes, 117.
 Este, 181.
 Estey, 182.
 Estie, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 194, 199.
 Esty, 190, 191, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 202, 204, 205.
 Estvs, 201.
 Everett, 3.
 Eyton, 23.
 Fairfax, 30.
 Fairfield, 160.
 Falstaff, 250.
 Farley, 157.
 Farham, 160.
 Farrar, 177, 263.
 Farrington, 177.
 Felt, 62, 243, 247, 248, 249, 286.
 Fenby, 278.
 Ferris, 311.
 Field, 160.
 Fillmore, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288.
 Finney, 44.
 Fisher, 98, 268, 269, 276.
 Fiske, 3, 253, 282.
 Fitch, 269, 270.
 Fitzpatrick, 97.
 Flanders, 160.
 Flint, 205.
 Ford, 31, 160, 314.
 Foster, 53, 57, 157, 159, 160, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 201, 203, 204, 231, 303.
 Fowle, 244, 245.
 Fowler, 53.
 Freeman, 13, 26, 159.
 French, 183, 188, 190, 193, 194, 196.
 Friend, 73, 74, 75, 122.
 Frinks, 160.
 Frothingham, 3.
 Frye, 160.
 Fuller, 177.
 Fulton, 268, 269.
 Gage, 51, 53, 54, 58, 63, 105, 257.
 Gallop, 158.
 Galloup, 303, 310.
 Gallup, 157.
 Gardner, 76, 160, 238, 241, 243, 244, 246, 249, 251, 252, 253, 254, 258, 272, 273, 274.
 Garland, 160.
 Gault, 307.
 Gedney, 249, 272, 273, 274.
 Gentle, 119.
 Gentlee, 224.
 George II, 32, 117.
 George III, 23.
 Gerri-h, 80, 157.
 Gibson, 292.
 Gill, 98, 185, 299.
 Gilman, 160.
 Girdler, 236, 309.
 Glendower, 11.
 Godfrey, 304.
 Goff, 246.
 Goldsmith, 114.
 Gonzales, 88.
 Goodhall, 201.
 Goodhue, 48, 57, 264.
 Goodridge, 77.
 Goold, 181.
 Goolsmith, 114.
 Gorges, 36.
 Gough, 11.
 Gould, 157, 159, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 189, 190, 191, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205.
 Gowing, 150.
 Gracey, 300.
 Grant, 47, 48, 59, 158, 273.

- Graves, 292.
 Gray, 2, 241, 266, 267.
 Green, 160, 248, 250.
 Greene, 260.
 Greenleaf, 69, 98, 160, 312.
 Grey, 28.
 Guptil, 160.
- Haberfield, 177.
 Hackley, 133, 134.
 Hail, 187.
 Haile, 186.
 Hale, 59, 71, 189, 190.
 Hall, 101, 107, 108, 152, 238, 304.
 Hambleton, 300.
 Hamilton, 129, 281.
 Hammond, 63, 70.
 Hancock, 94, 123, 131.
 Hanscom, 160.
 Hardy, 43, 47, 59.
 Harper, 4.
 Harradean, 157.
 Harraden, 159.
 Harriman, 63.
 Harris, 64, 65.
 Harrod, 134.
 Hart, 163.
 Haseltine, 61.
 Haskell, 55, 233.
 Hassam, 226, 231, 237.
 Hathorn, 243.
 Hathorne, 3, 160.
 Haven, 177.
 Hawkes, 152, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180.
 Hawks, 151, 152, 162, 163, 164, 179.
 Hawthorne, 286.
 Hazen, 58, 59, 60, 61, 124, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190.
 Heathfield, 32, 33.
 Heintzelmann, 219.
 Henchman, 178.
 Henfield, 272.
 Henry I, 21.
 Henry II, 27, 28.
 Henry III, 9, 21, 22, 27, 33, 36.
 Henry IV, 12, 33.
 Henry VI, 31.
 Henry VII, 29, 34.
 Henry VIII, 8, 15.
 Herrick, 39, 73, 234, 236, 294.
 Herron, 160.
 Hibbard, 234.
 Hibbert, 51.
 Hikes, 13.
 Hidden, 43, 44.
 Higgins, 119.
 Hill, 228, 233.
 Hilton, 227, 230, 231.
 Hitchings, 180.
 Hobard, 181.
 Hobbard, 182.
 Hobbes, 185, 190.
 Hobbs, 78, 191, 195, 197, 199, 201.
 Hodges, 4, 160.
 Hodgkins, 157, 158.
- Hodgman, 146.
 Holland, 158.
 Holten, 98.
 Holyoke, 127, 260.
 Homer, 85.
 Hood, 158, 177.
 Hooker, 119.
 Hooper, 228, 229, 234, 235, 237, 257.
 Hopkins, 98, 276, 277.
 Hopkinson, 48, 50, 55.
 Horn, 246.
 Hovey, 160, 183, 186, 188, 190, 192, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202.
 How, 63, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205.
 Howard, 123, 160, 206.
 Howlet, 184, 186.
 Howlett, 183, 189, 191, 193, 199, 205.
 Hubbard, 181, 254.
 Hutchisson, 163.
 Hudson, 177.
 Humfreys, 38.
 Humphrey, 247, 254.
 Humphreys, 212.
 Hunkins, 197.
 Hunt, 3, 47, 48, 60, 61, 219, 222, 310.
 Hutchinson, 104, 160, 164.
 Hyler, 283.
- Iles, 202, 204.
 Ingersoll, 257.
 Isherwood, 264.
 Isles, 203.
- Jackson, 4, 41, 56, 57, 184, 188, 286.
 Jacob, 11.
 James, 36.
 Jaques, 160.
 Jarvis, 60, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222.
 Jaynes, 160.
 Jefferson, 129, 136, 261, 264, 265.
 Jeffors, 199.
 Jeffrey, 258, 261.
 Jetton, 201.
 Jewett, 44, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 59, 61, 69, 71.
 John, 21, 22.
 Johnson, 43, 47, 49, 50, 57, 58, 59, 69, 124, 160, 177, 309.
 Josselyn, 91, 92.
- Kehow, 160.
 Kelham, 23, 26.
 Kemble, 13.
 Kenney, 190, 192.
 Kent, 97.
 Kibby, 281.
 Kilborn, 50, 55, 56.
- Killam, 239.
 Killock, 227.
 Killum, 200.
 Kimball, 53, 59, 65, 217, 220, 222.
 Kitfield, 306, 307.
 Knap, 160.
 Kneeland, 141, 160, 280.
 Knight, 185, 186, 187, 188, 197, 198, 199, 200, 203, 224, 234.
 Knolton, 202.
 Knowlton, 118, 119, 158, 159, 228, 236, 240, 307.
 Kymball, 203, 204.
 Kymballs, 191.
- Lake, 200, 202, 204.
 Lakeman, 158.
 Lambert, 43, 45, 78.
 Lancaster, 10.
 Lane, 159.
 Langdall, 116.
 Langdell, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122.
 Langmaid, 79.
 Lappenberg, 13.
 Leach, 3, 227, 228, 233, 302, 305, 309, 310, 311.
 Lee, 19, 51, 119, 226, 227, 228, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 238, 239, 275, 276, 301, 302, 305, 308, 312.
 Lemot, 160.
 Leslie, 10.
 L'Etombe, 94.
 Lewis, 16, 169, 177, 272, 278.
 Lincoln, 270, 295.
 Linton, 157.
 Livingston, 269, 270.
 Longley, 219, 220.
 Lord, 164, 308.
 Loring, 4.
 Lothrop, 310.
 Lovejoy, 84.
 Lovell, 263.
 Low, 157, 159, 302, 303.
 Lowndes, 22.
 Lunt, 49, 50, 68, 234.
 Lurvey, 308.
 Lurry, 157.
 Luscomb, 160.
 Lynde, 313.
 Lyons, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34.
- Macaulay, 174.
 Macclesfield, 11.
 Macintire, 258.
 McLaughlin, 239.
 McReading, 281.
 Madison, 132, 133, 136.
 Maloon, 305.
 Mandeville, 27.
 Manning, 68, 160, 241, 295.
 Mansfield, 117, 160, 295, 300.
 Marshall, 18.
 Marsters, 232, 236, 304, 312.
 Marston, 246.
 Martin, 303.
 Masterson, 305.
 Masury, 79.

- Maunsdevill, 27.
 Maverick, 91, 167, 175, 180.
 Mavericke, 162, 164.
 May, 158.
 Mayo, 281.
 Meredith, 300.
 Merrifield, 202.
 Merrill, 3, 78, 240, 287, 288, 294.
 Merritt, 277, 278.
 Micklefield, 277, 283.
 Mighill, 43.
 Mildram, 80.
 Miller, 46.
 Millet, 157.
 Mills, 27.
 Mingo, 40.
 Minot, 4, 67.
 Monk, 34, 172.
 Moody, 55, 69.
 More, 157.
 Morgan, 118, 120, 121, 157, 235, 239.
 Morris, 207.
 Motley, 152, 153.
 Moulton, 146, 157, 288.
 Mount, 160.
 Mozley, 34.
 Mudge, 282.

 Nalam, 58.
 Nealan, 200.
 Nealand, 199, 201, 203.
 Needham, 153.
 Nelson, 48, 52, 53, 56, 64.
 Newell, 128.
 Newhall, 153, 165, 176.
 Newman, 49, 50, 53.
 Nicholls, 61, 63.
 Nichols, 183, 184, 186, 188, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 204.
 Noble, 160.
 Nogg, 314.
 Noggs, 314.
 Norman, 223.
 Northend, 67, 68, 70.
 Norton, 243, 303.

 Ober, 77, 310.
 Odell, 300.
 Odlin, 249, 250.
 Ogden, 269.
 Oliver, 18, 97.
 Orne, 76, 153, 154, 246.
 Osborn, 12, 13.
 Osbert, 12.
 Osborne, 236.
 Osgood, 128.
 Osmont, 236.
 Ovid, 30.

 Pabody, 183.
 Paine, 142.
 Palfray, 168, 245.
 Palfrey, 224.
 Palmer, 51.
 Parish, 144.
 Parker, 67, 68, 129.
 Parrat, 55.
 Parsons, 49, 51, 155, 260, 309.
 Patch, 35.
 Payson, 50.

 Peabody, 158, 201, 204, 205, 241, 247, 257, 258, 259, 272, 273, 304, 312.
 Peach, 65.
 Pearson, 46, 51, 70, 71, 155.
 Pearsons, 160.
 Pebody, 181, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204.
 Peble, 160.
 Peirce, 66, 68.
 Pemberton, 67.
 Pepperell, 125, 131.
 Pepperrell, 221.
 Perkins, 52, 76, 77, 121, 154, 155, 157, 158, 160, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 288.
 Perley, 50, 56, 183, 189, 190, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 201, 202.
 Perly, 187.
 Perry, 231, 303.
 Persons, 157.
 Peter, 245.
 Peters, 30, 242, 253.
 Peterson, 294.
 Peverell, 9.
 Phillips, 98.
 Phips, 39.
 Phippen, 160.
 Pickard, 51, 55, 66, 67, 70.
 Pickering, 3, 246, 266, 267, 268, 269, 282.
 Pickman, 134, 247, 248, 252, 258, 272.
 Pierce, 4, 79, 228, 229, 266.
 Pike, 68, 283.
 Pikeworth, 254.
 Pingree, 242, 292.
 Pitman, 236.
 Pitt, 29.
 Plats, 58.
 Platts, 65, 66, 70.
 Plumer, 70, 71.
 Plummer, 60, 135.
 Poland, 158.
 Pole, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35.
 Pollexfen, 32.
 Polwhele, 1, 10, 17, 18, 19, 27, 29, 34.
 Pool, 109, 159.
 Poole, 155.
 Popham, 35.
 Porter, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 204.
 Potter, 78, 177, 194, 196, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205.
 Powell, 98.
 Powers, 4.
 Prescott, 241, 258, 259.
 Preston, 79, 312.
 Price, 223, 302.
 Prideaux, 28, 29, 30, 31.
 Prime, 46, 66.
 Prince, 29, 31, 160, 252, 253, 266, 267, 270, 275, 308, 309.
 Pritchett, 194.
 Pritchett, 191, 196.

 Proctor, 238, 254, 305, 307, 309.
 Ptolemy, 15.
 Putnam, 39, 187, 188, 252, 257, 259, 270, 278, 313.

 Quimby, 302.
 Quincy, 132.

 Ramsdel, 200.
 Ramsdell, 201, 202, 203, 204.
 Rand, 177, 292.
 Rantoul, 1, 4, 81.
 Ravensas, 15.
 Ray, 121, 300.
 Rea, 39.
 Read, 242, 252, 253, 258, 259, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 271.
 Reddington, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190, 191, 192, 204.
 Redington, 181, 182, 184, 203, 204.
 Reith, 160.
 Remsen, 264.
 Reynolds, 33.
 Rhodes, 79, 177.
 Rice, 160, 254, 300.
 Richard I, 2, 27.
 Richard II, 29, 36.
 Richards, 215, 222, 294.
 Richardson, 304.
 Ringe, 237.
 Risdon, 1, 16, 17, 27, 29.
 Roapes, 249, 250, 251.
 Robie, 301.
 Robinson, 158, 188, 192, 194, 196, 198, 199, 202.
 Robson, 299.
 Roby, 178.
 Rofe, 65.
 Rogers, 312.
 Rolfe, 65.
 Rolle, 15.
 Ropes, 97, 160, 248, 249, 250, 256, 258.
 Row, 157, 159.
 Rumsey, 264, 270.
 Rush, 104.
 Russell, 15, 19.
 Rust, 237.

 Sage, 160.
 Saltonstall, 128.
 Samples, 234.
 Sanborn, 282.
 Sargent, 68, 283.
 Saunders, 51, 310.
 Savage, 3, 56.
 Sawyer, 44, 54.
 Sayward, 69.
 Scott, 54.
 Searl, 160.
 Searle, 54, 55.
 Sedgwick, 217.
 Serjeant, 158.
 Sever, 98.
 Severance, 311.
 Sewall, 67, 70, 98, 100, 221, 260, 261.
 Shakespeare, 6, 13, 174, 274.
 Shapley, 194.

- Shatswell, 70.
 Shattuck, 79.
 Shay, 107.
 Sheffield, 11.
 Shepard, 160.
 Shepherd, 44.
 Shepley, 193.
 Sherwin, 190.
 Shillaber, 160.
 Shortt, 14, 15.
 Shumwa, 195, 197.
 Shumway, 190, 191, 193, 195, 196, 198.
 Shurwin, 192.
 Sibley, 11.
 Silsbee, 177.
 Simons, 183.
 Slew, 96, 97.
 Slocum, 160.
 Smith, 23, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 121, 155, 157, 160, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 201, 203, 204, 239, 291, 295.
 Smyth, 92.
 Somes, 307.
 Sparhawk, 125, 131, 133, 155, 156.
 Spaulding, 275, 281, 287, 288.
 Spofford, 61, 69.
 Sprague, 134, 160, 206, 214, 219, 220.
 Squire, 196.
 Stafford, 18.
 Standley, 119.
 Stanley, 160, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 203.
 Stark, 3.
 Starrett, 79, 80.
 Steel, 157.
 Steele, 299, 300.
 Stephens, 157.
 Stevens, 204, 236, 270.
 Stewart, 278.
 Stickney, 43, 45, 60.
 Stiles, 183, 184, 187, 189.
 Stockton, 268, 269.
 Stone, 3.
 Story, 4, 309.
 Strong, 57, 261.
 Stuart, 167, 172, 274.
 Sumner, 160.
 Swan, 56, 104.
 Sweasey, 52.
 Swett, 198.
 Swayen, 165.
 Swinerton, 156.
 Symonds, 245.
 Talbot, 6.
 Tappan, 305.
 Tarbell, 180.
 Tarr, 157, 159.
 Tarring, 235.
 Taylard, 10.
 Taylor, 5, 7, 22, 98.
 Tenney, 43, 44, 45, 46, 59.
 Tewksbury, 153, 238, 303.
 Thorley, 47.
 Thorndike, 39, 233.
 Thornton, 11.
 Thoroton, 2, 9.
 Thorpe, 5, 13.
 Thurlow, 47.
 Thurston, 282.
 Tibbets, 160.
 Ticknor, 259.
 Tillison, 47.
 Todd, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 60, 69.
 Toppen, 49, 52.
 Torrey, 208.
 Towgel, 235.
 Town, 183, 185.
 Towne, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205.
 Townsend, 156, 180.
 Trask, 39, 160.
 Treadwell, 160.
 Trevethick, 266.
 Trowbridge, 97.
 Trumbl, 57.
 Trumble, 53, 56, 57.
 Trumbull, 57.
 Tuck, 226, 227, 228, 230, 303, 306.
 Tucker, 157.
 Tufts, 68.
 Turner, 13, 313.
 Tuttle, 77.
 Upham, 187, 253, 254.
 Upton, 156, 160.
 Vincent, 160.
 Vincentini, 32.
 Voltaire, 21.
 Wainwright, 249.
 Wait, 282.
 Walker, 229.
 Wallis, 65, 185, 303.
 Ward, 160, 257, 258.
 Warner, 50.
 Warren, 98.
 Warrene, 10.
 Washington, 257, 265, 270.
 Waters, 65, 186, 190, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 261.
 Watson, 183.
 Wauban, 32.
 Webb, 160.
 Webster, 32, 63.
 Weir, 308.
 Wellington, 133.
 Wellman, 160.
 Wells, 240.
 Wentworth, 30.
 Wesley, 276.
 West, 46, 47.
 Westcote, 12.
 Wheaton, 270.
 Whedon, 299.
 Wheeler, 67, 69, 215.
 Whipple, 96, 97.
 Whitcomb, 98.
 White, 8, 53, 78, 98, 124, 128, 242.
 Whiting, 176.
 Whittingham, 205.
 Whittredge, 78.
 Wicom, 56, 58, 59.
 Widebergh, 37.
 Wild, 60, 192, 193.
 Wildes, 158.
 Wilds, 181, 183, 185, 186, 188, 189, 191, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204.
 Wilkins, 119, 121, 122.
 Willard, 191, 200.
 Williams, 92, 160, 227, 242, 257.
 Willis, 187.
 Willit, 189.
 Wilson, 160.
 Winn, 142.
 Winslow, 288.
 Winthrop, 11, 91, 161, 166, 242, 243, 244, 245, 251, 253, 274, 314.
 Winthrope, 245.
 Wise, 287.
 Witham, 157.
 Wittle, 160.
 Woddebur, 2.
 Wodebere, 35, 36.
 Wodeberie, 6, 23, 24.
 Wodebur, 2, 36.
 Wodeburg, 1, 2, 9, 11.
 Wodeburgh, 9.
 Wodeburghe, 37.
 Wodebury, 36, 37.
 Wodyabera, 36.
 Wolfe, 40.
 Wood, 47, 48, 60, 61, 62, 67, 68, 69, 184, 185, 186, 188, 190, 193, 195, 196.
 Woodbayre, 36.
 Woodbear, 33.
 Woodbeare, 33, 35, 36.
 Woodberg, 27.
 Woodberry, 122.
 Woodbery, 1, 2.
 Woodbeyye, 35, 38.
 Woodbirre, 36.
 Woodbry, 39.
 Woodbury, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 122, 224, 238, 303.
 Woodman, 45, 46, 59, 104.
 Woods, 195.
 Worcester, 53.
 Wornahill, 64.
 Wormwell, 64.
 Wudber, 37.
 Wudeberg, 9.
 Wudebirig, 6.
 Wudeburc, 2, 9.
 Wudeburg, 6.
 Wudeburge, 6.
 Wydebyrre, 37.
 York, 157.
 Young, 310.

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CONTENTS.

PARTS I, II, III.

A Sketch of Tristram Dalton, by EBEN F. STONE,	1
Materials for a Genealogy of the Sparhawk family in New Eng- land, compiled by CECIL HAMPDEN CUTTS HOWARD, . . .	30
Allen Family (concluded),	44
Inscriptions from the Old Burying Ground at Saugus Centre, copied by JOHN T. MOULTON,	60
Notes and Queries :	
Curious Memorial of a Gloucester Parson,	77
A Note on Wenham Lake,	78

PARTS IV, V, VI.

An Account of the Yacht Cleopatra's Barge, by BENJAMIN W. CROWNINSHIELD,	81
Sparhawk Family (continued),	119
The Gov ^r Endecott Estate,	137
Notes and Queries :	
Was Governor Endecott's House the first Place of Worship?	158
The Settlement of Beverly,	160
The Authenticity of the Roger Williams' House,	162

PARTS VII, VIII, IX.

The Part taken by Essex County in the Organization and Settlement of the Northwest Territory,	165
A Record of Interments in the Old or Western Burying Ground in Lynn, Mass., made by Benjamin H. Jacob, copied by JOHN T. MOULTON,	235

PARTS X, XI, XII.

Semi-historical Rambles among the Eighteenth-century Places along Saugus River, by NATHAN M. HAWKES,	241
Inscriptions from the Old Burying Ground at Saugus Centre (concluded),	274
Sparhawk Family (continued),	281
Mining and Quarrying, and Smelting of Ores, in Boxford, by SIDNEY PERLEY,	295
A Strange Epistle of a Century ago,	311

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
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A SKETCH
OF
TRISTRAM DALTON.

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THIS paper is an attempt to give a brief sketch of the life and character of Tristram Dalton, the first Massachusetts senator from Essex county in the Congress of the United States. The immediate motive of this attempt was the discovery of a file of letters written by Mr. Dalton to his friend Michael Hodge, from which a large part of the material of this article is derived.

Tristram Dalton, the only child of Michael Dalton and Mary, *née* Little, was born in Newburyport, May 28, 1738. His father was a lineal descendant of Philemon Dalton of Hampton, New Hampshire, the ancestor of all the Daltons in this neighborhood. He began life as a mariner and attained the rank of captain, but soon gave up the sea and devoted himself to maritime commerce, and in this he was very successful. His place of business, the latter part of his life, was at the foot of Market street,

Newburyport, where he dealt largely in fish and in foreign goods imported from Europe. He carried on a distillery at the head of the wharf and exported to the West Indies and Europe, fish, rum and other articles, the product of the country. He was one of the most active and influential members of St. Paul's church and, with the exception of Mr. William Atkins, the largest voluntary subscriber to the funds needed to meet its current expenses. In early life he is described as a mariner. About 1740, he appears as a merchant, and soon after as an esquire. His rise was very rapid. He took an active part in the separation of Newburyport from Newbury, and was one of the first five persons named in the petition to the General Court for an act of incorporation. In 1742, we find him purchasing a house in Newburyport, which was situated on the northerly side of Market square, for £1000. In 1746, he bought of one Gideon Bartlett an estate of three acres on Greenleaf's lane, now State street, for £1600, and here he erected a fine house where his son Tristram afterwards lived, and which has been more recently occupied by the Rev. Mr. Cole. Soon afterwards he bought of different parties a large tract of land of about two hundred acres on Pipe-stave hill in West Newbury, which his son Tristram afterwards occupied as a country-seat. In 1765, he purchased the estate at the foot of Market then called Queen street, and established a distillery there. At this time, the principal business of the town was transacted at the foot of Queen street and when this name was dropped, at the time of the Revolution, because it savored too much of royalty, the name Market was adopted because the street led to the centre of business. Afterwards as business extended, with the opportunities for foreign trade which this country enjoyed by reason of its neutrality during the wars in Europe, the merchants in the southeasterly part of

the town, the Bartletts, the Johnsons, the Boardmans, the Coombses and others, carried the trade towards the foot of Federal street and when Parson Cary's church was taken down, at the foot of Greenleaf's lane, the town purchased the land of his society and laid it out as Market square.

Michael Dalton was evidently a man of ambition, and held the English ideas of family pride and consequence. He died, in 1770, at the age of sixty-one, too early to enjoy the satisfactions which he naturally anticipated from his success in business. His widow, the mother of Tristram, and a most estimable woman, afterwards married Patrick Tracy, the ancestor, on the maternal side, of the distinguished Charles, James and Patrick Tracy Jackson, to whom the Lowells, the Lees, and others of distinction are related. She died Dec. 10, 1791, aged 78. Michael Dalton lived, during the early part of his life, on the northerly side of what is now Market square, near the head of Greenleaf's wharf. His portrait is in the possession of a great-granddaughter. It indicates considerable force of character, and his figure, attitude and expression all impress one with the idea that he was a man of energy and self-reliance.

After his death his entire property, with the exception of the widow's thirds, went to his only child Tristram. He made no will, and his estate was never entered in Probate Court, so that there is no satisfactory evidence to be obtained of the extent and value of his property at the time of his decease. It was apparently ample to satisfy his son's wishes and expectations, for it seems that after his father's death he gave his attention not so much to business as to other matters more congenial to his taste. In 1782, Tristram Dalton paid the largest individual tax in Newburyport, the amount being £131-5-6. The same year Jonathan Jackson's tax was £100-1-5; Stephen Hooper's,

£98-10-8; Joseph Marquand's, £67-6-7; Thomas Thomas's, £56-14-1; William Bartlet's, £37-7-8; Moses Brown's, £22-5-11. Tristram Dalton was named for his maternal grandfather, Tristram Little, who was a successful trader in Newburyport, having his place of business in Market square near the corner of Liberty street, and he, too, was named for his maternal grandfather, Tristram Coffin, the ancestor of the English admiral, Sir Isaac Coffin, and an important man in his day. The name of Tristram has been handed down to the present time in different families which trace their descent to Tristram Coffin.

Tristram Dalton was graduated from Harvard College in 1755, in the class with John Adams, standing well for scholarship. He read law in Salem, but, on the completion of his studies, instead of engaging in the practice of the law, joined his father in business. In 1761, he married Ruth Hooper and commenced his married life in Newburyport. Two of her sisters were subsequently married to citizens of the same town; one to Lewis Jenkins, a wool-dealer, who lived near the corner of State and Pleasant streets; the other to Joseph Cutler, who lived on the corner of Green and Washington streets. Their father was Robert Hooper, a very rich merchant of Marblehead and socially of the first rank. His sons, who graduated at Harvard, ranked first in the list of their respective classes in the college catalogue which, since college rank depended upon the standing of the parents and not on the scholarship of the students, is conclusive proof of their high social position. Mr. Hooper, by reason of his great wealth and his imperious manner, was called King Hooper. He was a devoted Episcopalian and the tradition is that the society to which he belonged, having with his help erected a new church in Marblehead, as a special mark of attention for his liberality plastered a small space in the roof, ex-

actly over his pew and corresponding with it in size, and for want of funds left the remainder of the roof in an unfinished state for many years. When the Revolution came he adhered to the side of the King and was denounced and proscribed as a Tory.

Tristram Dalton does not appear to have taken any special interest in public affairs until the commencement of the Revolution, when he unhesitatingly put his heart and soul into the cause of his country. With what strength and ardor of patriotism he congratulates his friend Elbridge Gerry, then a member of the Continental Congress, on the Declaration of Independence in the following letter of July 19, 1776!

Dear Sir: I wish you joy on the late Declaration, an event so ardently desired by your good self and the people you particularly represent. We are no longer to be amused with delusive prospects. The die is cast. All is at stake. The way is made plain. No one can now doubt on which side it is his duty to act. We have everything to hope from the goodness of our cause. The God of justice is omnipotent. We are not to fear what man or multitude can do. We have put on the harness, and I trust it will not be put off until we see our land of security and freedom, the wonder of the other hemisphere, the asylum of all who pant for deliverance from bondage.

Wishing every blessing to attend you, I am dear sir with great regard,

Your Obedt Servt,

TRISTRAM DALTON.

During the war his name frequently appears in the town records among the principal actors of the time. Jonathan Jackson, Jonathan Greenleaf, Jonathan Titcomb, Benj. Greenleaf, Theophilus Parsons, John Lowell, Col. Wigglesworth, Michael Hodge, Nathaniel Tracy are names that frequently occur when looking over the town records. In the archives at the State House we find the names of another class of men, active and successful merchants who served the cause very effectually but in a different way.

They had no taste for public affairs. In this list may be found Patrick Tracy, Ralph and Stephen Cross, Joseph Marquand, Nathan Carter, Thomas Thomas, Samuel Newhall, Mr. Coombs, Jacob Boardman, Moses Frazier, John Coffin Jones and others.

In 1774, Tristram Dalton was one of the delegates to the Provincial Congress. In 1776 he, with John Lowell, afterwards Judge of the U. S. District Court, was on the Board of Selectmen, and the same year, with Jonathan Jackson, John Lowell, Col. Moses Little and Col. Edward Wigglesworth, was representative from Newburyport to the General Court. A very strong representation; all of them were superior men heartily engaged in the cause of independence and capable of dealing with large affairs. Four of them were graduates of Harvard College. No wonder, with such men to lead, with her Greenleafs, her Jacksons, her Parsons and her Lowells, that Newburyport at that period was an integrant part not only of Essex county but of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Dalton was not only active in political matters of a public nature, but, from his benevolence and kindness of heart, was distinguished for his services in behalf of the poor, who, in the suspension of business caused by the war, suffered severely for the want of the necessaries of life. He also took a lively interest in the welfare of the common schools, and was one of a select committee appointed by the town to revise the system of public instruction.

He was a representative in 1782 and '83, and also in 1784 and '85, when he had for his associate the celebrated Rufus King. In 1783, he was chosen speaker of the House. In 1784, though again chosen, he declined to serve. Samuel A. Otis was finally elected and Dalton was promoted to the State Senate. In 1786, '87 and '88, Mr. Dalton was one of the senators from this county, and

in 1788, with the Hon. Caleb Strong, was chosen the first United States senator from this state under the new constitution. He was a member of the Constitutional convention in 1788, as a delegate from Newbury, and took an active part in favor of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. During his term of service in our legislature Mr. Dalton was placed, in several instances, upon important committees, and this shows the high position which he held at that time. He was appointed, in 1786, one of a committee to attend a convention at Annapolis, composed of delegates from several states, to agree, if possible, upon a plan of union of the colonies. The same year, at the commencement of Shay's rebellion, he was appointed one of a committee, with Samuel Adams, to urge upon the Governor the importance of energetic action to suppress the rebellion and to protect the authority of the Courts. He was one of the commissioners chosen by this state, to attend a convention of the New England States held during the war, at Providence, to devise measures for the expulsion of the British troops from Rhode Island.

During the war, the spirit of patriotism overruled every other consideration, and those who were the most ardent and uncompromising in their opposition to England were the most popular and influential. But with the end of the war and the establishment of Independence came a change of circumstances, which gave influence and importance to a different class of men. With the restoration of peace, there came a demand for some system of administration which should reconcile and adjust the conflicting commercial interests of the different states and save the country from the jealousies and competitions, which, unless restrained by some central power, representing the general welfare, would most certainly prevent our national growth and prosperity.

After the adoption of the Constitution the question of the election of Senators came up. Those who had opposed its adoption were in the majority in the House, while the Senate was controlled by the Federalists. Previous to the adoption of the Constitution the people were strongly on the side of its opponents, and it was finally carried in this state only by a device of Parsons and others, who succeeded in disarming the opposition in the Convention by getting Gov. Hancock to favor its adoption, with an accompanying recommendation of certain amendments, which were intended to remove the objections of those who thought that the Constitution conferred too much power on the Federal government. Its adoption, however, was not dependent upon the success of the amendments, so that if the amendments had failed the Constitution would have stood as having the support of Massachusetts. But when it was clear that it was carried and that a general government, agreeably to its provisions, would be established, a very sudden and general change of public sentiment took place. The federal party, here in this State, became at once the popular and dominant party, so popular and so dominant, that those who had opposed the passage of the Constitution (without the amendments) were attacked as sectional and unpatriotic. This division of sentiment showed itself very strongly in the election of Senator for the eastern part of the state. Dr. Jarvis, a very popular man and an anti-federalist, who was a candidate for the appointment, received 113 out of 201 votes in the House. The Senate non-concurred and sent down the name of John Lowell; the House adhered to its previous vote and sent back the name of Jarvis. In this the Senate non-concurred and sent down the name of Tristram Dalton; the House non-concurred and sent up the name of Nathan Dane; the Senate non-concurred and sent back the name of Tristram Dalton, when the House concurred by a vote

of 78 out of 145. Rufus King was a candidate for the Massachusetts Senatorship, and it was probably this defeat that determined him to try his fortunes in the State of New York. Caleb Strong, from the western part of the State, was chosen on the first ballot by a large vote. Upon drawing lots for the long term, it fell to Strong, so that Dalton's term of service expired in two years. When the election to choose his successor took place in June, 1789, he was a candidate, but on the first ballot received only six votes, the leading candidates being Nathaniel Gorham, George Cabot, and Dr. Charles Jarvis. On the third ballot Cabot was elected by 63 votes out of 123 and so ended Tristram Dalton's career as a public man. The cause of his defeat I can only conjecture, but my belief is that it was because he was not a sufficiently strong partisan to satisfy either side at that time, when party feeling ran very high.

Dalton, before the election, was not a prominent candidate. In a letter from Gen. Lincoln to Washington dated Boston, Oct. 25, 1788, he says: "Our general court meets here on Wednesday next. It is quite uncertain who will be our Senators, or at the least one of them. Mr. Strong, I think, will be chosen; for the other seat there are many candidates—Mr. Bowdoin, Mr. S. Adams, Mr. R. King, Mr. Judge Dana, etc." After the adoption of the Constitution, the political tide set strongly in favor of the Federalists, and Dalton was a friend of Samuel Adams and a moderate Federalist.

In a letter of July 5, 1789, he says: "I am surprised to find that the approbation or disapprobation of my fellow-townsmen and acquaintances of my conduct in public life should depend on my befriending, in an appointment, this or that person. I shall ever be happy to please them and through my whole life shall endeavor to effect what I think

will be for the interest of the country in which we are all included. In every appointment some few are obliged, and many disobliged, and it is impossible for me to avoid censure from one party or another; but I shall pursue, steadily, the course that appears to me right, ever duly attending to the wishes of those whom I esteem." He was selected originally, probably, as a compromise-man. He was, naturally, extremely kind and sympathetic, and his political and commercial associations must have sometimes driven him in a direction opposed to his natural impulses, which were on the side of liberty. When, therefore, the Senate and House were politically opposed, as they were in 1788, he was, I imagine, elected finally, because not regarded as a strong partisan.

Another consideration had its influence. Dalton was a merchant of large business connections, and the son-in-law of another eminent merchant, Robert Hooper of Marblehead. The adoption of the Constitution was largely brought about by the merchants of the country engaged in foreign commerce. When the question who should be the candidate for the United States Senate from the eastern part of this state was under debate, James Sullivan, afterwards Governor, remarked to a friend that he was surprised to find that there was any question about who should be nominated: "the merchants," said he, "made the Constitution and they should name the candidate." Bowdoin, Sam'l Adams, Rufus King and Judge Dana were not merchants, and for this reason, at this time, Dalton had the advantage of them, and this was also true of Gorham and Dr. Jarvis who were among his competitors.

If he could have consulted his own tastes, he would have spent the remainder of his days in his beloved town, but his wife had been with him at New York, and had become so enamored of the gaiety and fashion of high life

that she could not be contented without it, and, yielding to her entreaties, he left Newburyport. After the Federal Court removed from New York to Philadelphia, he resided there with his family for some time, and finally, persuaded that the selection of Washington, as the permanent seat of government, offered a good opportunity for speculation, he decided to sell his real estate in Essex County, and invest the proceeds in Washington city lands. It is said that he was induced to take this step by the advice of Gen. Washington, who anticipated a great rise in the value of property there, upon the removal of the seat of government to the Federal Capital. Accordingly, he returned to Newburyport and sold his real estate. He sold his great farm at Pipe-stave Hill, of two hundred acres, in 1796, to Mr. Joseph Stanwood of Newburyport, for £3700, and at the same time sold his mansion house on State Street to Moses Brown, and all his interest in the old Little place, which he inherited from his mother, to Mr. Prout. This estate stood in Market Square, very near the lower corner of Liberty Street. Moses Brown used to say that when he was a carriage-maker at Belleville, he did Mr. Dalton's work, and that one day, while making some repairs upon one of his carriages, Mr. Dalton took him into his garden, and showed him the extent and completeness of his grounds, and that he then resolved that, if he outlived Mr. Dalton, he would own the place himself. He lived to realize his dream.

The vessel which contained Mr. Dalton's effects was wrecked on its way to Georgetown, and he lost a large part of his furniture, books and pictures. His silver only was insured, so that the disaster was a serious loss to him. The anticipated rise in value in real estate at Washington did not take place. His agent was dishonest. The speculation proved a failure, and Dalton, with nearly all the others engaged in the enterprise, lost his property and

was reduced to such a condition that he was forced to accept a situation in the Boston Custom House for his support. He removed to Boston in 1815, and died very suddenly, two years after, on the 30th of May, 1817. His wife survived him for some years, and died Jan. 10, 1826, aged eighty-seven years.

So much concerning the life and public services of Tristram Dalton, who was quite a celebrity in his day, but is now unknown except to the few who are related to him or who, for special reasons, have some curiosity respecting him. It remains to say a few words upon the man himself, and some incidental matters suggested by this inquiry into his life and times.

There is a portrait of him in the possession of his great granddaughter taken when he was eighteen years of age, just after he graduated, which is supposed to have been painted by Blackburn. It appears from this that he was tall and well-formed, with a fine, clear complexion and a smooth, open brow; he had full, dark eyes, rather a long nose, and a firm, well-set mouth and chin. The general expression of his face is open and intelligent. His dress, after the fashion of the time, short clothes and knee breeches; coat with standing collar and deep, broad lapels faced with silk; white satin waistcoat, cut deep and long; ruffled shirt bosom and deep lace cuffs; his hair tied in a cue and puffed on each side; all this gives such an appearance of age and dignity to the figure, that it is difficult to believe it is the portrait of one so young. In the latter part of his life, his figure was very striking and imposing. It has been said by one who saw him, about 1816, in Newburyport, that he was then perfectly erect and firm, with a florid complexion, white hair, and a fine presence. He was fond of music and, when young, played on the flute. He was a fine specimen of the gentleman of the old school. Naturally refined, fond of literature, easy, affable and dig-

nified in his manner, he was well fitted to take a leading part in the best of New England society, as it was constituted in the colonial era. From the time his father died until he was elected to the Senate in 1788, he maintained at his mansion on State street in Newburyport, and at his country-seat at Pipe-stave Hill, a most generous hospitality.

Brissot de Warville, in his account of his travels in this country in 1788, thus describes his visit to Mr. Dalton. After speaking of his place as being on the Merrimac, five miles from Newburyport, he says: "This is one of the finest situations that can be imagined. It presents an agreeable prospect of seven leagues. The farm is extremely well arranged. I saw on it thirty cows, numbers of sheep, etc., and a well furnished garden. Mr. Dalton occupies himself much in gardening, a thing generally neglected in America. He has fine grapes, apples, and pears. He received me with that frankness which bespeaks a man of worth and talents, and with that hospitality which is more general in Massachusetts and New Hampshire than in the other states. His house presented me with the picture of a true patriarchal family and of great domestic felicity."

What delightful society must have met there a hundred years ago! There were Lowell, Tracy and Jackson, Dr. Sawyer, John Coffin Jones, Samuel Alleyn Otis, Rev. Dr. Cary, Judge Greenleaf, and Stephen Hooper, a brother-in-law of Dalton, all graduates of Harvard, all well-to-do, all given to hospitality. Their style of living was graceful, elegant, generous and refined; superior to all pretension and governed by good sense and good taste. Their hospitality and good cheer were famous. An inventory of some of their household effects at this time will give an idea of their habits of life. Dalton had "7 horses, 3 carriages, 560 oz. of plate and, in his cellar, 1200 gallons of

wine." Jonathan Jackson, who inherited from his grandfather and received, the day he was free, twenty thousand golden guineas, and who built the fine house later identified with Lord Timothy Dexter, and who married a sister of Nathaniel Tracy, "kept 4 horses, 4 carriages, had 1000 oz. of silver, 40 oz. of gold, and 1000 gallons of wine in his cellar." John Coffin Jones had "2 horses, 2 carriages, 500 oz. of silver, 20 oz. of gold, 1200 gallons of wine." Dr. Sawyer had two uncommonly handsome daughters, one of whom married a Lee and the other a Schuyler, and who were distinguished far and wide for their superior beauty and style. There is a letter extant, written by Mrs. Tenney of Exeter, who was a very accomplished woman and a daughter of Governor Gilman of New Hampshire, describing parties which she had attended at Washington, in the winter of 1807, at the houses of the President, the Secretary of State and the French Minister, in which she says that she has seen nothing in Washington equal in style and elegance to the parties given by the Sawyer girls in Newburyport.

Another French writer, no less a personage than the Marquis de Chastellux, member of the Academy and Major General serving under the Count de Rochambeau, gives us a charming picture of Mr. Tracy's hospitality to himself and his staff in the summer of 1782. In his "Travels in North America," this author says,—"Two handsome carriages, well equipped, conducted me and my aide-de-camp to his country-house. This house stands a mile from the town, in a very beautiful situation. I went by moonlight to see the garden, which is composed of different terraces. There is likewise a hot-house and a number of young trees. The house is very handsome and well finished, and everything breathes the air of magnificence accompanied with simplicity which is only to be found among merchants. The evening passed rapidly by the

aid of agreeable conversation and a few glasses of punch. The ladies we found assembled were Mrs. Tracy, her two sisters, and their cousin, Miss Lee. Mrs. Tracy has an agreeable and a sensible countenance, and her manners correspond with her appearance. At ten o'clock an excellent supper was served. We drank good wine; Miss Lee sang, and prevailed on Messieurs de Vaudreuil and Taleyrand to sing also. Towards midnight the ladies withdrew, but we continued drinking Madeira and Xery. Mr. Tracy, according to the custom of the country, offered us pipes, which were accepted by M. de Taleyrand and M. de Montesquieu. I continued to converse on trade and politics with Mr. Tracy, who interested me greatly with an account of all the vicissitudes of his fortune since the beginning of the war. At the end of 1777 his brother and he had lost one and forty ships, and with regard to himself, he had not a ray of hope but in a single letter of marque of eight guns, of which he had received no news. As he was walking one day with his brother, and they were reasoning together on the means of subsisting their families (for they were both married) they perceived a sail making for the harbour. He immediately interrupted the conversation, saying to his brother, 'Perhaps it is a prize for me.' The latter laughed at him, but he immediately took a boat, went to meet the ship, and found that it was in fact a prize belonging to him, worth five and twenty thousand pounds sterling. Since that period, he has been almost always fortunate, and he is at present thought to be worth near £120,000 sterling. He has my warmest wishes for his prosperity; for he is a sensible, polite man, and a good patriot. He has always assisted his country in time of need, and, in 1781, lent five thousand pounds to the State of Massachusetts for the clothing of their troops, and that only on the receipt of the Treasurer, yet his quota of taxes in that very year amounted to

six thousand pounds. One can hardly conceive how a simple individual can be burthened so far; but it must be understood that, besides the duty of 5 per cent on importation, required by Congress, the State imposed another tax of the same value on the sale of every article in the nature of an excise,—on rum, sugar, coffee, etc.”

There were two sets of rich men in this place in the last century: one consisted of men of education and culture, who were not merely merchants but high-toned and accomplished gentlemen,—men who enjoyed and appreciated everything that belonged to a high civilization. They built fine residences at some distance from their wharves and warehouses, and surrounded themselves with all the comforts and refinements that wealth could give. Such men were Dalton and Hooper, Tracy and Jackson, John Coffin Jones, the Carters, the Wheelwrights and others. Another class was composed of successful traders whose lives were devoted exclusively to the accumulation of property, and who built fine houses, not where they could command a good view of the open country and breathe the fresh air of heaven, but upon the main streets, so near to their places of business that they were never out of sight of their wharves and ships and the warehouses where they had stored their treasures. Of this class were Bartlett, Brown, Boardman, Marquand, Thomas, Coombs, Pettin-gill and others.

Both classes were equally patriotic and devoted to the cause of the colonies during the revolution. The Newburyport merchants were distinguished for their services and sacrifices in behalf of their country. It was the Newburyport merchants of whom Dalton was one, who, of their own means, furnished four ships of war for the Penobscot expedition which terminated so disastrously that the memory of it has only not been voluntarily lost. I cannot find that there was a single loyalist in the town of Newburyport

during the war, a distinction of which such a community may well be proud. Sabine's history of the loyalists, a work which is considered very thorough and complete, does not give the name of one from the place, although it attempts to give the names of all persons residing in different towns in New England who were forced, by reason of their political opinions, to take refuge abroad.

The letters previously mentioned were written, with the exception of two or three to his brother-in-law Stephen Hooper, to Michael Hodge, who was connected by marriage with Mr. Dalton. His wife was a granddaughter of Tristram Little and a daughter of Stephen Sewell. He was a man of superior ability and intelligence, an ardent Federalist and an intimate friend of Judge Parsons, Judge Greenleaf and Rev. Dr. Cary. The Declaration of Independence, upon its receipt in Newburyport, was first read by him to an eager throng from the window of the old church in Market Square. He was the secretary of the first Marine Insurance Company in Newburyport, which was established in 1776, and had its place of business in the house of Mr. Sewell in Market Square. This office during the Revolution and for some years afterwards was the headquarters for the merchants and Federalists, where all the commercial and political news were found. Nearly all of Mr. Dalton's letters conclude with "give my Compliments to the Gentlemen at the Office." These letters are in three groups: one relating to Shay's rebellion and describing the acts of the legislature to suppress it; another describing the action of the State Convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States and revealing some facts which explain clearly how the Constitution was carried; and the third part giving a full and almost daily record of what trans-

pired in congress during Mr. Dalton's term of service as United States Senator.

The first part, relating to Shay's rebellion, were written in 1786 and 1787, when Mr. Dalton was a member of the State Senate. They show very clearly the conflict which then existed between the members of the House, many of whom were in sympathy with the rebels, and the members of the Senate, who were generally on the side of the government. The party which favored the rebels was called Insurrectionists, the other the Friends of Government. The honesty and courage and integrity of Mr. Dalton's character appear very strongly in these letters. In a letter of Nov. 6, 1786, after speaking of the defeat of the tender-bill in the Senate, a measure originated in the House in order to conciliate the rebels, and intended, in effect, to produce a suspension of all legal process by which the payment of a debt could be enforced, he says, "the House will be in a heat on Monday on the occasion the cloven foot appears; several members discover themselves possessed of the true principles of the insurgents, and I am very sorry to say the majority, from their sentiments or from timidity or some other cause, differ widely from the Senate, who are as firm as the friends of their country can wish them. The coming week will be a serious week; the welfare, if not the existence of this government, depends on the doings of the General Court. May God grant them wisdom and firmness! The good, the worthy old patriot, Mr. Adams, says that he is afraid we have forsaken God, and that He has forsaken us. Our conduct, I have often told you, resembles that of the Jews and every day confirms me in this opinion." In another letter he refers to the tender-bill as "that iniquitous measure founded in injustice." In still another dated February 25, 1786, when complaining of the

excessive valuation of Newburyport, he says, "I have ever thought that two and two did not make four in politics, and am now convinced that in the General Court honesty is not the best policy. If a new valuation should hereafter be proposed, to save a town harmless, and to do simple justice, persons of the best heads and worst hearts are necessary to be employed."

Many of his letters contain the last intelligence from the scene of the Rebellion, and profess to give the news which he had personally just received from the Governor's headquarters. He was one of the committee, with Samuel Adams, to urge the Governor to energetic measures. It is clear from the tone of his letters that he was firm and unflinching in his determination to compel the rebels to submit to the authority of law, before he would show them any mercy. His manifest opportunity to get the best intelligence of the movement of the rebels may be explained by the fact that his friend and former townsman, Jonathan Jackson, was on General Lincoln's staff, and was a bearer of despatches from the headquarters of the General in the Field to the Governor's headquarters at the State House.

His letters, written while a member of the Convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States, reveal very clearly the intense interest he took in the business and in the expedients, of which Parsons was manifestly the author, employed to secure a majority of the convention in its favor. At first, he writes very doubtfully respecting the result, but as the discussion proceeds his courage gains strength. On the twentieth of January, 1788, he writes, "Every day brings new conviction. Each paragraph appears better on strict examination. The whole is a masterpiece. If the Governor comes forward, we shall be much indebted to him for the adoption of the Constitution. If it should be rejected, we must thank Mr. Gerry. Of how

much importance, sometimes, is the voice of a single man ! My love to your good family and mine, as I have not time to write Mrs. D., snatching a moment now while in a caucus. It is thought the grand question will be put to-morrow and determined on Saturday : perhaps it may be on Tuesday—great and important indeed the day on which the vote will be determined ! I will tell you, as a confidential communication, that Mr. S. Adams will come out in favor of the Constitution. This and the Governor on the same side will settle the matter favorably. All this is scarcely known out of our caucus, wherein we work as hard as in convention. God bless you all, and give us success in the present undertaking. Never,—never were men more anxious than we are. All that is dear is at stake. Mr. Parsons is with us this evening, thoroughly well and ardently engaged. I am well, of which please to advise. Pray remember me to my kind mother, Mr. Hooper, and all friends, and believe me, your most aff. friend,

T. D.

P. S. Our friend D's communication will give you all the information we are at liberty to put on paper. We have stolen a moment in caucus to write this.

Yours,

T. P. [*Theophilus Parsons.*]

Boston, Wednesday Evening, Feb. 6, 1788.

TO STEPHEN HOOPER, Esq.

MY DEAR BROTHER :

God be praised !

With the utmost satisfaction I now announce to you and to my fellow citizens, which pray communicate, the joyful,—the important news that this afternoon, at 5 o'clock, the convention consented to ratify the proposed Constitution :—the members for were 187 ; against, 168.

Ardent, indeed, have been the labors of the Federalists,—anxious their hours by night, as well as by day. The decision of the great question amply rewards them !

We, the delegates of Newburyport and Newbury, anticipate the pleasure of taking you all by the hand on Friday evening or Saturday morning, proposing to take a coach or sley here, on Friday.

Some little ceremonies are yet necessary, for which purpose the Convention meet to-morrow. There is no doubt of our seeing you on Saturday. Please to acquaint your dear sister of this.

Time does not permit me to add, save my love, compliments, etc., as due, and that I am, with great regards,

Your aff. Brother,

TRISTRAM DALTON.

P. S. The Judge is ten years younger.

[*This refers to Judge Greenleaf.*]

His letters written from New York, while U. S. Senator, contain an account of the delay in the organization of the two Houses,—the inauguration of the President,—the question of presidential titles, the classifications of Senators,—the discussion of the bills concerning imposts, revenue, tonnage duties, duty on molasses, rum and tea,—the debates on the judiciary, lighthouses, removal from office, and the permanent location of the seat of government. They contain nothing new on these different heads, but they are interesting as the statement of a witness who tells his story not from hearsay but from actual observation, and, like all such testimony, they help the imagination very much in reproducing the past. A few extracts must suffice.

New York, May 2nd, 1789.

TO M. HODGE, ESQ^{RE}.

MY DEAR SIR:

Inclosed you have the Gazette, which will hand the current news with us. The scene of Thursday was truly affecting. If it was possible, our beloved President has increased the affections of all orders of people for him,—his speech to his "Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives" is esteemed a Master piece. I anticipate the pleasure that it will be received with by the People of the United States,—and the satisfaction that you will enjoy in reading

it to the Gentlemen of the office. The graceful dignity with which he delivered it added, if ought could add, a greater weight to the noble, generous sentiments in the address.

The two houses have appointed Committees to report answers thereto: he will in them have no title given him but what the Constitution affixes to the office.

You will see by the public prints that the houses have a *second* time voted to lay an impost of 6 Cents pr gallon on Molasses. This *second* decision does not alter my opinion, suggested to you in my late letters, that the bill will wear a much better face before it is sent to the Senate. It cannot be finished in its present form. All the Members from Massachusetts, of *both houses*, are using their utmost endeavors to rectify the Ideas of Gentlemen whom they judge are wrongly informed. We cannot think that any measures will *finally* be adopted by the Majority but such as shall be esteemed for the best general good. . . .

New York, May 10th, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR:

I am obliged by the receipt of your kind advices under the 28th ulto. and beg that you will continue to hand me the sentiments of Gentlemen with you on the business before Congress. They will serve, *frequently*, to give new Ideas,—always a confidence in our own.

The business of impost is still before the House of Representatives,—an endeavor was made yesterday to alter the system by lowering the duties generally,—on the question of reducing that on W. I. Rum, there appeared 20 pro., 25 con., so this idea did not prevail. I still retain the hopes of the impost on Molasses being very considerably reduced.

The papers will hand you the general news in this city. The V. President's speech to the Senate I am informed is much esteemed by the People in Massachusetts—it is so here. What do you say to that of the President delivered to Congress? It is here universally admired. It has served to increase, if possible, the affections of all orders and ranks. Be full—be particular in your letters.—Let me know every occurrence with you—every sentiment—every wish that may be thought useful in this my station. . . .

To serve my country is my highest ambition—to render agreeable services to the Gentlemen of my Native Town, my greatest Pleasure.—My best respects ever attend them—remaining with real regards,

Dr. Sir,

Your affect^{te} friend,

M. HODGE, Esq.

TRISTRAM DALTON.

New York, May 17th, 1789.

. . . . To-morrow at 11. Clock the Vice President & the Senate are to wait on the President at his own house with their address—which I think you will read with pleasure to the Gentlemen of the Office. There is to be no title in addition to that of President of the United States, not even "*George Washington.*" A Resolution entered on the Journals of the Senate, which will soon be published, contains the opinion of the Senate on this subject—and gives the reason for their complying, *in this instance*, with the form used by the other house. My Compliments to all friends must conclude me at present,—remaining with real regards,

Your affectionate friend,

M. HODGE, ESQ.

TRISTRAM DALTON.

New York, May 30, 1789.

M. HODGE, ESQ^{RE}.

MY DEAR SIR: The various interests, as some suppose, oblige each one to be watchful of any proposition that may affect the State he represents, but every day's discussion tends to remove the illusion of their being different interests in the Union, and to prove that we are the several limbs of the same body—most intimately connected in point of interest—wound any member & the whole will feel the effects.

New York, June 2nd, 1789.

M. HODGE, ESQ^{RE}.

MY DEAR SIR. There was a proposal to place 40 cents pr hundred upon Iron imported,—this I opposed with success—and it stands among the 5 pr cent articles.—Everything that can affect ship-building I shall watch with a jealous Eye—This manufacture appearing to me to deserve every encouragement upon *National* principles & the affection I feel for my Native Town adds force to my inclinations to protect a Business which is of so much Consequence.

This day the Senate have gone thro' the consideration of the Impost Bill—subject, however, to alterations in any way, at the next reading, when I shall place before them such arguments in favor of reducing the duty on Molasses still lower,—it standing at present at 4 cents,—as must obtain 1 Cent—a drawback on Rum manufactured from Molasses and exported to foreign ports will be allowed, nearly equal to the impost on the raw material.

New York, June 4th, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR.

I have only a minute to acquaint you that the Senate have been, this forenoon, *wholly* on the duty on Molasses.—It is now put at 3 Cents pr gallon. From the disposition discovered, I suspect that the Issue of the whole matter in the Senate will be a proposition of Amendment by putting Molasses at two Cents and allowing no drawback on that or the Rum made from it.—This I shall not acquiesce in unless to prevent a worse Evil.

Yours affectly,

T. DALTON.

M. HODGE, ESQ^R.

Mr. Morris was warm for its being kept at 4 Cents, as was Mr. Ellsworth, one of the best speakers in the Senate. The Question was tyed and the Vice President turned it in favor of *the 3 Cents*.

New York, Septem. 20, 1789.

M. HODGE, ESQ^{RE}.

MY DEAR SIR. . . . The permanent residence Bill will not be completed this session—great difficulties must present themselves in the prosecution of this affair, and for years to come real disadvantages accrue, if the Plan succeeds of fixing on any Country Place, distant from a large Town.

After spending a little more time on this business and vibrating from one *proposed* place to another, it is probable they will by and bye sit down in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. The Eastern Gentlemen were obliged to press the scheme for the Susquehannah, to prevent going to the Potowmak. The Virginians & those who were violent for the latter are now much chagrined at their insisting on the Question's being brought on at this time. . . .

Boston, October 25, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR.

I am favor'd with yours of the 24th and in presence of Capt. Wyer, Mr. Jackson & I have discoursed on the subject—many particulars have been mentioned, which the former will relate. The President of the U. States intends to leave this Town for Salem on Thursday—to be at Newburyport on Friday—whether at dinner or in the Evening is as yet uncertain—as soon as it is known you shall be advised—Mr. Lear, the Secretary of the President, goes in the Stage to-morrow for Portsmouth—It might be well for you to see him—It

is the intention of the President not to make any private house his rendezvous. I wish that I could be more particular but Capt. Wyer will convince you this is not at present in my power.

I am, with sincere regards,

Dear Sir,

Your friend, &c.

T. DALTON.

M. HODGE, ESQ.

It is evident from Mr. Dalton's letters that his constituents were specially interested in the duties on rum and molasses. In his letter of May 30, 1789, he says, "The impost bill will come up to-morrow when every exertion shall be made by me to place molasses on a better footing. The Southern gentlemen say that they are sick of the word,—if they will disgorge one cent more we must make the best of it, Pennsylvania being against us in the Senate, and no state particularly interested in the business except Massachusetts. Brother Strong and myself have a hard and unequal battle. No difficulty, however, shall deter me from performing what I esteem to be my duty, — having discharged that, I rely on the candor and good-will of my fellow-citizens. Adieu,—remember me to all friends, especially those concerned in the molasses trade."

In a letter of July, 1789, after commenting on the duties imposed on foreign rum as a compensation to the duties on molasses, he says, "I find that every one is pleased with the issue; it is not so with me. The allowing of no drawback on country-made rum, exported to foreign markets, is totally un-commercial, and will affect our distilleries unless Congress shall, in a future day, restore the clause granting this encouragement to this most useful manufacture, considered in all its parts."

In looking over his letters, it is interesting to observe the imperfect and dilatory mode of communication existing at that period, as compared with the facilities we now have. In a letter from New York to his friend Michael Hodge, of

Sept. 20, 1789, he says, "Mrs. Dalton and the family arrived here safely in 7 days,—*great despatch* for 300 miles." His family travelled in state, in a coach emblazoned with his coat of arms, with servants in livery, and four horses. In another letter of March 17, 1790, he says, "By the enclosed papers of this week, the public have been informed that a vessel is arrived at Newburyport from France, which brought an account of the King of France having escaped from that kingdom. Of course, gentlemen applied to me for particulars of this news,—I had none to give, and really suggested that this report must be without foundation, because I had no advice of the same; for this reason also I felt easy as to myself. But Mr. Tracy tells me that he has a letter from Mr. Chapman, mentioning the arrival of a vessel at Newburyport from Bilboa which brings this same report. Judge you, then, how I must feel in being obliged to confess that not one of my friends has thought proper to give me even a hint of this."

In one or two letters of his, we get an indication of his views on the question of slavery. In one of May 17, 1790, in describing the duties which had been imposed on vessels, and on goods imported in American bottoms, he says, "a duty of ten dollars *per* head will be laid on imported negroes by a separate act, and the five *per cent* duty generally laid by the Bill in agitation not extended to this *inhuman traffic*." In another: "the House of Representatives have spent the last week upon the subject of slavery. I esteem it an unhappy question, because it tends to irritate, can answer no valuable purpose, and puts by the more essential business." What he meant by "more essential business" was the passage of the Bill to fund the National Debt, and the Bill concerning Navigation. In a letter of May 22, 1790, he writes: "Every obstruction will be thrown in the way of the navigation law. The

Massachusetts members will support it most warmly. The passing of it, which is doubtful in the Senate, must benefit the Union, and materially affect the two eastern states. Then should we hear again the axe and the maul, and Merrimac resound the joyful noise." The disastrous effect of the war and of its immediate consequences upon the ship-building interest in Newburyport may be measured by the fact, that in 1772 ninety vessels were built here, and in 1778 only three.

It has been said that Mr. Dalton was superseded by Mr. Cabot, probably, because he was not sufficiently partisan to suit the leaders of the Federalists. He was a candidate for reëlection, and his defeat was manifestly a serious disappointment to him, but he bore it so calmly and so philosophically that it only raises him in our regard and esteem. His letters, written at this time, in the confidence of friendship, to his intimate friend Mr. Hodge, contain not a trace of anger or vindictiveness, or of any mean quality. It is only a nature happily organized that can keep its temper under such a trial. In his letter of July 4, 1790, he says, speaking of his defeat, "where men have behaved open, honest, candid, I can embrace them heartily, although their interest was not exerted in my favor. They have best promoted my own happiness. I feel pleasure in the anticipation of sitting down with my friends on the banks of the Merrimac. I never placed my hopes on the caprices of the people. They are on a better foundation, I trust." In an earlier letter of August 16, 1789, he says, "many ill-natured reports are handed about, with intent to prejudice my character. Fortunately, they have been founded on the most improbable grounds. . . . I propose to continue a line of conduct which shall have for its basis liberality and the best general good ; and, for its reward, I hope to receive the approbation of the good citizens of this, our country."

Such sentiments may be inconsistent with the spirit of extreme partisanship, but they do honor to him as a man. That his defeat, however, was a severe disappointment to him is clear from a passage in a letter of Fisher Ames to his friend Thomas Dwight, of June 27, 1790, where he says, "Poor D. suffers the pains of a public man. I cannot think that George Cabot will serve."

By his marriage with Ruth Hooper he had ten children ; four boys and six girls. Three of his daughters only lived to grow up. All of the boys and one of the girls died in childhood. The loss of his sons was a great affliction to him. In a letter written in 1790 to his friend Mr. Hodge, congratulating him on the safe return of his son John from a sea voyage, he says, "alas ! for me, I have no sons whose return I shall ever welcome." His eldest daughter, Mary, married Hon. Leonard White of Haverhill, at one time a member of Congress. His daughter Ruth married a Mr. Deblois, a merchant in Boston. Katherine was never married.

How the remainder of his life was passed after his public career was terminated by this defeat has already been, in brief, related.

Like his father, he belonged to the Episcopal church, and all his life was one of its most devoted and active members, contributing largely to its support and performing valuable services in its behalf. But in his religion, as in his politics, he was free from bigotry and sectarianism. The sweetness and liberality of his Christian spirit are beautifully illustrated in the following extract from a letter, written by him from Washington Jan. 25, 1812, to the ministers, wardens, and vestry of King's Chapel, Boston, in acknowledgment of an elegant copy of the Church liturgy. "In the evening of a long life, it affords me true joy and happiness to share the extension and in-

crease of Christian charity among members of different sects ; owing chiefly, I believe, to an appeal to the Holy Scriptures, from the defective bonds formed by men which have tended rather to divide than unite the disciples of Jesus Christ, who, having one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, ought to esteem each other as of one family, differing only in modes of worshipping the same God, Father of all."

Upon the whole, after a careful study of the man, with such means of information as are now available, he may be thus described :

Physically, he was well-built, large and robust, with a fine, erect figure, an open, benevolent and handsome face, and that natural air of superiority which implies a fine organization. His mental powers, though good, were not remarkable. Sensible, intelligent and refined, there was nothing in the force or capacity of his mind to distinguish him from those of the class who had enjoyed, like him, the advantages of culture and of the best society. His moral nature was of the highest order. Kind, generous, temperate, upright, truthful and unselfish, in the social and domestic relations he was a model man, a dutiful son, a kind father, a good citizen and an ardent patriot. A man of emotions rather than of ideas, the warmth and depth and sincerity of his feelings lifted him above all personal considerations, and gave to him that elevation and nobility of character which appeal so strongly to our regard and affection. Take him for all in all, he was a fine specimen of an accomplished Christian gentleman of the old school,—of the class which was the best product of the colonial period, and which perished under the influence of the democratic ideas introduced by the Revolution.

MATERIALS FOR A GENEALOGY OF THE SPARHAWK FAMILY IN NEW ENGLAND.

Compiled by Cecil Hampden Cutts Howard, member of "The American Historical Association;" corresponding member of "The New England Historic Genealogical Society;" member of "The Long Island Historical Society;" and corresponding member of "The Maine Historical Society."

Author of "Brattleboro in Verse and Prose" and "Life and Public Services of General John Wolcott Phelps."

Nathaniel Sparhawk, the emigrant ancestor of all bearing that name in the United States, settled in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1638.¹ This is the generally accepted date, although Mr. Paige gives, in his History of Cambridge, 1636. The birthplace of Nathaniel Sparhawk was in Dedham, Essex Co., England, and his parents were Lewis and Elizabeth (Bayning) Sparhawk. At the time of his coming to New England, he was in the fortieth year of his age. He was made freeman, May 23, 1639, and a deacon of the church of Cambridge. Three years later he was deputy to the General Court, from 1642 to 1647. In May, 1645, he was one of "a committee to consider of some way whereby y^e negative vote may be tempered, y^t justice may have free passage."

From various sources we learn that he was a man of large property, most of which was in real estate within or

¹ See "N. E. Hist. Gen. Register," vol. 19, p. 126. "The family of Nathaniel Sparhawk," by Wm. Sumner Appleton, A.M.

near Cambridge.¹ His residence was on the easterly side of Brighton street, between Mount Auburn street and Harvard square. In 1642, he is represented as owning five houses and about five hundred acres of land.

By his wife Mary (whose maiden name is unknown), he had five or more children. Of these, the eldest, Nathaniel, was born in England, and probably all but the youngest.² The following is the list of his children in the probable order of their birth.

- 1 Nathaniel, ———; m. Patience Newman, Oct. 3, 1649; d. Jan., 1687.
- 2 Anne, ———; m., 1st, Deacon Jno. Cooper; 2nd, James Convers, sr., of Woburn, Mass.
- 3 Mary, ———; m. Capt. William Symmes.
- 4 Esther, ———; m. Samuel Adams, May 7, 1668.
- 5 Samuel, b. Aug. 27, 1638; d. Aug. 13, 1639.

Mrs. Mary Sparhawk died in Cambridge, Mass., January 25, 1643-4. Her husband soon after married again and by his second wife, Katherine, had

- 6 Ruth, b. April 12, 1645; d. May 7, 1645.
- 7 Elizabeth, b. ———, 1646; d. unm. Nov. 9, 1692.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, sr., died June 28, 1647, and his wife, Mrs. Katherine Sparhawk, July 5 of the same year.

At the time of Nathaniel Sparhawk's death, we are told by Paige, in his History of Cambridge, that about a thousand acres were sold from the estate and that there was still remaining "a large quantity of land on the south side of the river (now Brighton district), a part of which still remains in possession of his descendants." This shows a large increase in his real estate during the last five years of his life.

¹ Paige's History of Cambridge, p. 657.

² "N. E. Hist. Gen. Register, vol. 19, p. 126.

1 Nathaniel Sparhawk, jr., married Patience (the daughter of Rev. Samuel) Newman of Rehoboth, Oct. 3, 1649,¹ and they had seven children.

- 8 Nathaniel, b. Nov. 3, 1650; d. Feb. 12, 1650-51.
- 9 Mary, b. about 1652; m. Wm. Barrett, Oct. 8, 1673; d. Oct., 1673.
- 10 Sybil, b. 1655; m., 1st, Dr. Jon. Avery, July 22, 1679; 2nd, Rev. M. Wigglesworth; d. Aug. 6, 1708.
- 11 Esther, bapt. May 5, 1661.
- 12 Samuel, bapt. Feb. 5, 1664; m. Sarah Whiting; d. Nov. 2, 1713.
- 13 Nathaniel, bapt. Nov. 3, 1667; m. Abigail Gates; d. 1734.
- 14 John, b. about 1672; m., 1st, Eliz. Poole; 2nd, Miss Priscilla Hemans; d. April 29, 1718.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, the father, died in January, 1687. He had been a resident of Brighton district; was selectman from 1677 to 1686, and a deacon of the church, as was his father before him. His will was dated Dec. 29, 1686, and an inventory of his estate was presented to the court, Jan. 20, 1686-7.

2 Anne Sparhawk married Deacon John Cooper, "who undoubtedly came from Dedham, England," says Mr. Appleton in his sketch of "the family of Nathaniel Sparhawk," published first in "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register" for April, 1865, and afterward in pamphlet form.

They had children :

- 15 Anna, b. Nov. 16, 1643; m. Edward Pinson, Aug. 2, 1664; d. May 8, 1666, *s. p.*
- 16 Mary, b. Sept. 11, 1645; m. Jno. Meriam, Aug. 21, 1663.
- 17 John, b. April 2, 1651; d. Aug. 26, 1652.
- 18 Sam'l, b. Jan. 3, 1653-4; m. Hannah Hastings, 1682; d. Jan. 8, 1717-18.
- 19 John, b. Oct. 3, 1656; m. Elizabeth Bordman, 1686; d. Feb. 12, 1735-6.
- 20 Nathaniel, b. May 2, 1659; d. Dec. 19, 1661.

¹ MSS. in possession of Edward Eppes Sparhawk, Esq., of Roxbury, Massachusetts.

21 Lydia, b. April 8, 1662; m. Jno. Francis Jan. 5, 1687-8.

22 Anna, b. 1668; d. in 1712, in Woburn.

Deacon John Cooper, the father of these children, resided on the easterly side of North Avenue, in Cambridge, not far from Linnean street, and was a prominent citizen. For thirty-eight years he was one of the selectmen (1646-1684), and town clerk thirteen years (1669-81). He was also deacon of the church until his death which occurred Aug. 22, 1691, in the 73d year of his age. His widow Mrs. Anne (Sparhawk) Cooper married James Convers, sr., of Woburn, and was living as late as 1712.

3 Mary Sparhawk married Capt. William Symmes¹ and had :

23 Sarah, b. —; m. Moses Fisk.

4 Esther Sparhawk married Samuel Adams of Chelmsford, Mass., and in 1693 had only two children living.

24 Joseph.

25 Benjamin.

(There is nothing more to be found of this family.)

10 Sybil Sparhawk married Dr. Jonathan Avery, July 22, 1679.

Their children were :

26 Margaret, b. Nov. 9, 1681; d. in infancy.

27 Sybil, b. Aug. 11, 1683; m. Hon. Thomas Graves; d. Nov. 1, 1721.

28 Margaret, b. 1685; d. at Malden, Nov. 10, 1694.

29 Dorothy, b. July 11, 1688; prob. d. unm.

After Dr. Jonathan Avery's death which probably occurred in 1690, Mrs. Sybil Sparhawk Avery married Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, a famous Boston divine, the author of "The day of doom."

¹See "N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.," vol. 34, p. 313.

Their child was :

- 30 Edward, b. 1692 ; m., 1st, Sarah Leverett, June 15, 1726(*s. p.*) ;
2nd, Rebecca Coolidge, Sept. 10, 1729.

The Rev. Michael Wigglesworth died June 10, 1705, and Mrs. Sybil (Sparhawk) Wigglesworth died August 6, 1708.

12 Samuel Sparhawk married Sarah (daughter of Rev. Joseph) Whiting, of Lynn, Mass.

Their children were :

- 31 Samuel, b. Oct., 1698 ; m. Joanna Winchester ; d. Apr. 14, 1774.
32 Sarah, b. Oct., 1699 ; d. Oct. 9, 1701.
33 Sarah, b. Dec. 22, 1700.
34 John, b. June 12, 1702 ; m. Miss Jacobs ; d. 1747.
35 Simon, b. Nov. 30, 1704 ; d. in infancy.
36 Thomas, b. May 25, 1706 ; m. Mary Oliver, 1731 ; d. Aug. 16, 1783.
37 Joseph, b. April 2, 1708 ; m., 1st, Miss Cook ; 2d, Miss Sibley.

Samuel Sparhawk was a freeman in 1690, and a selectman from 1701 to 1710, and died Nov. 2, 1713. Mrs. Sarah Sparhawk died Dec. 8, 1752, æ. 84.

13 Nathaniel Sparhawk married Abigail (daughter of Simon) Gates in 1693.

- 38 Nathaniel, b. 1694 ; m. Elizabeth Perkins ; d. May 7, 1732.
39 Noah, b. 1696 ; m. Priscilla Brown, Sept. 24, 1724 ; d. 1749.
40 Abigail, b. 1700 ; m. Thos. Williams, Aug. 30, 1733, *s. p.*
41 Simon, b. ——— ; m. Miss Stoughton.

Nathaniel Sparhawk was selectman from 1716 to 1730, was elected deacon Aug. 5, 1724, and died Nov. 8, 1734. Mrs. Abigail (Gates) Sparhawk afterward married Joseph Mayo, Oct. 16, 1735, and attained extreme old age.

14 Rev. John Sparhawk married, first, Elizabeth Poole and, second, Priscilla Hemans, who is supposed to have been the mother of his sons

42 John, b. Sept. 27, 1711; m. Jane Porter, Oct. 4, 1737; d. April 30, 1755.

43 Nathaniel, b. Mar. 27, 1715; m. Elizabeth Pepperrell, June 10, 1742.

Rev. John Sparhawk graduated at Harvard College in 1689, being the first of the family to attend college. He was the second pastor over the First Church in Bristol, Rhode Island, whose house of worship was erected in 1687. (It was rebuilt in 1770, and the present edifice erected in 1857.) On Oct. 2, 1695, Rev. John Sparhawk, after a year's probation, was installed as pastor of the church. He married two or three times.¹ The names of two of his wives are known; Miss Elizabeth Poole, and Miss Priscilla Hemans.² The last is supposed to have been the mother of his sons John and Nathaniel. His first wife probably died childless. He died April 29, 1718, in the 46th year of his age "greatly loved and respected by all his people, and his death was lamented for many years." His widow married Jonathan Waldo, Esq., a wealthy merchant of Boston, who educated her two sons at his own expense.

18 Samuel Cooper married Hannah (daughter of Deacon Walter) Hastings, Dec. 4, 1682.

44 Hannah, b. Dec. 23, 1683; m. E. Frost, Feb. 1, 1710-11.

45 Lydia, b. March 9, 1684; m. Jon. Gove, Dec. 26, 1706.

46 Sarah, b. ———; m. Ephraim Frost, jr., Sept. 9, 1714.

47 Samuel, b. ———; m. Sarah Kidder, March 29, 1720.

48 Mary, b. ———; m. Nath'l Goddard, Nov. 26, 1723.

49 Elizabeth, b. ———; prob. d. young.

50 Walter, b. ———; m. Martha Goddard, June 7, 1722.

51 John, b. Oct. 2, 1698; m. Lydia Prentice, April 6, 1721.

52 Jonathan, b. Dec. 6, 1707; m. Sarah Prentice, Oct. 25, 1732.

¹ Savage's Genealogical Dictionary.

² "Life and Times of Wm. Jarvis," by Mrs. M. P. S. Cutts, p. 426.

Samuel Cooper, the father, died January 8, 1717-18, and his wife Mrs. Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, died Oct. 9, 1732, æ. 66.

19 John Cooper married Elizabeth (daughter of Wm.) Bordman, April 28, 1686.

53 John, b. ———; m. Hannah Johnson, Oct. 21, 1725.

54 Elizabeth, b. ———.

55 Elizabeth, b. ———; m. Samuel Andrew, April 10, 1741; *s. p.*

56 Anna, b. ———; m. Jos. Carter, Feb. 12, 1718-19.

57 Hannah, b. Dec. 29, 1701.

58 Sarah, b. April 9, 1704.

59 Timothy, b. April 9, 1706.

60 Joshua, b. Jan. 25, 1708-9.

61 Abigail, b. July 10, 1711.

John Cooper, the father, resided on the easterly side of North Avenue, his estate adjoining that of his father. He died Feb. 12, 1735-6. Mrs. Elizabeth (Bordman) Cooper died Nov. 15, 1713. The amount of his estate was \$2,868.53.¹

21 Lydia Cooper married John Francis, Jan. 5, 1687-8.

62 John, b. Oct. 10, 1688; d. young.

63 John, b. Feb. 17, 1689-90; d. at Medford Aug. 31, 1750.

64 Stephen, b. Nov. 2, 1691.

65 Nathaniel, b. 1693; m. Ann ———.

66 Samuel, b. Feb. 17, 1695-96.

67 Anna, b. Nov. 2, 1697; m. Benj. Dana, July 23, 1724.

68 Joseph, b. Jan. 5, 1699-1700; m. Elizabeth ———.

69 Ebenezer, b. Oct. 30, 1701; d. Mar. 23, 1702-3.

70 Lydia, b. April 20, 1703; m. Jos. Tufts.

71 Ebenezer, b. Mar. 25, 1708; m. Rachel Tufts, Nov. 15, 1733.

John Francis, sr., died Jan. 3, 1727-8 (in Medford, Mass., where he had previously removed), æ. 78, and administration was granted to his eldest son John.

¹ Paige's History of Cambridge, p. 517.

27 Sybil Avery, daughter of Dr. Jonathan and Sybil (Sparhawk) Avery, married Hon. Thomas Graves of Charlestown, Mass., Sept 9, 1708. They had seven children ; but of the five who are known to have died in infancy the names are unknown. The remaining two who follow were :

72 Katherine, b. April 2, 1717 ; m. Hon. Jas. Russell, April, 1738 ;

73 Margaret, b. July 19, 1719 ; m. Samuel Cary, Dec. 24, 1741 ;
d. Oct. 8, 1782.

Hon. Thomas Graves was born June 28, 1683. Graduated at Harvard College in 1703. He was a physician and judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. He died June 19, 1747. Mrs. Sybil (Avery) Graves died Nov. 1, 1721, of small-pox. Her husband was married twice after the death of this first wife. His second wife was Ann, widow of Edward Watts of Chelsea, and she died March 13, 1738, aged 49. His last wife was Phoebe, the widow of Leonard Vassall, Esq., of Boston, and a daughter of Samuel and Mary (Cutts) Penhallow of Portsmouth, N. H. Thus she was granddaughter of President John Cutts of that city on the maternal side. She survived her husband but a short time.

30 Rev. Edward Wigglesworth, son of Rev. Michael and Sybil (Sparhawk) Wigglesworth, married, first, Miss Sarah, the daughter of President John and Margaret (Rogers) Leverett, June 15, 1726. Her father was President of Harvard College. She died, Nov. 9, 1727, leaving no children, and he married as his second wife, Rebecca Coolidge, dau. of Joseph and Rebecca (Frost) Coolidge, Sept. 10, 1729. He was the first Hollis Professor of divinity at Harvard College, and graduated from there in 1710. His degree of D.D. was received from Edinburgh in 1730.

Children by second wife were :

74 Rebecca, b. June 18, 1730; m. Prof. Steph. Sewall, Aug. 9, 1763; d. 1783.

75 Edward, b. Feb. 7, 1732; m., 1st, Margaret Hill, 1765; 2nd, Dorothy Sparhawk, Jan. 6, 1778; d. June 17, 1794.

76 Mary, b. April 26, 1733; d. July 5, 1758.

77 Sybil, bapt. Sept. 19, 1736; d. Dec. 28, 1740.

Mrs. Rebecca C. Wigglesworth died June 5, 1754,
æ. 55. Rev. Edward Wigglesworth died Jan. 16, 1765.

31 Samuel Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, married Joanna Winchester,¹ and had :

78 Samuel, jr., b. Jan. 17, 1730; m. Elizabeth Gardner, Mar. 23, 1758.

79 Joanna, bapt. Jan., 1732-3; m. Col. Thos. Gardner, June 12, 1755.

80 Sarah, bapt. Nov. 3, 1734; prob. d. young.

81 Dorothy, b. July 14, 1739; m. Prof. E. Wigglesworth, Jan. 6, 1778.

82 John, b. Nov. 8, 1745; m. Miss Jacobs.

83 Elizabeth, b. Mar. 11, 1754; d. Feb., 1796.

Samuel Sparhawk, sr., was selectman from 1737 to '41; elected deacon, April 12, 1734; and died April 14, 1774. At the time his will was made in Aug., 1771, his wife and children were all living.

34 John Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, married a Miss Jacobs, and they had :

84 Sarah.

85 Hannah, m. ——— Perry.

Mr. John Sparhawk graduated at Harvard College, 1723, and died in 1747.

36 Thomas Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, married Mary, daughter of Nathaniel Oliver, Jan. 14, 1730-1.

Their children were :

¹ MSS. family tree in possession of E. E. Sparhawk, Esq., Roxbury, Mass.

- 86 Mary, b. Jan. 3, 1731-2; m. Isaac Gardner, jr., April 26, 1753.
- 87 Elizabeth, bapt. Sept. 30, 1733; m. Elisha Gardner, June 21, 1753.
- 88 Sybil, b. July 13, 1735; m. Samuel Aspinwall, May 25, 1758.
- 89 Thomas, b. Mar. 16, 1736-7; m. Rebecca Stearns.
- 90 Lucy, b. Aug. 14, 1738; m. Col. Thomas Aspinwall.
- 91 Katherine, b. Dec. 16, 1739; m. Elijah Hough or Houghton, Nov. 27, 1760.
- 92 Oliver, bapt. April 1, 1742; d. unm., 1762.
- 93 Abigail, b. April 19, 1746; m., 1st, Hull Sewall, s. p., Mar. 20, 1766; 2nd, Palsgrave Wellington, M.D., 1772.

Thomas Sparhawk, sr., was selectman in Cambridge, Mass., from 1744 to 1764. He was also a Justice of the Peace, and died Aug. 15, 1783, at which time his wife, Mrs. Mary (Oliver) Sparhawk, was still living.

37 Mr. Joseph Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, married a Miss Cook and afterwards Miss Sibley. His children were :

- 94 Joseph.
- 95 Hannah.
- 96 Timothy, m. Miss Conant.
- 97 Elizabeth.

It is still unknown whether these children were by the first or second wife. The names are from Mr. E. E. Sparhawk's family tree.

38 Rev. Nathaniel Sparhawk of Lynnfield, son of Nathaniel and Abigail (Gates) Sparhawk, was ordained at Lynnfield, August, 1720, and a graduate of Harvard College, 1715. He married Mrs. Elizabeth Perkins (published in Lynn, Mass., March 8, 1719-20). He died May 7, 1732. She died suddenly May 12, 1768, æ. 68.

Their children were :

- 98 Elizabeth, b. Dec. 28, 1721; d. young.
- 99 Nathaniel, b. Sept. 24, 1725; d. young.
- 100 Edward Perkins, b. July 10, 1728; (Rev.); m., 1st, M. Putnam; 2nd, Mrs. Adams.¹
- 101 John, b. Oct. 24, 1730; (M.D.); m. Eliza Perkins.

¹ MSS. tree in possession of E. E. Sparhawk.

39 Noah Sparhawk, son of Nathaniel and Abigail (Gates) Sparhawk, married Priscilla, daughter of Ichabod Brown, Sept. 24, 1724.

102 Priscilla, b. Aug. 6, 1725; m. Abr. Cutting.

103 Nathaniel, b. 1727; m., 1st, Lydia Blake, 1753; 2nd, H. Murdock, 1767; d. 1777.

104 Noah, jr., b. 1729; m., 1st, A. Frink; 2nd, L. Whipple.

105 Martha, b. 1731; m. John Hancock.

106 Nathan, b. 1734; m., 1st, Miss Weeks; 2nd, Miss Clapham.

107 Ebenezer, b. June 15, 1738; m., 1st, A. Stearns, Sept., 1763.

108 George, b. 1742; d. 1757.

Noah Sparhawk, sr., died February 4, 1748-9; his wife Priscilla (Brown) Sparhawk survived, and administration on her estate was granted to her son Nathaniel, April 18, 1765.

41 Simon Sparhawk, son of Nathaniel and Abigail (Gates) Sparhawk, married Miss Stoughton, and their children were:

109 Patience, m. Mr. Avery.

110 Simon, bapt. April, 1737.

111 Sarah, bapt. May, 1737.

No further record of this family has been found.

42 Rev. John Sparhawk, jr., son of Rev. John and Priscilla (Hemans) Sparhawk, married Jane Porter, daughter of Rev. Aaron Porter (and his wife Miss Sewall) of Medford, Mass., Oct. 4, 1737. He graduated from Harvard College in 1731, and was ordained Oct., 1736, as pastor of the first church of Salem, Mass. Quoting from his memorandum book now in the possession of Mr. Edward Eppes Sparhawk of Roxbury, Mass., we have the following statement:

"Dec^{br}. 8, 1736. On this day was the ordination at which time there were convened the following churches; The Second Church in Salem, the Rev. M^r. Clark, Minister; and the Third Church, the Rev. M^r. Prescott, Minister;

the Second ch. of Marblehead, the Rev. Mr. Holyoke, Minister; the Second ch. of Beverly, the Rev. Mr. Chipman, Minister; the church of Cambridge, the Rev. Mr. Appleton, minister; and the first church of Reading, Rev. Mr. Hobby, Minister. Mr. Chipman began with prayer. Mr. Appleton preached,—Prov. 11, 30. Mr. Holyoke gave the charge and Mr. Prescott the Right Hand of Fellowship. The whole service was performed with the greatest order and decency." This quotation is given in an abbreviated form in Brewster's "Rambles about Portsmouth" Second Series, p. 187.

The children of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk were :

112 Priscilla, b. Aug. 31, 1738; m. Judge Nathaniel Ropes, Sept. 2, 1755; d. Mar. 19, 1798.

113 Jane, b. April 16, 1740; d. Jan. 25, 1741.

114 Catherine, b. May 25, 1741; m. Nathaniel Sparhawk (see 126).

115 John, b. Feb. 16, 1743; m. Abigail King, Jan. 12, 1769; d. 1787.

116 Samuel, b. Nov. 6, 1744.

117 Nathaniel, b. March 27, 1746; drowned in the Piscataqua, 1767.

118 Jane, b. Sept. 29, 1748; m. John Appleton, Oct. 6, 1767.

119 Aaron, b. Sept. 2, 1749; d. Oct. 19, 1749.

120 Susannah, b. Sept. 19, 1750; m. George King Atkinson, May 12, 1771.

121 Margaret, b. Oct. 20, 1752.

122 Benjamin, } b. June 21, 1754; { d. July 22, 1754.

123 ———, } b. June 21, 1754; { d. June 21, 1754.

124 Mehitable, b. May 20, 1755; d. July 26, 1757.

Rev. John Sparhawk, the father, was pastor of the first church in Salem, Mass., and died, April 30, 1755. Mrs. Jane (Porter) Sparhawk died July 26, 1777. They were married (according to aforesaid memorandum book) "at Major Sewall's house, at Boston." This was her maternal grandfather, a brother of the famous Chief Justice Samuel Sewall.

43 Nathaniel Sparhawk, the son of Rev. John and Priscilla (Hemans) Sparhawk, married Elizabeth, only remaining daughter of Sir William and Lady Mary (Hirst) Pepperrell, in Kittery, Maine, June 10, 1742. Their children were :

- 125 William Pepperrell, bapt. July 10, 1743; d. young.
- 126 Nath'l, b. Aug. 1, 1744; bapt. Aug. 19; m., 1st, Cath. Sparhawk; 2nd, Elizabeth Bartlett; 3rd, Deborah Adams, 1786; d. 1815.
- 127 Wm. Pepperrell, bapt. Nov. 30, 1746; m. Eliz. Royall; d. 1816.
- 128 John, bapt. Nov. 27, 1748; d. young.
- 129 Andrew Pepperrell, b. June 3, 1750; m. Miss Turner, Sept. 5, 1775; d. 1783.
- 130 Samuel Hirst, b. 1752; m. in London; d. 1787.
- 131 Mary Pepperrell, b. 1754; m. Chas. Jarvis, M.D.; d. 1815.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, sr., was a merchant in Boston at the time of his marriage, but after that he lived in Kittery. (His father-in-law had built there the elegant mansion now known as the "Sparhawk house" for his daughter Madam Sparhawk.) Mr. Sparhawk retained an interest in his business in Boston, and also had commercial interests in Kittery. In his later years he was conspicuous as a Judge and Councillor. The elegant dining hall, in the Sparhawk house, was used as "the Council Chamber," where the Councillors met. This house, now in perfect preservation, is the finest specimen of the architecture of the period (1742) remaining in that vicinity. Of the marriage of Nathaniel Sparhawk and Elizabeth Pepperrell, the Rev. John Sparhawk, in his memorandum book, writes as follows :

"My dear and only brother, Nath'l, was married at Kittery to Miss Elizabeth Pepperrell, the only daughter of the then Hon'ble William Pepperrell, Esq., now Sir William Pepperrell, Bart., on June 10, 1742."

Mrs. Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk was, through her mother, a great granddaughter of the famous Chief

Justice Samuel Sewall, and thus a descendant as well of the Dummers, Hirsts, and many more distinguished families. She carried herself always with a true spirit of nobility. Her last years were spent with her daughter Mrs. Charles Jarvis, in Boston, at which time she was active in all good words and works. She died in Boston in 1797, leaving only her two oldest sons (Nathaniel and William) and her daughter Mrs. Jarvis;¹ her husband and the others having gone before her.

[*To be continued.*]

¹ See "Life and Times of Wm. Jarvis," pp. 428-9.

GENEALOGY OF THE ALLEN FAMILY OF MANCHESTER,
MASS., FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO
THE YEAR 1886.

BY JOHN PRICE.

(Continued from page 312, Vol. XXIV.)

66 Israel⁶ (*Nathan*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 14, 1812; married Maria Driver, Sept. 25, 1834. She was born Oct. 27, 1811; died Oct. 2, 1858. He died in California, July 29, 1850.

Children :

- i Maria P., b. June 25, 1835; d. Dec. 25, 1849.
- ii Israel F., b. Dec. 24, 1836; d. June 27, 1846.
- iii David D., b. April 17, 1838; d. Aug. 22, 1839.
- iv David B., b. June 3, 1842; m. Mary E. Edes, Bath, Me., June 15, 1864. She d. Jan. 3, 1869. He m., 2nd, Esther G. Brooks, Feb. 27, 1872.
- v Nathan, b. June 17, 1845; d. Aug. 8, 1846.
- vi Mary B., b. July 25, 1848; unm.

67 John⁶ (*Nehemiah*,⁵ *John*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Feb. 14, 1777; married Sally ———, about 1800.

Children :

- i John, b. April 28, 1801.
- ii Benjamin, b. Jan. 29, 1803; m. Esther Caldwell of Ipswich, 1829; d. June 1, 1840.

68 David⁶ (*David*,⁵ *John*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born June 8, 1780; married Polly Leach, May 19, 1805. She was born April 17, 1784; died Aug. 3, 1814. He died Nov. 16, 1823.

Children :

- i David, b. Sept. 9, 1805; m. Ellen Lefaver of Salem. He d. Oct. 28, 1868.

- ii Mary, b. Oct. 9, 1810; m. Simeon Haskell, jr., Dec. 16, 1831.
- iii Eliza A., b. Feb. 25, 1813; m. Samuel Ayres, Nov. 11, 1832;
d. April 10, 1869.

He married, second, Molly Hassam, April 15, 1817.

SEVENTH GENERATION.

69 Nathaniel M.⁷ (*Samuel*,⁶ *Ambrose*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Nov. 3, 1767; married Elizabeth Lee, Dec. 10, 1789; she was born Nov. 10, 1766; died Feb. 28, 1847, aged 85. He died Jan. 31, 1855, aged 87.

Children :

- i Sarah, b. Feb. 22, 1791; m. Samuel Collins of New York.
- ii Elizabeth, b. Jan. 22, 1793; d. June 20, 1887, æ. 94 yrs. 4 mos., 28 days; unm.
- iii Nathaniel, b. May 14, 1795; d. Sept. 7, 1814.
- 99 iv Samuel, b. Feb. 7, 1799.
- v Lydia, b. Dec. 18, 1801; d. April —, 1818.
- 100 vi Benjamin, b. April 8, 1802.

70 William⁷ (*William*,⁶ *William*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Sept. 11, 1785; married Harriet P. Lee, March 19, 1815. She was born May 20, 1795; died May 16, 1844. He died May 25, 1862.

Children :

- i Harriet L., b. Mar. 28, 1816; d. May 3, 1819.
- ii William H., b. July 14, 1818; d. Dec. 7, 1886.
- iii Charlotte P., b. Mar. 8, 1826; m. Jonathan S. Dodge, May 3, 1847.
- iv Edward P., b. Sept. 8, 1830; d. June 20, 1863.
- v George F., b. Oct. 21, 1840.

71 Thomas L.⁷ (*William*,⁶ *William*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born June 13, 1791; married Mary Hill, Aug. 24, 1817. She was born June 7, 1797; died——, 1819; and he married, second, Lavinia Baker, Oct. 15, 1820.

Children :

- i Ann Maria, b. Aug. 28, 1821; d. July 12, 1834.
- ii Edward F., b. Aug. 19, 1823; d. Nov. 29, 1826.
- iii Charlotte P., b. Aug. 16, 1825; d. Sept. —, 1825.

His second wife Lavinia was born Dec. 21, 1800; died Oct. 16, 1828; and he married, third, Anna Baker (a sister), Jan. 3, 1830. She died Dec. 20, 1880, aged 81. He died Mar. 18, 1851.

72 John W.⁷ (*John*,⁶ *William*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 5, 1781; married Joanna Girdler, Oct. 12, 1805. She was born Oct. 20, 1784, and died May 18, 1865, aged 80. He died Aug. 4, 1847.

Children :

- i Joanna G., b. June 30, 1810; m. Ezra Perkins of Essex, Oct. 27, 1831.
- ii John W. G., b. Feb. 12, 1813; m. Susan H. Leach, July 17, 1837. He was lost at sea, April 22, 1838.
- iii Elizabeth G., b. Nov. 20, 1814; d. Dec. 23, 1833.
- iv Augusta E., b. Dec. 10, 1816; m. Alfred Annable, July 16, 1839. She died March 14, 1888.
- v John W., b. July 10, 1821; m. Lucy Cody, Nov. 17, 1876.

John W. took an active part in town affairs; was one of the selectmen from 1832 to 1837, 1854, and was representative in 1830 and 1831.

73 James⁷ (*John*,⁶ *William*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Sept. 18, 1786; married Lydia Girdler, Mar. 26, 1812. She was born July 30, 1790; died Dec. 29, 1852. He died at sea, June 27, 1833.

Children :

- 101** i James G., b. May 26, 1813.
- ii Lydia G., b. May 26, 1816; m. Andrew Marsters, Sept. 6, 1837; d. Mar. 23, 1852.
- iii Lewis E., b. Sept. 19, 1819; d. —.
- iv Caroline F., b. April 9, 1825; m. John C. Felker.
- v Frances, b. —, 1828; d. Dec. 30, 1833.

74 Samuel⁷ (*John*,⁶ *William*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Mar. 20, 1791; married Mary Girdler, May 21, 1816. She was born June 16, 1792; died Mar. 16, 1833.

Children :

- i Mary G., b. Mar. 2, 1817; m. George A. Brown, Jan. 16, 1840; d. Oct. 27, 1850.
- ii Samuel E., b. Nov. 16, 1821; d. Nov. 28, 1850; unm.
- iii John H., b. Mar. 1, 1826; d. June 2, 1849; unm.
- iv Della M., b. Oct. 13, 1827; d. Dec. 22, 1832.

Samuel married, second, his brother's widow, Lydia Allen, Feb. 16, 1834. He died July 3, 1843.

75 Daniel⁷ (*John*,⁶ *William*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born May 27, 1796; married Mehitabel Allen, Dec. 23, 1824. She was born May 30, 1799; died Dec. 22, 1879. He died Aug. 8, 1830.

Child :

- i Hittie Ann, b. Mar. 4, 1827; m. Henry S. Chase; d. Jan. 31, 1855.

76 Stephen B.⁷ (*Stephen*,⁶ *Stephen*,⁵ *Stephen*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born July 7, 1828; married Sabra A. Cross, Nov. 28, 1848. She was born in Beverly, Dec. 6, 1831.

Children :

- i Lucretia A., b. Jan. 1, 1849; d. Oct. 4, 1851.
- ii Mary A., b. Sept. 2, 1850; d. Oct. 17, 1851.
- iii Mary A. E., b. Sept. 28, 1852; d. Nov. 14, 1861.
- iv Hermon L., b. July 29, 1854.
- v Charles A., b. Dec. 2, 1856; d. June 16, 1861.
- vi Emma F., b. Feb. 20, 1859.
- vii Caroline E., b. Jan. 2, 1861.
- viii Lillian B., b. Oct. 6, 1866.
- ix Walter B., b. May 22, 1868.
- x Ernest E., b. Oct. 10, 1870.
- xi Stephen A., b. Mar. 11, 1872.

77 John R.⁷ (*Stephen*,⁶ *Stephen*,⁵ *Stephen*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 31, 1829; married Abbie C. Prescott, Mar. 27, 1856. She was born Feb. 21, 1837.

Children :

- i John F., b. Jan. 5, 1857.
- ii Edith K., b. Sept. 20, 1859; m. Harlan G. Morgan, Feb. 3, 1881.
- iii Elbridge E., b. Sept. 7, 1864.
- iv George A., b. Jan. 9, 1867; d. Aug. 21, 1869.

78 George⁷ (*Stephen*,⁶ *Stephen*,⁵ *Stephen*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born June 20, 1833; married Louisa Morse, June 1, 1872. She was born Jan. 15, 1844; died April 24, 1880.

Children :

- i Alice L., b. Sept. 2, 1873.
- ii George W., b. Sept. 20, 1875; d. May 1, 1877.
- iii Infant dau., b. Oct. 31, 1876; died same day.
- iv Charles W., b. April 12, 1880; d. Sept. 20, 1880.

79 Elbridge⁷ (*Stephen*,⁶ *Stephen*,⁵ *Stephen*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born April 5, 1835; married Caroline M. Allen, June 4, 1873. She was born Sept. 13, 1844.

Children :

- i Infant son, b. April 5, 1874; d. April 14, 1874.
- ii Clinton D., b. April 12, 1875.
- iii Arthur D., b. Sept. 13, 1877.
- iv Ella W., b. Sept. 1, 1886.

80 Rodney C.⁷ (*Stephen*,⁶ *Stephen*,⁵ *Stephen*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Feb. 17, 1847; married Jennie M. Carter, May 28, 1881. She was born Jan. 19, 1848. No children.

81 Joseph⁷ (*Jonathan*,⁶ *Jonathan*,⁵ *Jonathan*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Dec. 16, 1789; married

Mary Cheever, Mar. 24, 1814. She was born June 19, 1790; died May 27, 1832.

Children :

- i Joseph, b. Dec. 30, 1814; d. Feb. 7, 1824.
- ii John C., b. Mar. 24, 1817; d. Aug. 17, 1878; unm.
- iii Mary A., b. Dec. 23, 1820; m. Jeremiah Danforth, Nov. 3, 1838. She died June 15, 1876.
- iv Sarah E., b. Sept. 16, 1825; m. J. Radford Lord, May 3, 1847.

He married, second, Mehitable Allen, widow of Daniel, July 4, 1832.

Children :

- v Eliza A., b. July 27, 1833; m. John E. Smith, Nov. 5, 1854, who was killed in a steam-mill in Boston, July 29, 1863. She m. 2nd, Julius F. Rabardy, Aug. 6, 1868.
- vi Jacob H., b. Nov. 6, 1834; m. Nellie B. Nye of Boston, Mar. 9, 1884. He died Sept. 17, 1887.
- vii Emily P., } twins; { m. Geo. W. Jewett Dec. 4, 1866.
- viii Elizabeth P., } b. Apr. 2, 1843. {

Captain Allen died Feb. 5, 1875, aged 86. His second wife Mehitable died Dec. 22, 1879, aged 80.

82 John A.⁷ (*Daniel*,⁶ *Jonathan*,⁵ *Jonathan*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Oct. 5, 1817; married Mary A. Crafts, Feb. 29, 1844. She was born Dec. 10, 1820; died Nov. 29, 1845.

Child :

- i Mary V., b. Oct. 11, 1845; d. at St. Louis, Mo., May 6, 1866.
- His first wife dying, he married, second, Jane E. White, Aug. 30, 1849. He died June 29, 1884, in St. Louis, Mo.

Children born in St. Louis, Mo. :

- ii Arthur W., b. Nov. 27, 1851; m. Mary I. Baker, July 11, 1876. Their child was Arthur G., b. Aug. 1, 1877.
- iii Charles C., b. July 25, 1855.

83 Abner⁷ (*Abner*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 24, 1792; married Betsey Tuck, Oct. 19, 1818. She was born Mar. 5, 1797; died Dec. 26, 1832. He died Jan. 12, 1867.

Children :

- i John A., b. Dec. 14, 1821; m. Sarah Jewett.
- ii Eliza, b. Oct. 6, 1823; m. John Pollard.
- iii Lydia L., b. May 2, 1825; m. Wm. Jewett.
- iv Edward L., b. June 25, 1828; m. Sarah Dudley.

84 Azariah⁷ (*Abner*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 25, 1796; m. Sally Russell, Sept. 14, 1824. She was born Mar. 8, 1805. He died Jan. 4, 1873.

Children :

- i Sarah R., b. June 27, 1825; d. Sept. 19, 1886; unm.
- ii Caroline, b. Feb. 17, 1829; m. Nathan Richardson, May 15, 1849.
- iii George W., b. July 11, 1831; d. June 14, 1885; unm.
- iv Isaac F., b. Dec. 27, 1836; killed in battle of Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862.
- v Wililam H., b. July 31, 1842; d. in Belle Isle Prison, 1863.
- vi Josephine, b. July 15, 1848; m. Jacob Orne.

85 Henry P.⁷ (*Richard*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Nov. 14, 1807; married Mary E. Potter of Hamilton, Oct. 1, 1844. She was born Jan. 3, 1819; died Sept. 22, 1869. He died April 2, 1885, aged 77.

Children :

- i Harriet P., b. May 28, 1846.
- ii Susan D., b. Dec. 22, 1847; d. June 1, 1850.

He was one of the selectmen from 1844 to 1847.

86 Samuel P.⁷ (*Richard*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Oct. 19, 1811; married Elizabeth Knight, June 1, 1837. She was born Dec. 17, 1815. He died Feb. 22, 1882. She died Dec. 22, 1883

Children :

- i Elizabeth H., b. Sept. 4, 1838; m. Wm. A. Stone, Sept. 28, 1865. She died Mar. —, 1883.
- ii Reyanna P., b. July 15, 1842; d. April 11, 1847.
- iii Mary A., b. Feb. 12, 1845.
- iv Samuel P., b. April 22, 1847; d. Mar. 31, 1851.
- v Reyanna P., b. Dec. 30, 1849; d. June 17, 1855.
- vi Hattie K., b. April 11, 1852; m. Edward Flint, Dec. 17, 1874.

87 Benjamin L.⁷ (*John*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Mar. 7, 1803; married Hannah L. Foster, Aug. 26, 1824. She was born Jan. 17, 1805. He died Sept. 24, 1865.

Child :

- i Hannah L., b. April 2, 1826; d. June 10, 1827.

88 Isaac⁷ (*John*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Nov. 11, 1805; married Harriet Osborne of Salem, July 28, 1836. She was born Feb. 22, 1800. She died Aug. 4, 1886, aged 86. He died April 27, 1879.

Children :

- i Hannah L., b. May 1, 1837.
- ii Harriet E., b. Sept. 1, 1838; m. S. H. Johnson of Swampscott.

102 iii John, b. Oct. 12, 1840.

89 William H.⁷ (*Aaron*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Sept. 21, 1803; married Susan Poland of Hamilton, May 8, 1845. She was born April 5, 1811, and died July 14, 1883. He died Aug. 25, 1875.

Child :

- 103 i William H., jr., b. Dec. 5, 1848; m. Mary F. Gilson, Dec. 5, 1869.

90 Hannah E. (*William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born in Manchester, Sept. 19, 1791; died in Salem Sept. 10, 1816; married April 10, 1811, Henry Allen son of Edward Allen;* died Oct. 15, 1818, aged 28.

* Capt. Edward Allen came to America from Berwick on the Tweed in 1757 and settled in Salem, where he became a distinguished and successful merchant in the India and some of the other trades that flourished at that time in Salem. In 1759, he married Ruth, the widow of Israel Gardner and daughter of Gamaliel Hodges; married, secondly, Margaret Lockhart of Wilmington, N. C. He died July 27, 1803, aged 68, and his wife Margaret, Aug. 14, 1808, aged 54 (see Hist. Coll. E. I., Vol. IV, p. 76).

Children :

- i William Henry, born in Salem Nov. 17, 1811; married Ellen Sophia, daughter of George and Alicia (Burrill) Ward, b. Nov. 14, 1814. After the death of Capt. Allen, which occurred in the Straits of Basilan, then master of ship Hamilton, June 4, 1848, she married, 2nd, G. L. Chandler, an artist of Salem who died May 27, 1883.
- ii Margaret Lockhart, b. in Salem July 21, 1813; m. Wm. A. Davis of Salem, Jan. 29, 1838, moved to Pernambuco, Brazil, in 1841, where she died Nov. 5, 1886.

91 William E.⁷ (*William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born in Salem, July 10, 1806; died at Gambia, Africa, Nov. 7, 1837, married Sarah H. Wright. She was born Feb. 11, 1805.

Children :

- 104 i Charles H., b. March 26, 1830.
- 105 ii William E., b. Aug. 30, 1833.

92 Charles H.⁷ (*William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born July 31, 1810; married Mary P. Wright, April 7, 1836, who was born Dec. 18, 1809.

Children :

- 106 i George H., b. Jan. 15, 1838.
- ii Mary Louisa, b. Feb. 29, 1840; d. Jan. 24, 1841.
- 107 iii Charles Franklin, b. Sept. 10, 1842.
- iv Mary Anna, b. Jan. 13, 1847; d. April 15, 1848.
- v Margaret Lockhart, b. Feb. 10, 1849.

93 George F.⁷ (*William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Jan. 2, 1813; married Laura Sprague, daughter of Joseph and Lucretia (Ward) Sprague; died at sea, lost from ship "Celestial," Nov. 8, 1852.

Children :

- i Mary Osgood, b. Oct., 1851.
- ii

94 Jacob A.⁷ (*Jacob*,⁶ *Isaac*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Sam-*

uel,² *William*¹) born Mar. 5, 1810; married Prudence Hyer of Middlebury, Vt., ———, 1825. She was born Nov. 5, 1805; died Sept. 21, 1879. He died Aug. 27, 1871, from the Revere accident.

Children :

- i Lucy Amanda, b. June 2, 1827.
- ii Charles A., b. Aug. 25, 1829; d. Sept. 25, 1867.
- iii Seth D., b. April 14, 1831.
- iv Ellen A., b. Aug. 2, 1833.
- v Almina R., b. Mar. 2, 1836.
- vi Milo S., b. June 21, 1838.
- vii George H., b. June 21, 1840.
- viii Isaac A., b. Aug. 14, 1842.

95 Enos G.⁷ (*Jacob*,⁶ *Isaac*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Nov. 16, 1815; married Lydia A. Carter, April 14, 1836. She was born Sept. 27, 1816; died Sept. 16, 1882. He died May 18, 1877.

Child :

- i Henry O., b. Nov. 1, 1837; m. ———. He d. Sept. 9, 1885, æ. 48.

96 George F.⁷ (*Nathan*,⁶ *Nathan*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Sept. 10, 1826; married Arabella McCollom of New Boston, N. H., June 16, 1855. She was born Aug. 27, 1827.

Child :

- i Matty F., b. Mar. 30, 1858; d. Sept. 6, 1858.

George F. has always been much interested in the municipal affairs of the town, and was one of the selectmen for the years 1863 to 1867, inclusive, town clerk 1858, and has held several other offices of the town at various times as well as of the parish.

97 John P., jr.⁷ (*John P.*,⁶ *Nathan*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Feb. 11, 1823; married

Irene P. Johnson, Sept. 16, 1856. She was born Mar. 16, 1837.

Children :

- i Charles P., b. Sept. 28, 1857; lost at sea, Sept., 1877.
- ii Harry E., b. Nov. 13, 1858.
- iii Richard J., b. Oct. 28, 1860.
- iv John P., jr., b. Mar. 5, 1862.
- v Edward F., b. Dec. 30, 1872; d. April 16, 1873.
- vi Benjamin L., b. Feb. 14, 1875.

98 Edward F.⁷ (*John P.⁶ Nathan,⁵ Jacob,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Jan. 30, 1827; married Ann Amelia Knight, Sept. 7, 1849. She was born Mar. 31, 1831. He died in Belle Isle Prison, Va., Dec. 5, 1863.

Child :

- i Edward H., b. June 6, 1850; d. Sept. 28, 1851.

EIGHTH GENERATION.

99 Samuel⁸ (*Nath'l M.⁷ Samuel,⁶ Ambrose,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Feb. 7, 1799; married Nabby Smith of Beverly ———. She was born May 24, 1804. He died May 24, 1874, aged 75 years.

Children :

- i Elizabeth, b. Aug. 6, 1829; m. Henry Woodbury of Beverly, May 15, 1849.
- ii Mary T., b. in Beverly, Jan. 26, 1831; m. George Woodbury, of Beverly, May 30, 1851.
- iii Sarah M., b. in Beverly, Dec. 5, 1833; d. Dec. 11, 1860; unm.
- iv Abby S., b. Feb. 9, 1835; m. Dea. Joseph Baker, Aug. 17, 1858.
- v Lydia, b. Mar. 24, 1837; m. Phineas Purrington of Shrewsbury, Oct. 28, 1860.
- vi Augusta, } twins; { b. Sept. 4, 1839; m. Wm. S. Crafts, Jan. 8, 1858.
- vii Louisa, } { b. Sept. 4, 1839; m. Charles Thomas.
- viii Eveline, b. Jan. 4, 1842; m. Leonard Wilson of Kittery, Me., d. Oct. 3, 1866.

ix Samuel, b. April 21, 1844; m. Frank Howe of Stirling.

x Susan, b. Sept. 6, 1847.

100 Benjamin⁸ (*Nath'l M.,⁷ Samuel,⁶ Ambrose,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born April 8, 1802; married Esther W. Caldwell of Ipswich. She was born Jan. 10, 1805; died April 14, 1869. He died Mar. 12, 1872.

Children :

i Benjamin, b. Nov. 5, 1829; m. Anna R. Osgood of Peabody.

He was a member of Co. F, Eleventh Reg., Mass. Volunteers; and d. in the war, at Washington, Aug. 29, 1864.

ii Sarah E., b. ———.

iii Lydia A., b. ———.

iv Abby G., b. ———.

v Emma, b. ———.

vi Eliza G., b. ———.

vii Caroline M., b. Sept. 13, 1844; m. Elbridge Allen, June 4, 1873.

101 James G.⁸ (*James,⁷ John,⁶ William,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born May 26, 1813; married Hannah Leach, June 18, 1835. She was born Aug. 25, 1810; died Sept. 18, 1876. He died at sea, Nov. 30, 1856. She died Sept. 18, 1876.

Children :

i Delia F., b. July 15, 1836; d. Sept. 18, 1867, unm.

ii Hannah L., b. Jan. 10, 1837; d. Nov. 10, 1837.

iii Horatio, b. Aug. 24, 1844; lost at sea.

iv Hannah L., b. Dec. 29, 1846; d. Jan. 28, 1849.

v Kate H., b. April 29, 1851; m. Judge Robert B. Archibald of Florida.

102 John⁸ (*Isaac,⁷ John,⁶ Azariah,⁵ Azariah,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Oct. 12, 1840; married Eveline F. Hooper, Sept. 21, 1871. She was born Oct. 1, 1847.

Children :

i Eva, b. July 12, 1872.

ii Benjamin L., b. Jan. 3, 1874.

- iii Grace H., b. May 15, 1875.
- iv John I., b. May 14, 1879.
- v Henry O., b. Nov. 29, 1880.
- vi Everett, b. June 11, 1883.
- vii Elizabeth L., b. July 15, 1885.
- viii Bertram W., b. Mar. 4, 1887.

103 William H., jr.⁸ (*William H.*,⁷ *Aaron*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Dec. 5, 1848; married Mary F. Gilson, Dec. 5, 1869. She was born Oct. 8, 1846.

Children :

- i Richard C., b. Mar. 18, 1871; d. Feb. 14, 1877.
- ii Raymond C., b. Aug. 28, 1877.
- iii Susan W., b. Feb. 17, 1880.
- iv Marion C., b. Jan. 13, 1885.

104 Charles H.⁸. (*William E.*,⁷ *William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born March 26, 1830; married Margaret Eleanor McKenzie, April 10, 1856, who was born Oct. 12, 1833.

Children :

- i Margaret Eleanor, b. Jan. 10, 1857.
- ii Mary Francis, b. March 15, 1860.
- iii Charles Augustus, b. Feb. 13, 1862; d. Sept. —, 1862.
- iv Lillian Hutchinson, b. June 13, 1865.
- v Charles Frederick, April 8, 1868.

105 William E.,⁸ (*William E.*,⁷ *William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*,¹) born August 30, 1833; married Mary E. Noah, May 16, 1861, who was born Feb. 15, 1834.

Children :

- i Sadie L., b. Nov. 15, 1868; d. Dec. 29, 1871.

106 George H.⁸ (*Charles H.*,⁷ *William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*,¹) born Jan. 15, 1838;

married Caroline W. Ashby, October 22, 1862 (who was born June 10, 1840).

Children :

- i George Lockhart, b. Jan. 27, 1865.
- ii Caroline Lockhart, b. June 15, 1870.

107 Charles Franklin⁸ (*Charles H.*,⁷ *William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) married Henrietta E. Pond, May 3, 1871, at St. Louis, Mo.; resides in St. Louis, Mo.

Children :

- i George Franklin, b. April 26, 1873, at St. Louis.
- ii Walter Lockhart, b. Oct. 28, 1875, at St. Louis.
- iii Mary Penniman, b. Nov. 24, 1876, at St. Louis.

Others of the name of Allen residing in Manchester, but not of the branch of William, but probably of a brother.

Nathaniel^{5*} (*William*,⁴ *Thomas, jr.*,³ *Thomas*,² *Joseph*¹) born in Gloucester (where his ancestors were, if we except Joseph), Oct. 31, 1759; married Anna Dodge of Manchester, Nov. 12, 1786. She was born May 20, 1767; died Oct. 16, 1835, aged 68. He died Sept. 10, 1843, aged 83.

Children, all born in Manchester :

- i William, b. April 11, 1787; d. Sept. 10, 1794.
- ii Anna, b. Nov. 9, 1788; d. May 20, 1795.
- iii Nathaniel, jr., b. Aug. 15, 1790; m. Anna Miller, Jan. 23, 1812. She was b. Aug. 4, 1790. He d. in Genoa, Italy,

* Nathaniel⁵ was the person from Manchester who was cast away and who lived on the wreck of the vessel nine months before he was rescued and returned to the bosom of his family.

- Dec. 24, 1822. She m. 2nd, William Burnham of Beverly, April 13, 1828, and she d. in Manchester, June 22, 1881, in her 91st year.
- iv Sally, } twins; { b. Sept. 21, 1792; d. Sept. 20, 1793.
 - v Hannah, } { b. Sept. 21, 1792; d. Oct. 4, 1793.
 - vi Sally, b. April 14, 1794; d. Dec. 20, 1796.
 - vii Anna, b. May 9, 1796; m. Arthur Story, Sept. 19, 1822; d. Nov. 10, 1872.
 - viii John, b. April 6, 1799; m. Betsey Witham, June —, 1822; d. July 2, 1880.
 - ix William, b. Aug. 18, 1800; d. Dec. 31, 1804.
 - x Hannah, b. Mar. 22, 1803; m. David Colby, June 14, 1840; d. Nov. 20, 1886.
 - xi David, b. Feb. 12, 1805; m. Susan W. Story of Goffstown, July 20, 1828.
 - xii Harriet, b. Dec. 14, 1807; m. Matthew Giles of Rockport, May 31, 1831. She d. Oct. 29, 1878.
 - xlii Luther, b. Feb. 2, 1809.
 - xiv William H., b. June 10, 1812; d. Mar. 24, 1814.

Luther⁶ (*Nathaniel*,⁵ *William*,⁴ *Thomas, jr.*,³ *Thomas*,² *Joseph*¹) married Jennette L. Mann, Aug. 29, 1829. She was born April 17, 1809.

Children :

- i Luther F., b. July 15, 1832.
- ii Joann L., b. Nov. 24, 1834; m. Capt. Nehemiah D. Cunningham of Gloucester, Oct. 22, 1874.
- iii Frederic, b. Sept. 28, 1836; m. Hannah M. Elwell of Gloucester, Dec. 25, 1861, and resides there.
- iv Nathaniel, b. Oct. 13, 1839; d. Sept. 21, 1840.
- v Caroline M., b. June 3, 1842; m. Thomas Carlton of Littleton, N. H., Mar. 6, 1873; d. Oct. 16, 1874.
- vi Benjamin L., b. July 20, 1845.

Luther has always taken an interest in the affairs of the town; was selectman in 1849, 1850, representative, 1858.

Luther F.⁷ (*Luther*,⁶ *Nathaniel*,⁵ *William*,⁴ *Thomas, jr.*,³ *Thomas*,² *Joseph*¹) born July 15, 1832; married Susan E. Andrews of Essex, Oct. 18, 1856. She was born Nov. 23, 1833.

Children :

- i Hubert Grey, b. Nov. 27, 1858 ; d. Feb. 3, 1861.
- ii Ralph W., b. Jan. 3, 1862.
- iii Carrie Edith, b. Nov. 5, 1876.

Thomas (an Englishman) came from England when about fourteen years old and lived with Geofford Goldsmith during his minority. He was born March 20, 1784 ; married Abigail Goldsmith, daughter of Geofford, July 22, 1811. She was born Jan. 29, 1781 ; died Feb. 17, 1873, aged 92. He died Oct. 23, 1846.

Children :

- i Abigail, b. Oct. 16, 1812 ; m. Merrett Lennon, Dec. 8, 1833.
- ii Lucy G., b. Dec. 28, 1813 ; m. John Clark of Gloucester.
- iii Thomas, b. Oct. 23, 1815 ; unm.
- iv Hannah P., b. Sept. 13, 1817 ; m. John C. Knowlton, Mar. 19, 1838.
- v Mehitable G., b. May 26, 1819 ; m. Gorham Parsons, jr. July 23, 1836.
- vi David G., b. July 8, 1821 ; m. Sarah Brown of Nova Scotia.
- vii Abraham, b. Sept. 16, 1825 ; d. Dec. 8, 1843.

INSCRIPTIONS

FROM THE OLD BURYING GROUND AT SAUGUS CENTRE.

COPIED BY JOHN T. MOULTON.

It will be well for those who are searching the Lynn records for genealogical information to remember that many of the Lynn families therere presented were residents of what is now the town of Saugus, once the third parish of Lynn, and that these inscriptions are of interest as relating to the early history of those Lynn families.

A few rods northerly from the railroad station at Saugus Centre, the highway is divided, one part leading directly to the woolen mills situated at the head of tide water on Saugus river, the other part turning abruptly to the westward and leading towards Wakefield and Melrose. At this corner of the highways is the old burying ground of the third parish of Lynn.

The meeting house was built in 1737 on land given by William Taylor for the purpose; the spot where it was built is now the village square or common and this burial ground is a part of the land included in that gift. Without doubt it was first used for burial purposes shortly after the date of the conveyance for parish uses. The oldest inscription found bears date of 1741. Previously all the interments for the town of Lynn had been made in the old ground at the westerly end of Lynn Common.

The town of Saugus, or what is now so called, was made a separate parish January 27, 1749-50, and set off from Lynn and incorporated as a town February 17, 1815.

There is but one other Cemetery in the town, and this is situated southerly from the railroad station, on the way to East Saugus. It is the one now in common use.

Young men too must die.

Sacred to the memory of Lemuel Allen, only son of Mr. Lemuel & Mrs. Mary Allen, who died Sept. 22, 1793, Æt. 17 years.

The dear delights we here enjoy
We fondly call our own,
Are but short favors borrowed now
To be repaid again.

Charles F. Alden, died Aug. 14, 1848, aged 22 yrs. & 7 mos.

George W. Alden, Co. C, 35th Mass. Regt., killed at battle of Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862, aged 34 years.

He early called, tho' hearts were riven
And fond hopes torn away :
He had his place prepared in heaven
And might no longer stay.
In heaven we meet him—not as here
Where sin and sorrow reign :
There—where are smiles without a tear,
There shall we meet again.

Ruth, wife of John H. Alden, died Oct. 20, 1852, aged 29 years.

Betsey, wife of John Alden, died Jan. 17, 1871, aged 4 years, 4 mos.

Joseph W., died Sept. 20, 1835, æ. 4 yrs. 5 mos.
 Merinda Ann, died Mch. 24, 1837, æ. 2 yrs. 2 days.
 Children of John & Elizabeth Alden.

In memory of Mrs. Mary M. Brackett, wife of Mr.
 Rufus Brackett, who died July 1, 1814, Æt. 21.

Consuming sickness spoiled her lovely form,
 And death resign'd her to the kindred worm.
 The day approaches when the Saints shall rise
 In glorious triumph and ascend the skies.

In memory of Miss Hannah, daughter of Mr. John &
 Mrs. Jane Ballard who died Nov. 2, 1826, Æt. 43 years.

I leave the world without a tear
 Save for the friends I hold so dear :
 To heal their sorrows, Lord, descend,
 And to the mourning prove a friend.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Mary Boardman, who
 died Sept. 14, 1805. Aged 73 years.

Our life is ever on the wing
 And death is ever nigh ;
 The moment when our lives begin,
 We all begin to die.

This humble monument is inscribed to the memory of
 a beloved father, a respected citizen & an honest man :
 Mr. Ezra Brown, who died Feby. 19th, 1829, Æ. 78 yrs.

He proved what virtue was & now his Lord
 Has shown to him how well he can reward.

In memory of Mary, wife of Ezra Brown, who died
 Sept. 6, 1849, æt. 86.

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Aaron Boardman, who
 died Nov. 11, 1799. Aged 74 years.

The waves of trouble, how they rise,
 How loud the tempests roar :
 But death shall land our weary souls
 Safe on the heavenly shore.

Mr. John Burrage Boardman, died April 24, 1803,
Ætat. 23.

When blooming youth is snatched away
By death's resistless hand,
Our hearts the mournful tribute pay
What pity must demand.

Here lyes buried ye body of Mr. William Bordman
who departed this life Oct. y^e 10 A. D. 1753, in y^e 68th
year of his age.

In memory of William Boardman who died Nov. 6,
1847. aged 75 yrs & 6 mos.

Cut down & withered in an hour
Thy soul has fled to worlds above.
Beneath this stone in death's embrace
Thy body finds a resting place.

In memory of Mr. Ebenezer Boardman, who died Oct.
25, 1845. aged 35 years.

O monster death, why hast thou called away
A brother and a son from life's glad day?
In vain we ask, but hope points us above
Where we shall share with him God's endless love.

In memory of Mr. Samuel Briden who died March 9,
1810. aged 65 years.

Andrew W. son of Andrew & Sarah B. Buzzell died
May 25, 1842. Aged 2 years, 8 mos & 12 days.

In memory of Miss Mary Brown who died July 14,
1841. aged 74 years.

'Tis finished : the conflict is past
The immortal spirit is fled :
Her work is accomplished at last,
And now she's entombed with the dead.

In memory of Nancy wife of James Breirley, died May

3, 1836 aged 43 years. Also Alice their daughter, died Aug. 28, 1841 aged 28 years.

James Breirley died June 17, 1867. Æt. 73 yrs.

In memory of Nancy Copp, wife of Samuel Copp, Obt. June 10th, 1805. Æt. 20.

Adieu! thou dear departed soul,
Thou go'st from hence to Christ above,
There to partake of endless bliss
And celebrate redeeming love.
We mourn thy sudden, swift remove
From each and all enjoyment here;
When Christ commands we must obey
Without a murmur or a tear.

Sacred to the memory of David Capen, who died Feby. 2, 1850. Æt. 68.

Sacred to the memory of Lucy wife of David Capen who died June 26, 1847. Æt. 70.

In memory of Thomas G. Capen, son of David and Lucy Capen, who died July 3, 1836. Æt. 27.

Yes, thou hast gone! we feel thy loss
But know that this is gain to thee:
For earth indeed was counted dross
Compar'd with Heaven eternally.

Thomas G. Capen, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Capen, died Sept. 18, 1837, æt. 15 ms.

In memory of Miss Ruth Coats, ob. Sept. 11, 1800, aged 20 years.

Farewell, bright soul, a short farewell,
Till we shall meet again above,
In the sweet groves where pleasures dwell
And trees of life bear fruits of love.

In memory of Philena Clarke, dau. of David and Harriet Atherton, died March 18, 1839, aged 3 months & 6 days.

Sleep on dear babe and take thy rest
God called thee home, he thought it best.

Erected to the memory of Abner Cheever, Esq., ætat. 72. Died April 22, 1796.

Zelute B. Cheever, died May 11, 1873, Æt. 76 years, 7 mos.

Nearer my God to thee
Nearer to Thee.

Sacred to the memory of Ezekiel Cheever, who died April 23, 1810, Æt. 43.

Hark! he bids all his friends adieu,
Some angel calls him to the spheres;
Our eyes the radiant soul pursue
Through liquid telescopes of tears.

Rachel Cheever, wife of Ezekiel Cheever, died March 31, 1855, aged 82 years.

Mother, we bid thee an affectionate earthly farewell.

In memory of Miss Rachel Cheever, who died April 8, 1818, aged 20 years.

Thy sister shall rise again.

In memory of Miss Lydia Danforth, daughter of Mr. Joseph and Mrs. Lydia Danforth, who died Nov. 3^d, 1805, in the 21st year of her age.

In memory of Mr. Abijah Draper, who died Dec. 21, 1828. Æt. 25. And by his side an Infant son who died April 24, 1829. Æt. 5 months.

His works are ended and he rewarded.

In memory of Samuel Worcester, son of Mr. Joseph

and Mrs. Sally Dampney : who died July 22, 1823. Æt. 1 year, 10 mos. and 2 days.

Sleep on sweet babe and take thy rest,
God called thee home, he thought it best.

In memory of Joshua Danforth who died Feby. 3, 1834, in the 80th year of his age. A soldier of the Revolution.

My children dear this place draw near
A father's grave to see :
Not long ago I was with you,
And soon you'll be with me.

In memory of Lydia widow of Joshua Danforth, who died May 8, 1845, aged 82 years.

Earth with all thy loveliness,
Friends, connections, all farewell ;
Lovelier beauties, dearer friends
In my Father's mansions dwell.

Sacred to the memory of Hannah wife of Thomas Felton, who died Aug. 19, 1838. Aged 39 years.

Lord, she was thine if not my own,
Thou hast not done me wrong :
I thank thee for the precious loan
Afforded me so long.
Go mourning friends, dry up thy tears,
No cause of grief is needful here :
There's naught but dust beneath this sod,
The soul we trust is with its God.

In memory of Miss Mary Floyd, daughter of Mr. Daniel and Mrs. Mary Floyd, who departed this life Oct. 27th, 1805, aged 20 years.

Friends nor physicians could not save
My mortal Body from the grave ;
Nor shall the Grave confine me here
When my dear Savior shall appear.

In memory of Mr. Thomas Floyd, died Sept. 17, 1839.

Æ. 61. Also, Mrs. Sarah his wife, died Feb. 4, 1844 Æ. 61.

"It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good."

In memory of Noah Fernald, who died April 9, 1831, aged 37 years.

Also, Lydia S. wife of Noah Fernald, died Dec. 27, 1842, Aged 52 years.

Angelina Fernald, died July 23, 1835. Aged 13 years.

Monument in an inclosure with "Feltons, 1850," on fence.

Cornelius Conway Felton, died July 23, 1849, aged 65 years.

Mrs. Anna Morse Felton, died Dec. 27, 1824, aged 42 years.

John Brooks Felton, died April 24, 1826, aged 6 years.

Anna Morse Felton, died Feby. 27, 1832, aged 14½ yrs.

George Edwin Felton, died May 8, 1834, aged 3 yrs.

Mrs. Lucy Torrey Felton, died Nov. 25, 1835, aged 41 yrs.

"A new world has begun."

In memory of Mary Brackett daughter of Joseph G. and Mrs. Hannah Goldthwait, who died Nov. 2, 1828. Act. 1 year and 4 mos.

In memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Grover, who departed this life Dec. 16, 1837, in the 61st year of her age.

Sleep on dear friend, thy work is done
God called thee home, thy victory's won.

The wife of Mr. Asa Grover.

In memory of Miss Mehitable, daughter of Asa and Elizabeth Grover, died Dec. 10, 1840, in the 45 year of her age.

(Double Stone.)

In memory of Abigail Hitchings, who died Feb. 28, 1819, aged 82 years.

Nathan Hitchings, who died, Oct. 23, 1821, aged 82 years. A revolutionary soldier.

In memory of Edward Hone, who died Oct. 23, 1846, aged 76 years and 6 mos.

Tis but a few whose days amount
To threescore years and ten;
And all beyond that short account
Is sorrow, toil and pain.

Lydia, widow of Edward Hone, died Feby. 6, 1857. aged 79 years & 3 mos.

Mother, dear mother what words in our ear:
It is useless to call them, thou canst not be here,
Alas, thou hast left us, we cannot tell why,
For a world that is better, above in the sky.

How oft do we think of thy looks and thy form,
And a voice that has kept us from danger and harm;
The hand that has helped us thro' sickness and pain;
But thy face dearest mother, we can neer see again.

This humble stone is erected in memory of Mrs. Lydia Howard, wife of Mr. Nathaniel Howard, who died Dec. 1, 1801, aged 25 years.¹

Mr. Asahel Hitchings, died Oct. 19, 1853, aged 76 years.

Mrs. Eunice Hawks, died April 26, 1853, aged 87 years.

¹ Verses illegible.

Daniel Hawkes, died May 13, 1847, aged 69 years.

We laid you in the grave Father,
Away from every care :
May your silent rest be peaceful
As you slumber, loved one, there.

Rachel, wife of Daniel Hawkes, died Jany. 29, 1863,
aged 77 years, 9 mos.

Though silent in death
She speaks to us yet ;
Our mother in heaven
We never forget.

In memory of Nathan Hawkes, who died Oct. 17, 1824,
aged 79 years.

"Neither can they die any more, for they are equal unto the angels :
and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection."

In memory of Sarah, wife of Nathan Hawkes, who died
Dec. 19. 1837, aged 87 years.

"Marvel not at this for the day is coming in the which all that are
in the grave shall hear his voice."

Sacred to the memory of Miss Rachel Hawkes, who
died April 22, 1833, aged 25 years.

Tho' cold in dust the perished heart may lie,
The spark that warmed it once shall never die :
That shall resist the triumph of decay
When time is o'er and worlds have passed away.

Sacred to the memory of James Howlett, who died Sept.
19, 1835, aged 62 years.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Howlett, who
died Aug. 1, 1843, aged 64 years.

Here lyes Buried y^e Body of Deacon Joseph Hauen
who departed this life March 14th Anno Domⁿⁱ 1749, in y^e
69th year of his age.

Here lyes buried y^e body of Mr. Samuel Jencks who died March 16 A. D. 1745, aged 58 years, 4 mos. & 4 days.

Sacred to the memory of a much beloved friend Capt. Richard Mansfield, who died May 4th 1824, aged 51 years.

Peaceful his dust in slumbers blest,
Angels protect till time shall end;
Then waken'd from its hallow'd rest,
With Christ to glory shall assend.

In memory of Mrs. Lydia, wife of Mr. Richard Mansfield, who died Oct^r. 2^d, 1810. Aet. 33.

Taught in the school of Christ, with humble mind
She breath'd her last and left the world resign'd:
'Tis his to call our relatives away,
Tis ours in sweet submission to obey.

Also, her child,
Lydia Mansfield, died July 24, 1810, aged 21 days.

Our Mother.

Sacred to the memory of Sarah, wife of Richard Mansfield, who died Dec. 30, 1816. Aged 29 years.

Jane, wife of John Putnam, died Oct. 24, 1837, aged 48 years.¹

In early life deprived of the care of a kind and exemplary mother, the surviving children erect this monument to perpetuate her endeared memory.

¹*Lydia*, 1st wife of Richard Mansfield (Richard, Robert, Joseph, Joseph, Robert) was dau. of Samuel Mansfield (Thomas, Daniel, Daniel, Andrew, Robert) and wife Rachel (Roby) of Saugus.

Sally, 2d wife was widow of—Parker and dau. of—Pearson of Saugus.

Jane, 3d wife, was widow of Isaac Lewis and dau. of David Tafts of Lynn by his 1st wife. After the death of her husband Richard Mansfield she md. John Putnam of Saugus.

Mary Jane Lewis who is buried beside her was her daughter by her first husband.

In memory of Mary Jane Lewis, died Sept. 18, 1825,
aged 17 years.

She sleeps upon the bosom of her God, and in another and better
world will awake in joy and bliss eternal.

(Double Stone.)

In memory of two children of Richard and Lydia Mans-
field. Lydia, died May 7, 1807, aged 13 months. Al-
so, Lydia, died, May 8, 1808, aged 3 days.

Ere sin could blight or sorrow fade,
Death came with friendly care;
The opening buds to Heaven convey'd,
And bid them blossom there

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Samuel Mansfield obt.
Mar. 1st. 1809. Aet. 59.

"I must go to him, but he will not return to me."

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Rachel, consort of Mr.
Saml. Mansfield, obt. May 21st 1809. Aet. 55.

"It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good."

In memory of Joseph Mansfield, died Feby. 16, 1838,
aged 48 years.

O death thou hast conquer'd me
I by thy dart am slain;
But Christ will conquer thee
And I shall rise again.

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Thomas Mansfield, who
died July 17, 1821. Aet. 60.

"But tho' his breathless body lies
Consign'd to dust and food for worms
Yet Christ shall call him to the skies
All glorious in celestial form."

In memory of Mrs. Hannah Mansfield, widow of Thomas Mansfield, who died Nov. 28, 1832, æ. 75.

“Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.”
Matt. 5 : 8.

Sacred to the memory of Eliz. Mansfield, daughter of Thomas & Hannah Mansfield, obt. April 12, 1802. Aet. 3.

Alas, alas, our lovely daughter's gone
And left her parents in grief to mourn :
May we her parents to God's will resign
Wish not to call her back to life again.

In memory of Thomas Mansfield who died March 12, 1844, Æ. 57.

I am the resurrection and the life. John 2 : 25.

Betsey Mansfield wife of Thomas Mansfield, died March 16, 1862, Æ. 79.

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Moses Mansfield, who departed this life July 29, 1806. Æ. 32.

Life how vain ! death how solemn !
Eternity, how real ! Religion, how important !
Think on these things !

In memory of Nathaniel Mansfield, who died May 18, 1842, aged 75 years.

In memory of Elizabeth, wife of Nathaniel Mansfield, who died Mch. 10, 1851, aged 85 years.

Mr. Amos Mansfield Jr. died June 19, 1846, aged 38 years.

Long shall thy memory be revered
By one who knew thy worth ;
By her to whom thou wast endeared
By strongest ties on earth.

Sarah Salinda, only child of Amos and Sarah Mansfield, died Sept. 25, 1843, aged 4 years & 5 mos.

In the cold moist earth we laid her
 When the forest cast the leaf,
 And we weep that one so lovely
 Should have a life so brief.

(*Monument.*)

(*West side.*)

Landlord Jacob Newhall born May 3, 1740. died June 18, 1816.

Elizabeth, his wife, died Jany. 8, 1799, aged 55 yrs.

Jacob Newhall, died June 18, 1816, aged 75.

"Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord: for they rest from their labors and their works do follow them."

In memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Newhall, consort of Mr. Jacob Newhall, who died Jan. 8, 1799, aged 55 years.

Removed from all the pains and cares of life
 Here rests the pleasing friend and faithful wife:
 Ennobled by the virtues of her mind
 Constant to goodness and in death resigned;
 Sure in the silent sabbath of the grave,
 To taste that tranquil peace she always gave.

In memory of Miss Sarah Newhall, daughter of Mr. Jacob and Mrs. Elizabeth Newhall, who died Oct. 25, 1792, in the 16th year of her age.

Dear child, enjoy your pleasant rest,
 Your early call God knows is best;
 We'll wipe our tears: our eyes be dry;
 We learn from these we all must die.

In memory of Lucy Newhall, daughter of Mr. Jacob and Mrs. Elizabeth Newhall, who died Nov. 1, 1795, aged 14.

Sweet soul we leave thee to thy rest
 Enjoy thy Jesus and thy God:
 Till we from bonds of clay released
 Fly out and climb the shining road.

In memory of Miss Lydia Newhall, who died Apr. 25, 1800, aged 21 years.

Death is a debt to nature due,
I've paid the debt and so must you.

In memory of William Newhall, who died April 7, 1808, æ. 40.

In memory of Mrs. Susannah Newhall, consort of William Newhall, who died June 19, 1809, aged 41.

In memory of Sarah Newhall, daughter of William and Susannah Newhall, who died June 29, 1795, aged 3 mos. 6 days.

Babes thither caught from womb and breast
Claim a right to sing above the rest;
Because they found that happy shore
They never saw nor sought before.

In memory of Elizabeth Newhall, daughter of William and Susannah Newhall, ob. June 23, 1803, aged 2 yrs and 6 weeks.

So fades the lovely blooming flower,
Frail, smiling solace of an hour:
So soon our transient comforts fly,
And pleasure only blooms to die.

(Newhall Lot, enclosed with stone.)

Our father, Jacob Newhall, born, Nov. 1, 1780, died Jany. 1, 1847, aged 66.

Our mother, Abigail Newhall, born, Sept. 25, 1778, died, Oct. 14, 1852, aged 74 yrs.

Our sister Betsey M. Newhall, daughter of Jacob and Abigail Newhall, born May 12, 1812, died Jany. 29, 1859.

In memory of William M. Newhall, son of Jacob and Abigail Newhall, ob. Dec. 20, 1804, aged 10 mos.

There rest in peace, thou lovely babe,
 There sleep in sweet repose :
 And tho' thou molder with the dust
 Thou'rt fairer than the rose.

In memory of Joseph Newhall, ob. Oct. 7, 1804, aged 21.

And, should thou live the life he lived
 And die his virtuous death,
 Thou'lt feel his pleasures, join his praise
 With sweet celestial breath.

Susannah wife of Jacob Newhall, died Aug. 27, 1855,
 Aet. 85.

"She is not dead, but sleepeth."

In memory of two children of Mr. Jacob Newhall and Susan his wife, viz :—

Sarah, died Sept. 16, 1808, aged 20 mos.

Charles, died Jany. 30, 1811, aged 5 mos.

Happy infants, early blest,
 Rest in peaceful slumbers, rest.

Mrs. Rebecca Oliver, wife of Mr. James Oliver, died
 Apl. 22, 1824. Aet. 56.

Sleep, till he who came to save
 Shall recall thee from the grave :
 Sleep, till that eternal day,
 Wipe our tears, our griefs away.

Jane, wife of John Putnam.¹

Jane C. died Jan. 25, 1819, aged 3 years.

Luther and Lucius, aged 1 year & 1 month, children
 of Timothy and Catharine Parker.

Suffer little children to come unto me.

¹ See note to Rich^d. Mansfield.

Timothy Parker died Feb. 13, 1833, aged 42 years.

Catharine his wife died Feb. 10, 1855, aged 63 years
• & 7 mos.

Lydia Parker, died June 5, 1838, aged 11 years.

They are not dead, but sleeping.

In memory of Caroline Matilda, daughter of Mr. Samuel & Mrs. Pamela Parker, who died Sept. 14, 1830.
Aet. 14 months.

The lovely child so young and fair
Call'd home at early noon:
Just come to show how sweet a flower
In paradise might bloom.

Charles Everett, died June 21, 1831, aged 3 mos. &
14 ds.

George Franklin, died Aug. 12, 1833, aged 16 months,
children of Samuel & Pamela Parker.

Sleep on sweet babes & take your rest
Your parents tears bedew your sod;
And early flowers shall deck your grave
While Angels bear you home to God.

In memory of Pamela Pearson, who died Oct. 22, 1846,
Aet. 61.

In memory of Samuel Pearson who died March 7, 1835,
Aet. 90.

In memory of Kesiah, wife of Samuel Pearson, who
died, Oct. 7, 1831, Aet. 74.

[To be continued.]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CURIOUS MEMORIAL OF A GLOUCESTER PARSON.

Glocester. April 12—1813

A Memorial

In the Year 1770 I was Ordained; the stipulated sum for my Support was seventy Pound, to be paid yearly, much lower than that of my neighbor's in the Ministry, I then wish'd & now do, that the peaching of the Gosple might not be considered as a burden.

Our blessed Saviour observed, the Gosple is preached to the Poor, & that the Poor we should alway have with us—in 1775 our revolutionary War commenced; the circulating Medium depreciated in a very great degree; my Family was large.

I asked not to have my Salery made up to me, upon the Scale, but have Yearly receipted in full for it.

Whereas the Times are distressing we live in; the Parish is in the Rears as to what is due to me—I do volenterly relinquish my Salery for the year 1813—Also all my Right & title to a parsonage Wood Lot, bordering upon Kettle-Cove.

And wish to purchase a small Peice of the other Parsonage—Wishing union, grace, mercy, & love may be established amongst us

And remain Your Hum' Servant
in y^e Lord

DANIEL FULLER Clerk.

—Endorsed—

"To the Parish Clark to be communicated."

A NOTE ON WENHAM LAKE.

THE late Dr. Rufus Anderson, for many years the distinguished Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, passed his boyhood in Wenham, where his father, who bore the same name, was the village pastor from 1805 to 1814 [Hist. Coll., Essex Institute, Vol. xv, p. 38]. It appears from Thompson's Memorial discourse preached at his death that on sitting down, Nov. 3, 1854, to his first meal amidst the tropic heat of Bombay, whither he had journeyed in his official tour round the world, he was refreshed with water tempered with Wenham Lake ice, so rapidly did this modern luxury find its way to the last confines of the golden east.¹

The majestic old elm, once visible from all parts of the lake,—the last landmark which fixed the spot where lived and died that interesting character known as "Pond John" or "Master John" Dodge [Hist. Coll. Essex Institute, Vol. vi, p. 149], succumbed to age and the axe in 1882. The old house had disappeared before, and the elements,

¹ "*Divitis Indiæ, usque ad ultimum Sinum.*"—City seal of Salem.

jealous of all longevity except their own, have made haste to obliterate, with some aid from the plough and harrow, perhaps, every trace of the cellar-wall, so that the ancestral domicile of the childless old hermit is to the eye of coming generations as though it had never been. For of well or well-curb he had no need, seeing that nature had spread out this beautiful expanse of lake before him for his reservoir and fountain, and so, when the house fell, its cellar stone-work remained its only memorial.

This "Pond John" Dodge told the Rev. Charles Babbage, (S.T.D. Harv. Coll. 1828), that he well remembered sitting on the knee of General Thomas Gage when that officer was acting as Royal Governor of the Province. The Governor had his headquarters at the Collins House and used to come across the pond in a pleasure-barge with which he amused himself and his friends in hours of leisure. This should have been between May 13 and September 5, 1774, and Governor Gage, though keeping state in the house built by "King Hooper" twenty years before and loaned him by Judge Collins, while two companies of the 64th regiment of the line were encamped as a body-guard on his grounds, and the Provincial Legislature in spite of him sat at Salem Court House and shut its doors with a slam in face of his royal missives,—though all this is true there is evidence beside that of "Master John" that the British soldier was untiring in his efforts to make himself and his obnoxious rule as little offensive as might be in a social way, and no doubt while waiting for his misguided wards, as he supposed, to come to their senses, he had ample time for flitting about the beautiful lake in his pleasure-barge and taking on his knees and amusing with old world stories, if not cajoling with sweetmeats, the quick-minded children of the neighboring farmers.

The site of Hugh Peter's Pulpit, so-called, offered in 1835 by the Town of Wenham to the First Church in Salem, on condition that a monument commemorating their martyred pastor be erected there, and afterwards reduced to make way for the building of ice-houses and the final resting-place of the desanctuarized village church, is once more unoccupied, having been made vacant by fire. The regrets heretofore expressed at the neglect to mark this historic spot in the past, might now take shape in some simple memorial, which would be all the more interesting from the fact that we have preserved to us the skeleton of the church in which Hugh Peter preached, and are in a fair way to unearth the elder Disraeli's vindication of his course after his return to England, never yet in print, and highly commended by that author's more famous son, the first Earl of Beaconsfield.



Cleopatra's Barge of Salem



CLEOPATRA'S BARGE OF SALEM

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

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AN ACCOUNT
OF
THE YACHT "CLEOPATRA'S BARGE."

[Read before the Essex Institute at Salem, June 4, 1888.]

BY BENJ. W. CROWNINSHIELD.

SEVENTY-TWO years ago this very month the yacht Cleopatra's Barge was being built in Salem. Many of you now listening to me were then alive and some will remember seeing the yacht. But those who did were so young at the time that their recollection can hardly be separated from tradition, otherwise I should not dare come before you and speak of her.

I possess all of the official papers of the vessel, viz., the log-book, letter books, journal kept by the clerk, Capt. Samuel Curwen Ward, written in his beautiful hand-writing and illustrated with water-color drawings. I have also not only copies of all the letters of introduction given Capt. George Crowninshield, but many of the originals, and all of the letters he wrote from the vessel to his family. A passenger, Benjamin Crowninshield, junior, commonly known as "Philosopher Ben," kept a very elaborate private jour-

nal not intended for other eyes than his own, from which another view of the voyage is obtained. As he quarrelled with Capt. Ward and with the owner, and as he had the *cacoëthes scribendi* strongly developed, I have obtained by reading his account of the voyage, alongside of the other journal, a very vivid picture of the cruise of the yacht and certainly one that cannot be gainsaid.

The Cleopatra's Barge was not, as has frequently been stated, the first yacht built in America. Captain George had built in 1801 by Christopher Turner, in Salem, a sloop which he christened the "Jefferson," and which he used as a yacht for many years.* She was of twenty-two tons, was a good sailer, was made a privateer in 1812,—the second vessel commissioned as a privateer. She made one only voyage, Capt. John Kehew, in July, 1812, taking three prizes, sending to Salem the second prize of the war, schooner "Nymph." She was too small for such work, carrying a crew of thirty, and remained the property of the firm until it was dissolved in 1815. Then, as a part of the estate of old George, she was sold in 1815, after his death, for a fishing vessel to Gloucester. She belonged at one time to Capt. John Crowninshield Very, and later to Caleb Johnson of Nahant. One of his sons tells me that his father owned her a long time, when she was again sold. He thinks she may be in existence yet as she was very strongly built. In the account of Nahant, in the new Essex County History, it is stated that she was broken up at Lynn, but it was probably not so.

It was fifteen years after the Jefferson was built, that the Cleopatra's Barge was commenced. And again after the barge had finished her career as a yacht and was sold for a merchantman in 1818, fifteen years more before

*See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. VI, p. 137; also Vol. VII, p. 213.

another yacht appeared in the waters of Massachusetts Bay.

The name "Cleopatra's Barge" sounds strangely to-day as applied to a yacht; but what would be thought of the name at first given her,—“Car of Concordia?” Fortunately this name was never painted on her stern, the former being substituted for it in December, 1816.

Capt. Benj. Crowninshield commences his log Jan. 23, 1817, probably the day he took command. Among the stores for the cabin was a barrel of mince meat prepared expressly by Mrs. Smith, a cousin of the owner. This barrel of toothsome sweetness made the voyage, and enough came home to be made into at least one regulation mince pie as is still remembered by a good lady of Salem who recalls eating a piece of it.

Various articles of furniture are treasured as heirlooms in the family, particularly the silver ware. Mrs. Henry Saltonstall possesses a tea urn, spoons, a pitcher, and a bed from one of the state rooms. Colonel Caspar Crowninshield has a silver pitcher. Mrs. Nathaniel Silsbee, has a cream pitcher, a flag (probably for a small boat), and two pictures of the yacht, showing the different paintings of her two sides, painted in Genoa. Miss Mary R. Crowninshield, of Charlestown, has various articles of silver ware, the snuff box and lock of hair of Napoleon. Mrs. John Sherman of Boston has a portrait of Napoleon and the yacht's journal illustrated. Mrs. William Eliot Sparks, of Taunton, has another snuff box and lock of hair (probably half of the original lock). Mr. B. W. Crowninshield, of Marblehead, has the log-book, letter books, Napoleon's boots and one of the cabin sofas; and Mr. John C. Crowninshield, of Andover,* has a portrait of George Crowninshield, one of

* See his letter to the E. I. M. Soc., in the Salem Observer of December 22, 1888.

Capt. Benjamin Crowninshield, a pair of compasses (as they called dividers), and also a parallel ruler used in her construction by Retire Becket.

The Cleopatra's Barge was built for a gentleman whose whole life and experience had been passed in commercial pursuits, who was himself an accomplished sailor, familiar with every part of a vessel's hull and every rope and sail of her rig. Besides his knowledge and experience, he possessed also a fastidious taste in all things and particularly in everything relating to a ship. He therefore added to the experience and skill of the best known ship builder of that time, Mr. Retire Becket of Salem (who had built the most successful of the commercial fleet of that town), the exacting demand of an accomplished yachtsman and sailor. Here in the first large yacht built we find the same combination which produced the famous sloops Puritan, Mayflower and Volunteer of the past few years. The vessel was of course built for a different purpose. In 1816, there was no yacht to race with and the vessel was built to be not only a yacht to go on a tour of pleasure, but also as a home for its owner. Captain George Crowninshield, from the day the vessel was launched, made her his home and he intended to pass all his time on her, and actually did so until his death the following year.

It will be interesting to give a slight sketch of this man who was an eccentric and peculiar individual, and to show how his peculiar education and experience made his yacht what it was. A silhouette likeness of him illustrates this article.

He was born in Salem in 1766, and was educated with his five brothers (of whom he was the eldest) by his father, to be a merchant. A mercantile education in those days was something very different from what it is to-day; in fact the old race of merchants may be said to have died

out. Captain George Crowninshield's father and grandfather both were merchants of Salem, doing a large business, which developed very rapidly, owing to the opening of the East India and China business from 1785 down; and it was precisely at this time that these children became old enough to enter into this business. The old gentleman, a man of remarkable character, determined that his sons should thoroughly understand all that pertained to commerce from common sailor up to captain of a ship, and afterwards should learn everything relating to the counting house and management of a large mercantile business. When little boys they were all sent to a common school, and about their eleventh year began their first particular study which should develop them as sailors and ship captains. To be a sailor and ship captain was the first step towards becoming a successful merchant. At that time most merchants owned their own vessels and many of them not only owned them, but built them; and nobody was thought fit to be a merchant who had not gone to sea and worked his way up, in nautical expression, from the hawse hole to the quarter deck. And the quarter deck was considered a stepping-stone to the counting room. These boys studied their navigation as little chaps of twelve years old and were required to thoroughly master the subject before being sent to sea. It was common in those days to pursue their studies by much writing out of problems (and boys kept the books until full). Many of these books are in existence to-day and are a written record of the education of the boys. Several such are among our family records and are interesting in the extreme, beautifully written, without blots or dog's ears, and all the problems of navigation, as practised then, are drawn out in a neat and in many cases a remarkably handsome manner. The designing of vessels was also

studied and the general principles of construction mastered. Even the nautical instruments are drawn out; and as a *chef d'œuvre* occupying a full page is the mariner's compass done in colors and with much ornamentation. To-day at Washington, in the library of the State Department, one is shown such books written out by George Washington, which are a monument of his education as a surveyor. They are very beautifully done, neat and handsome. I was surprised at seeing books done by some of these Salem boys when studying navigation, all of them nearly as well done as George Washington's, and one in particular, done by a young girl which I think exceeded that of him who, we are told, was "first" in almost everything.

As soon as the theory of navigation was mastered, these youngsters were sent to sea sometimes as common sailors, but commonly as captain's clerk, in which position they were enabled to learn everything about the management of a ship without being actually a common sailor. I find on looking over the family records that the youngest of these six sons, Edward, on his first voyage to the West Indies in one of Mr. William Gray's ships, died at Guadaloupe aged only fourteen years, as ship's clerk. Fourteen years old to-day does not suggest to us a proper age for sending a boy to sea. Some boys of that age are hardly allowed to be on the street without somebody to look after them. But I fancy that those boys brought up to hear of the sending to sea of one ship,—the arrival of another, and listening to all the details of voyages with their many interesting particulars of shipwrecks,—battles with pirates or even war vessels, for in those days vessels went to sea fully armed and prepared for fighting as well as for commerce,—all these things must have inspired the boys with a desire to go and do likewise. And they were

probably glad and eager to go to sea when mere boys. Mercantile pursuits to-day are carried on in an office in the centre of the city, and a merchant is surrounded by very different scenes from those of the past generations. He may carry on a large business without ever seeing the goods he deals in. All buying and selling is now done through brokers, and his office usually gives little or no indication of his business. What could more stimulate the imagination of a boy than the ordinary routine of commerce then? Counting rooms then were in buildings on a wharf. From the windows of the counting room could be seen the ships of the firm alongside the wharf. Some ships were getting ready for sea, and others unloading the various products of the East. Storehouses full of these products were on the wharf, and a merchant was necessarily familiar with all his goods, the very names of which to-day are strange, if not unknown. The very atmosphere was spicy with the productions of the East,—each vessel brought curious things from all parts of the world, even curious animals. The brother of Captain George brought to New York in 1796, in the ship "America," the first elephant which came to this country. He, then in command of that ship, was only twenty-six years old. Almost all of these boys, even the youngest, were old enough to recollect the closing years of the Revolutionary War in which Salem was conspicuous for helping with her privateers. Frequently, a vessel would leave Salem for the East Indies and nothing would be heard of her until she would arrive again in Salem after an absence of sometimes nearly two years. The vessels sometimes would not come directly home, but go to some French or Mediterranean port, dispose of the eastern cargo and take in another. Can it then be wondered at that these youngsters at a very early age became captains of vessels entrusted with a cargo of

great value? It is a fact that of the five remaining brothers, all commanded vessels before they were twenty years old; and, at one time, all six of the brothers were absent, all except the youngest (whose death I have just mentioned), in command of ships and three of them in command of ships in the East Indies. In order to pursue such a voyage the vessel would usually sail for the East Indies loaded with ballast and with Mexican silver dollars in kegs or boxes with which to buy the cargo, of pepper, tea or coffee, to bring home. In order to fit out a vessel for such a voyage, not the easiest part of it was a letter of instruction, usually an elaborate affair, which was prepared in the counting room and which had to be carefully considered by all the partners and in which, besides the ordinary risks of the sea and markets, were also to be considered foreign wars, which might break out after the ship got to her port in the East. These young men made enough voyages as supercargo and captain to thoroughly understand all that related to the sailing of the vessel, its cargo to be bought and sold, foreign governments, moneys, weights, measures, the products of all the different countries to which the vessel should go. All of these things were included in the accomplishments which made the successful shipmaster. Only after all these things were mastered would the young man be taken into the counting house and made a partner in the business. Seldom would such a man again go to sea, unless impelled by a peculiar love for sea, ships and sailors.

Captain George, after making the desired number of voyages, developed a peculiar taste for the sailing of vessels and was considered in Salem to have a remarkable eye for everything pertaining to the building and fitting out of ships, and his particular duty in the firm, at that time doing a very large business, became the building and fit-

ting out of the vessels. He was a short man ; five feet six inches in height, remarkably robust and strong, and was considered to be very bold and courageous. He was very fond not only of ships but of sailors. No man was better known among all the ship captains of Massachusetts than he was.

Very soon after going into the counting house in Salem, he built the little sloop Jefferson which he used as a yacht. Although the rig of a sloop is a pretty simple affair, yet he had on her many contrivances of his own and it used to be his pleasure to sail about in Massachusetts Bay with his friends. But particularly after a severe storm he would go out in this yacht taking with him extra men and extra stores for the purpose of rendering assistance to vessels which might have been disabled. Such duty is now done by revenue cutters. To him this was an exceeding pleasure. One would not associate with such a man the idea of fastidious elegance in dress and belongings. But Captain George was a great "swell" and dandy. His clothes were of the latest and most advanced pattern. He dressed in small clothes and Hessian boots with gold tassels. His coat was wonderful in cloth, pattern, trimmings and buttons, and his waistcoat was a work of art. Dandies were known by their waistcoats in those days.* He wore a pig-tail, and on top of all a bell crowned beaver hat,—not what is called a beaver to-day made of silk, but a hat made of beaver skin shaggy like a terrier dog. He was accustomed to drive about with a remarkable equipage which was one of the wonders of Salem, a curricule painted yellow. A curricule is a two-wheeled vehicle hung upon C springs

* " The collar of his coat was high !
His waistcoat rolled, a wide expanse !
To wear two vests, in days gone by,
Was no uncommon circumstance."

with a pole to which a pair of horses are harnessed. When Captain George drove abroad in his yellow curricie, everybody stopped in the streets and the children ran out of the houses to look at it. He was very fond of children and delighted in driving them about and taking them on board the yacht while she was in Salem to show it to them.

When in Salem emergencies arose calling for a man of daring, Captain George was the one who was generally called to the front. Three times in his life he jumped overboard to rescue persons in danger of drowning, for one of which rescues he received the gold medal of the Massachusetts Humane Society. He was a skilled fireman in those days when all firemen were volunteers. He was known in that calling also for skill and daring and made some brave rescues from burning dwellings. When the frigate Constitution was chased into Marblehead by two British frigates, the "Tenedos" and the "Endymion," great was the excitement, for the frigate Constitution's crew was largely composed of Salem and Marblehead men. This happened Sunday morning, April 3, 1814. It is related that Parson William Bentley was preaching his sermon when he noticed that one after another of the men in the congregation (and the proportion of men to the whole congregation was larger than it is to-day) would rise and go out.* Seeing that something unusual had occurred the Parson beckoned up a member of the congregation from whom he learned the facts. He then stopped his sermon where it was, recited a short prayer and announced to the congregation that the frigate Constitution was chased into Marblehead by two British cruisers. The doctor added, "I don't know what the rest of you are going to do, but I am going to Marble-

*The East Meeting House, where Dr. Bentley preached, was on Essex street between Bentley and Hardy streets.

head." He went where Captain George already had gone with guns from the gunhouse in Salem. The gunhouse occupied the northeast corner of the common, where the fountain now stands. Being Sunday, the stage horses were having their "day off." The stable was on the right hand side of Union street from Essex and next to Union Building. Manning's stage horses were harnessed into the guns and took them to Marblehead, and it is said that Captain George rode over on one of the guns. In those days every town on the seacoast had its gunhouse and powder magazine. Both of these exist in Marblehead to-day.

On the first day of June, 1813, occurred the unfortunate battle between the Chesapeake and Shannon in Boston Bay in which, besides the loss of the frigate Chesapeake, most of her officers were killed and wounded and among them Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow. The captured vessel was taken to Halifax and the bodies of these officers with her, and they were there buried. Captain George Crowninshield chartered at his own expense the brig Henry and selected a crew of well known ship masters of Salem; and after procuring proper papers from Washington he sailed down to Halifax where he was well received and brought the bodies of Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow back to Salem. An old gentleman of Salem still recalls a thrashing he received at the hands of his Federalist father because he, as a boy, stole away to see the funeral procession of these heroes. It was a red letter day in Salem for the Republicans. Sidewalks and house-tops were black with spectators. Federalists refused the use of the North Church for the service and would not look at the procession, nor allow their children to do so. The service took place in the Howard Street Church, where a famous eulogy was pronounced by Judge Story.* The

*See Bulletin Essex Inst., Vol. XX, pp. 84-9; also, Felt's Annals, Vol. II, p. 340.

Essex Register of August 25, 1813, gives the "names of the gentlemen who so honorably volunteered their services with Captain Crowninshield to perform the voyage to Halifax in the *Henry*," as follows:—

"Capt. Holten J. Breed, Capt. Benjamin Upton, Capt. Jeduthan Upton, jr., Capt. John Sinclair, Capt. Samuel Briggs, Capt. Joseph L. Lee, Capt. Stephen Burchmore, Capt. Thomas Bowditch, and Mr. Thorndike Proctor."

Captain George Crowninshield was eminently a public spirited man.

In 1809, the firm of George Crowninshield & Sons, owing partly to the embargo which put an end to commerce for the time being, and partly to the death of his next younger brother Jacob, who had died the year before at Washington where as a member of Congress he had resided for eight years, was dissolved. Two of the other brothers retired, wishing to go into business on their own account; and from that time the firm consisted of his father and the two sons George and Benjamin. In 1814, his younger brother, Benjamin, was called to Washington by Mr. Madison to enter his cabinet as Secretary of the Navy, in which post he remained for four years. In the following June, 1815, old George Crowninshield, the father, died, aged eighty-two years, after a most active and eventful commercial life, being actively engaged in business up to within a month of his death. These events terminated the business of the firm, and George Crowninshield, at that time forty-nine years old, robust, full of energy, unmarried and possessed of a liberal fortune, determined to build a large yacht in which to visit foreign ports; and, being passionately fond of the sea and its belongings, he determined to make this vessel not only surpass everything previously built in all respects but serve as his home.

When the war of 1812 broke out, business in Salem, from being in a languishing condition, may be said to have

died. Some merchants, notably those who were democrats, changed their vessels into privateers. Geo. Crowninshield & Co's favorite ship, the *America*, six hundred tons, an exceedingly fast vessel, was changed into a privateer by cutting her down,—“razeeing” as it was called,—and increasing her sail plan, building higher bulwarks, etc. She was very successful in that capacity, and whether as merchant vessel or as privateer she was never in her career outsailed but once, and then only slightly by a much larger vessel, a forty-gun French man-of-war.

Captain George, whose pride and pet this vessel had been, took her as the model for his new yacht, and chose Mr. Retire Becket, or “Tyrey” Becket, as he was commonly called, as his builder.* The yacht was started in the spring of 1816 and launched Oct. 21, in the same year. It took some time to collect proper timber and the keel was not laid until the first of July. Meantime, however, the furniture was being made; her plate, glass and other furnishings were got ready, so that she might sail about Christmas time.

She was actually built south of Derby street and to the eastward of India—or Crowninshield's—wharf where the “*America*” and “*Fame*” had been constructed. Her reputation spread abroad, and before she was launched and while on the stocks people came from far and wide to see her as she grew under the builder's hands. In every respect she was a peculiar vessel, and in her hull and rigging nothing was spared to make her surpass everything that had preceded her. As there were no yachts in those times on whose rig and fittings she might be an improvement, her prototype came from among commercial vessels, but particularly from vessels of war and privateers. And in her appearance

* See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. VII, pp. 207-13; and Vol. VIII, pp. 139-44.

she looked much like a small man-of-war. While still on the stocks she was not only completely built, as to her hull, but her inside fittings and furniture were well along ; all her spars were on end, her yards crossed, her rigging set up. Also her sails were bent and all the running rigging rove so that, when she was launched and went into the water, she was completely ready for sea, except her heavy stores. It would have been possible even to put these on board and she might have sailed the day of her launch. It is customary now to finish the hull of a vessel and rig her after she has been launched, and sometimes the rigging and inside fitting of a vessel will occupy as much time as the building of the hull. Even the great attention of her owner did not prevent some delay in the cabin furnishing. It was finally completed Dec. 6, and after being shown to the family, was opened to the public at large. Captain George wrote that in one day one thousand and nine hundred ladies and seven hundred gentlemen came on board and that the visitors while the brig was in Salem averaged nine hundred each day. Many presents of ornaments and useful things were received from friends. Commodore Bainbridge sent a patent log suitably inscribed, and country people sent fruit and vegetables.

Captain George, during the building of the vessel, passed all his time in and about her. All of her fittings were made after his own designs and particularly in the rigging of the vessel was his individuality shown. He had on her a wheel of his own construction, and capstan made after his own ideas. The standing rigging was all set up in a different way from the customary one. On the deck of this yacht as a pendant to the capstan was a wooden statue of a North American Indian the size of life, splendid in war paint and feathers. When the vessel was afterwards on her cruise in the Mediterranean the sailors used to im-

pose upon the simple peasants by telling them that it was alive and introducing them to it. And while in Genoa the sailors noticing the many statues of saints in the churches, told the peasants that this was the statue of an American saint, and they would kneel to it and even kiss its feet. Some of the ropes about the quarter deck were served with velvet and some were of different colors. Everything above and below decks was not only peculiar but very elegant. The furniture and fittings of the cabin were in mahogany and bird's-eye maple, the furniture of the cabin being of the style known now as the "First Empire," with gilt bronze ornaments. In her cabin, which was nineteen feet by twenty, were two long sofas of mahogany and bird's-eye maple eleven feet in length. One of these to-day is in my house, and is considered not only a remarkable piece of furniture, but a very handsome one. The saloon had a chandelier, a side-board, two large mirrors with gilt eagles above, imitation windows and draperies, and the furniture was covered with red velvet and gold lace. She was fitted out with a complete and very large service of silver, and the china and glass were made for her. The staterooms were also elegantly fitted up. Some idea of this can be obtained from the fact that when after his death the vessel was sold by auction, the furniture removed from her was appraised in his estate at \$8000.

The vessel itself cost him \$50,000 and was sold by auction for \$15,000. The vessel was eighty-three feet long on the water line, twenty-two feet eleven and a half inches wide, and eleven feet five and a half inches in depth. Mr. Burgess assures me that these are almost precisely the dimensions of the famous sloop Mayflower, which was eighty-five feet long on the water line, twenty-three feet wide, and measured according to the plan in vogue then, would be about eleven feet in depth. She tonned one hundred

ninety-one and forty-one ninety-fifths, which Mr. Burgess tells me would be almost precisely the tonnage of the Mayflower measured in the same way.

No two yachts could well be more dissimilar in appearance than these two notwithstanding. The Cleopatra's Barge was painted in different patterns on her two sides; one side being painted in horizontal stripes of many colors, and the other side with a herring-bone pattern. She had a wide stern with little cabin windows opening out on it, a wooden figure head, and she was rigged as a hermaphrodite brig — that is, square rigged on the foremast and fore-and-aft on the mainmast. Although not intended as a racing vessel (what vessel is until she proves fast?) she was yet provided with every species of light sail known to those days, and with some which have become a curiosity to-day: notably the ring tail and water sail which have almost gone out of existence. Instead of the spinaker of to-day this yacht being square rigged on the foremast had studding sail booms, and you will see later that she used these light sails to advantage.

The people, who came to see her in crowds while she was on the stocks, came the day she was launched in a multitude, from Salem and all surrounding towns. After her launch she was taken alongside the wharf, and later when she was in the stream before sailing she was visited by thousands of people. While in the stream she was frozen up in the ice which that winter closed Salem harbor for many months and while thus frozen up crowds of people drove about her in sleighs, an unusual but very advantageous way for seeing a vessel.

Captain George selected as captain for his yacht his cousin Benjamin Crowninshield,* whose son, Benjamin, jr.,

*See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. iv, pp. 130 and 264-5.

also went as passenger, and Mr. Samuel Curwen Ward went, nominally as ship's clerk, really as passenger. He kept a journal of the yacht, which was illustrated with water color drawings (which I have here to show). The crew was about the same as a yacht of the same size would have to-day. Besides the captain, there were two mates, ten men before the mast, a cook, steward, steward's mate and two boys; and a Mr. Allen went in her as far as St. Michael's, as a passenger.

During the interval from the launch of the vessel to the day of her sailing, Captain George lived on board and received a great many persons at dinner parties and other entertainments. The officers of the navy from Charlestown came to see her, and many distinguished people from Boston and even from a greater distance.*

On the thirtieth day of March, 1817, she sailed for the Mediterranean, her departure being witnessed by a great concourse of people. The second day out she ran into a gale of wind with snow, and her log-book and journal show that she behaved admirably, and besides sailing fast, was perfectly dry and an excellent sea boat. She sailed faster than was anticipated, and experiments were made with the log line, thinking it might be too short. The log proved correct and showed that under short sail she made eleven knots. Nothing unusual occurred on the voyage to the Azores. At Fayal, the principal port of these islands, the vessel remained for one week and here she was visited by all the principal people of the place and they were entertained on board. Mr. Dabney, the American consul, was profuse in extending a hospitality for which all that family has ever been famous.†

The yacht next proceeded to Madeira, landing Mr. Allen

* See Appendix, NOTE ONE.

† See Appendix, NOTE TWO.

at St. Michael's, one of the Azore islands, on the way. The passage to Madeira was pleasant, and here the vessel remained a week, which was occupied by visiting the principal people of Madeira, to whom Captain George had letters, and in turn the vessel was visited by almost everybody on the island. Captain George was a democrat, and allowed not only people of rank on board, but during his whole visit to the Mediterranean he permitted everybody who was decently dressed and wished to see the vessel, to go freely about her; and so many people availed themselves of this liberty that it was, in many places, almost impossible to carry out the daily routine on board ship, and the visits of these people became a great nuisance. Her owner was doubtless aware that people of humble rank, many of them, were as capable of appreciating a fine vessel as the better classes. He was undoubtedly very proud of his brig and not unwilling to have its beauties seen by everybody. At some of the ports, at which the vessel stopped later in the Mediterranean, the crowds were so great that it was found necessary to try and keep them back, and at Barcelona the vessel had to be hauled out of the harbor into the outer road to prevent the pressing of these great crowds. It was in vain, however, for they followed the vessel in boats, and as outside the harbor the swell from the sea was great, in addition to the other discomforts of so many visitors was added that of their being made sea-sick. It was at Barcelona, also, that many people in the endeavor to get on board were crowded overboard, and among them three ladies. And here a Spanish officer finding it difficult to get on board, and being kept back by the guard at the gangway, drew his pistol and forced a passage to her deck. A woman was here actually brought to bed of a child on board the brig.

After enjoying the society at Madeira and visiting all the

other places of interest, the vessel sailed for the Mediterranean, and visited in turn the following places : Tangiers, Gibraltar, Malaga, Cartagena, Port Mahone in the island of Minorca, Barcelona, Marseilles, Toulon, Genoa, Leghorn, the island of Elba, at which place the brig visited three different ports, and Civita Vecchia. The plans of the owner were a little indefinite on entering the Mediterranean, and he expected to go as far east as Constantinople, and after visiting the Mediterranean it was among the possibilities to proceed north along the coast of France, visiting the western ports before coming home. But the vessel had started for Europe later in the season than was intended on account of being frozen up in Salem harbor and undoubtedly the heat made it desirable to leave the Mediterranean sooner than he had purposed.

When the vessel visited Tangier, she was carefully repainted and made shipshape before visiting the European ports of the Mediterranean. The late Emperor William, of Germany, was said to care, when he was King of Prussia, for but one thing in the state,—the army ; and in the army to care for but one thing, the buttons. His passion for everything military is well known. Captain George was as fond of ships as the King of his soldiers, and as particular about the appearance of everything, as that distinguished monarch. During the short time of two months in the Mediterranean, the vessel was repainted no less than three times, and one of the passengers, in a little journal of his own, complains that his clothes were ruined by fresh paint and that there was no part of the vessel upon which he could lean. And doubtless the crew had an unpleasant time of it while in port, being forever occupied in painting and scraping and cleaning up. Besides what her crew did to the vessel, when she arrived at Marseilles, workmen came on board, the gilt work was all regilded, additions

were made to the cabin upholstery, and one state room was dismantled and refurnished in a different style. The same gentleman who complained of painting spoke of these workmen as an "army of upholsterers, painters, gilders, tailors."*

Before setting out upon his voyage, Captain George had provided himself with three hundred letters to the most eligible people at the different ports where he intended to stop, and from the officers in the navy he had letters to the commanding officers of the British and French fleets, and he was enabled by means of these to meet everywhere the most distinguished persons. It is related in some early public accounts of the voyage that the Pope himself, while the vessel lay at Civita Vecchia, came down from Rome to inspect this wonderful vessel. This is not true, but some idea of the excitement the vessel's presence caused may be given by the statement that on an average, 3500 people visited her every day she was in port, and while at Barcelona on one day by actual count no less than 8000 persons went on board. Many dinner parties were given and entertainments were served every day in the saloon to her invited guests.

The American squadron, sent out at the close of the War of 1812 to chastise the Algerines, was at this time in the Mediterranean, under the command of Commodore Chauncey. The frigate "United States," the fastest vessel in the American navy at that time, came into the harbor at Gibraltar while the Cleopatra's Barge was there, on its way, under the command of Captain Shaw, to join the American squadron. In sailing from Cartagena to Port Mahone the Cleopatra's Barge fell in with the United States and they had a race all the way to that place (Port Mahone). This

* See Appendix, NOTE THREE.

race began one morning when the approach of day showed the vessels in close proximity to each other. The American frigate with its crew of probably 400 men was, of course, enabled to get her light sails spread sooner than the much smaller yacht with twelve sailors, and the frigate thus obtained a start of nearly two miles. But after sailing all day the yacht was seen to have gained upon her larger rival, and, the wind shifting, and both vessels being brought by the wind, the smaller vessel made still better work of it; and we learn from a letter written by her owner at Port Mahone, that he was very jubilant over his successful trial, the first the yacht had after being launched.

Their stay at Marseilles was made very pleasant owing to the civility of numerous friends and people of distinction in that place; and going from there to Toulon, the headquarters of the French navy in the Mediterranean, the owner's pride was gratified by the attention of the French navy officers to his handsome yacht.

On the way to Genoa, in a strong breeze under favorable circumstances, the yacht logged close upon thirteen knots, for ten hours, which is about as fast as any yacht to-day can go. Her sailing qualities were declared by her owner, and nobody was better competent to judge, to be extraordinary.

While at Genoa the vessel was again visited by immense crowds of people and here we have the testimony of other people, besides those on board, to what occurred. An account of the vessel is given by Baron von Zach (a German astronomer of distinction, who had established an observatory at Genoa), in his "*Correspondance Astronomique*," Vol. II.* He says "I went on board with all the world and it happened that, in inquiring after my

* See Appendix, NOTE FOUR.

friends and correspondents at Philadelphia and Boston, I mentioned, among others, the name of Mr. Bowditch. 'He is a friend of our family and our neighbor at Salem', replied the captain, a smart little old man, 'and that young man whom you see there, my son, was his pupil: in fact it is he and not myself who navigates the ship. Question him a little and see if he has learned anything.' Our dialogue was as follows: 'You have had an excellent teacher of navigation, young man, and you cannot help being a good scholar. In making the Straits of Gibraltar, what was the error in your reckoning?' The young man replied, 'six miles.' 'You must then have got your longitude very accurately. How did you get it?' 'First by our chronometer, and afterward by lunar distances.' 'What! do you know how to take and calculate the longitude by lunar distances?' The young captain seemed somewhat nettled at my question, and answered me with a scornful smile, 'I know how to calculate the longitude, why! our cook can do that.' 'Your cook?' . . . Here the owner of the ship and the old captain assured me that the cook on board could calculate the longitude very well; that he had a taste and passion for it and did it every day. 'There he is,' said the young man, pointing with his finger to a negro at the stern of the ship with a white apron before him and holding a chicken in one hand and a butcher's knife in the other. 'Come forward, Jack!' said the captain to him, 'the gentleman is surprised that you can calculate the longitude. Answer his questions.' I asked him, 'what method do you use to calculate the longitude, by lunar distances?' His answer was, 'It is all one to me, but I use the methods of Maskelyne, Lyons, Witchel and Bowditch. But upon the whole I prefer Dunthorne's,—I am more used to it and can work it quicker.' I could not express my surprise at hearing this black face talk in this way with his bloody chicken and

knife in his hand. 'Go,' said Mr. Crowninshield to him, 'lay down your chicken, bring your books and your journal and show the gentleman your calculations.' The cook soon returned with his books under his arm: Mr. Bowditch's Practical Navigator, Maskelyne's Requisite Tables, Hutton's Table of Logarithms, and the Nautical Almanac. I saw all the calculations of this negro, latitude, longitude and the true time which he had worked out on the passage. He answered all my questions with wonderful accuracy, not in Latin of the caboose but in good set terms of navigation. The cook had been round the world as cabin boy with Captain Cook in his last voyage and was well acquainted with the particulars of his assassination at Owhyhee on the 14th of February, 1779."

It is unnecessary to say anything further about the visitors to the yacht or the people who were entertained on board, for the same thing occurred at every port. Everywhere she was visited by immense crowds of curious people, also the principal people of the cities, and everywhere they were entertained in turn. In order to do this better, Captain George took on board at Marseilles three musicians who continued with the vessel as long as she was in the Mediterranean. At the different ports of Elba besides these musicians, he engaged a complete band of music who remained on board as long as she was at Elba.

While at Leghorn where, by the way, the American fleet was also anchored at the same time, a violent gale of wind lasting several days came up and the vessel, lying in the outer roadstead, was tossed about so much that some of the furniture was upset. We learn by the journal that one of the lamps was overturned into the barrel of mince meat. The chandelier was knocked down and many of those little mishaps occurred which would be so distressing to a landman. They did not much trouble her crew, all of whom were good sailors, and it is to be noticed that in the cabin

everybody including owner and passengers had been accomplished ship captains.

Captain George, a democrat in politics, was an ardent admirer of the Emperor Napoleon, and visited Elba for the purpose of meeting some of his suite, who still remained there after his escape from the island. This occurred just two years previously. It will be remembered that Napoleon crossed over to the neighborhood of Cannes in France in March, 1815, when the "hundred days" of preparation terminated with the Battle of Waterloo, and ended the career of this great man, who at the time of the visit of the yacht was in exile at St. Helena. At Elba, the house where he was kept a prisoner was visited and the acquaintance was made of many of his intimate friends, and from them in turn letters were given introducing the party on the yacht to the members of the Bonaparte family at Rome, which was then the headquarters of the family.

The yacht went from Elba to Civita Vecchia, and the owner and his friends in the course of a few days went up to Rome, and for nearly two weeks remained there in the constant society of the Bonapartes. The family at that time consisted of Madam Letitia, the mother of the Emperor, "*Madame Mère*," as she was called, Cardinal Fesch, her brother-in-law, Prince Lucien Bonaparte, and the beautiful and accomplished Princess Pauline Borghese.*

It has been frequently stated that the purpose for which the yacht was built was to rescue the Emperor, then at St. Helena. This is pure imagination, and probably arose from the visit made to the Bonapartes at Rome, and partly because when the yacht returned it brought on it two officers of Napoleon's suite. One was the captain of the vessel in which the Emperor escaped from Elba to France in 1815, and the other a surgeon on his staff. The European dread of Napoleon, increased by his former

*See Appendix, NOTE FIVE.

escape from Elba, caused at this time great attention on the part of the French Bourbons to the members of that family residing at Rome, and four small French men-of-war constantly watched the port of Civita Vecchia. One of these was in the harbor while the yacht was there, and it was perhaps thought that they would interfere with the vessel, particularly after the visit of the owner to the family in Rome, and because they were to take on board two officers of Napoleon's suite. Captain George sent a messenger down to Civita Vecchia giving orders for the vessel to be immediately got ready for sea, and saying that he would sail fifteen minutes after he came on board. He did this in the evening and the vessel during the night put to sea and sailed westward. The next morning as the vessel was in the straits of St. Boniface, between Sardinia and Corsica, daylight showed one of these French war vessels in pursuit with every possible sail set. It did not take long to get out the kites on the Cleopatra's barge. This was her second race, and in a few hours the French man-of-war was comfortably astern,—so much faster was the yacht. Two or three days after this a third race occurred between the yacht and a famous Baltimore clipper, the "General Jackson," which happened to be in the Mediterranean at the time, and which had a great reputation for speed. But her defeat was even more marked than that of the French man-of-war.

The vessel proceeded to Gibraltar, landed one of her passengers, Benj. Crowninshield, jr., and then made an uneventful voyage to Salem where she arrived on the 3rd of October, 1817.* She was taken alongside of Crowninshield's wharf, the crew discharged, and her owner with his servants continued to live on board, and he immediately began to plan another voyage. This time he in-

* See Appendix, NOTE SIX.

tended to go to England, to visit its principal ports, as also those of other countries in the North sea, and then go into the Baltic as far as St. Petersburg. But the old proverb of God and man again proved true, for on the 26th of November, at 9 o'clock in the evening, Captain George Crowninshield died very suddenly on board his yacht, of heart disease. A remarkable coincidence was the death of Mr. Samuel Curwen Ward, his friend, who had made the voyage with him, who expired in Salem, only a short way off, the same day, hour and minute.*

Dr. Bentley writes to his brother, that at no private funeral in Salem had there ever been so large a turn-out of people as at that of Captain George. He had always been remarkable for liberality to the poor, and it was said that every humble person in town attended his funeral, and the hearse had difficulty in passing on account of the crowd.

In the following summer the yacht was dismantled, sold and fitted up for a merchant vessel.† She made one voyage to Rio; sailing from Salem, Oct. 1st, commanded by Capt. Israel Williams of Salem, with Dudley G. Woodbridge as a passenger; cargo not given. She cleared for home from Rio Janeiro, January 31st, 1819, and arrived at Boston April 2nd, in sixty days, with a cargo of 2019 Hides, Sugar, Coffee, [570 lbs & 5 bags] and 40 bags of Tapioca. She was again sold on returning to Boston, and used for a while as a packet-ship, between Boston and Charleston, South Carolina. After which she was fitted up for a voyage to the northwest coast, and after proceeding to that place, was taken to the Sandwich Islands, and sold to King Kamehameha I, and used by him as a yacht for about a year. Then, owing to unsuccessful seamanship, she was run upon a reef of rocks and wrecked. She was

* See Appendix, NOTE SEVEN.

† See Appendix, NOTE EIGHT.

so strongly built that many months of a rough sea failed to thoroughly break her up. Her remains were finally taken to Honolulu and remained there many years on the beach.

While at Rome, Capt. George procured from the family many souvenirs of the great Emperor, and the Princess Pauline gave to one of the party a mosaic snuff-box and a lock of the Emperor's hair which she said she cut off with her own hands. She also gave a beautiful cameo likeness of herself set in a ring and several other interesting objects which had belonged to the Emperor.

When the distinguished English botanist, Mr. J. C. Loudon, was writing one of his books on the trees of Great Britain he wished to give an account of some famous beech trees growing on the Duke of Wellington's place, Strathfieldsaye. He accordingly wrote to His Grace a letter in which he said, "May I come down and see your beeches?" and signed it J. C. Loudon. The Duke was not acquainted with him nor his writing, and read the letter, "May I come down and see your breeches?" J. C. *London*, not Loudon. J. C. London would be the signature of J. C. Bloomfield, Bishop of London, who was a friend of the Duke's. Accordingly, he wrote to the Bishop appointing a day for his visit and gave an order to his valet to get out the "breeches" which he had worn at the battle of Waterloo. The Bishop was a distinguished man, but not so much so as the Iron Duke; and, without expressing his astonishment, he went down, had a pleasant day, saw the breeches and went back without saying anything about it; and it was only some time afterwards that the joke was understood and made known. Now, if the Bishop of London could go to see the breeches of Wellington, will not you look kindly upon the boots of Napoleon Bonaparte which are a part of the relics brought to America by Capt. George Crowninshield in the Cleopatra's Barge?

[The boots and other relics of Napoleon and of the yacht were here shown.]

From what I have said, you will see another exemplification of my statement, that it is when a clever yacht designer or builder has for a client a thorough yachtsman, who understands every part of his vessel and equipment and knows what he wants, that the best can be obtained. We would have expected that the first yacht built would not be successful, but no vessel ever fulfilled the purpose for which she was built better than the "Cleopatra's Barge," and she fulfilled the expectations even of her fastidious and exacting owner.

[List of the officers and crew of the Cleopatra's Barge from the vessel's papers on her first voyage.]

<i>Captain.</i>	Benjamin Crowninshield,	age	58
<i>1st Mate.</i>	Joseph Strout, jr.	"	29
<i>2d Mate.</i>	William C. Dean	"	37
<i>Steward.</i>	Hanson Posey	"	33
<i>Boys.</i>	Augustus Newhall	"	14
	Samuel Hodgdon	"	14
	Amos Perkins, jr.	"	14
<i>Clerk.</i>	Sam'l Curwen Ward	"	50
<i>Sailors.</i>	William Chapman	"	20
	George Symmes	"	19
	Sewall Thompson	"	22
	Richard Davis	"	20
	Frederick Boles	"	26
	David Oliver	"	34
	James Moore	"	26
	Mark Serace	"	45
	Nathaniel G. Blunt	"	30

Nath. G. Blunt, deserted.

George Brown (?) discharged } Marseilles.

Marius Brutus shipped at }

Thomas Smith " Genoa.

Passengers.

Benjamin Crowninshield, jr.

George Crowninshield, owner.

Capt. Edward Allen, from Salem, for St. Michael's.





APPENDIX.

NOTE ONE.

Salem Gazette, Jan. 14, 1817.

[Copied from Boston Evening Gazette.]

CLEOPATRA'S BARGE.

"THE elegant equipment of this vessel, by Mr. Crowninshield, for a voyage of pleasure, as it is an entire novelty in this country, has excited universal curiosity and admiration. Whilst she was lying at the wharf in Salem, we have heard she attracted company from various surrounding places to view so perfect a specimen of nautical architecture and sumptuous accommodation. Eighteen hundred ladies, it is asserted, visited her in the course of one day. Cleopatra's Barge measures about 200 tons, and is modelled after one of the swiftest sailing ships which was ever driven by the wind. Being introduced on board, you descend into a magnificent saloon, about 20 feet long and 19 broad, finished on all sides with polished mahogany, inlaid with other ornamental wood. The settees of the saloon are of splendid workmanship; the backs are shaped like the ancient lyre, and the seats are covered with crimson silk velvet bordered with a very wide edging of gold lace. Two splendid mirrors, standing at either end, and a magnificent chandelier, suspended in the centre of the saloon, give a richness of effect to it, not easily surpassed. Instead of berths on the sides of this hall, there are closets for the tea equipages and suit of plate for the dinner table, which are finished in a style of superior elegance. The after cabin contains sleeping accommodations for the under officers of the vessel. The owner's and captain's state rooms are very commodious. The conveniences for the kitchen's and steward's apartments may be considered models in their way. There are aqueducts in all parts of the vessel which require them.

"The intention of Mr. Crowninshield, we understand, is to proceed in the first instance to the Western Islands, thence thro' the Straights of Gibraltar, and following the windings of the left coast of the Mediterranean, will touch at every principal city on the route, which will be round the Island of Sicily, up the Gulph of Venice to Trieste, along the coast of Albania and the Morea, through the Grecian Archipelago to the Dardanelles; if permitted by the Turkish authorities he will proceed through the Sea of Marmora to Constantinople; thence coasting along the ports of the Black Sea, to the Sea of Asov, he will return by the way of the Isle of Cyprus, upon the south side of the Mediterranean; stop-

ping at Acre, Jerusalem and Alexandria on his way, and sailing by the Coast of the Desert to that of the Barbary states. Emerging from the Streights he will proceed through the British Channel and North Sea, up the Baltic to Petersburg, thence along the coast of Norway to the North Cape, and perhaps into the White Sea; from this point he may go to Spitzbergen and Iceland, and thence crossing an immense ocean to the coast of South America, touching at various ports he will complete the tour of his destination, and arrive at Salem.

"It is much to be desired that a gentleman of scientific attainments, historical research and literary taste, may accompany Mr. Crowninshield in his expedition. The multiplied objects of natural curiosity, which will be presented to the traveller, on such a tour, would afford materials which, if well digested and arranged, would do credit to the country, and confer permanent celebrity upon a voyage, which, without such a narration, will dwindle into a topic of idle curiosity, and final insignificance."

[January 15.—The Cleopatra's Barge made a trial trip to Gloucester and returned to Salem the next day.]

NOTE TWO.

Salem Gazette, May 27, 1817.

CLEOPATRA'S BARGE.

Extract of a letter from Mr. George Crowninshield on board the Cleopatra's Barge, to his friend in this town dated

"Fayal, 24 April, 1817.

"I have the pleasure of acquainting you with my progress thus far. My vessel fully answers my expectation and the mode in which she is rigged far surpasses it. Twenty-four hours after our departure we met with a gale of wind from the N. E. that lasted nine hours, brought our vessel under fore-sail, close-reefed top sail, main stay sail and two-reefed main sail. Two hours after a heavy snow fell, which compelled us to take in the main sail, the wind at that time having veered two points Northerly, she then being in the trough of the sea going eight knots and perfectly dry and easy; met with no injury. I have a good crew and they enjoy themselves perfectly."

NOTE THREE.

Salem Gazette, Sept. 26, 1817.

CLEOPATRA'S BARGE.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman on board the Cleopatra's Barge.

"Barcelona, June 8.

"You have undoubtedly heard of our movements in the Mediterranean; indeed you must have heard of us, from every place at which we

have touched — for the Cleopatra's Barge is more celebrated abroad than at home. Even the Moors of Tangier visited us tho' they abhor the Christians. At Gibraltar the Englishmen were astonished. In Malaga, Carthage and this place the Spaniards have been thunderstruck. For these four days past the whole of this great city has been in an uproar. They begin to crowd on board at daylight, and continue to press upon us till night. This morning the Mole was so crowded with people waiting to come on board, that we have been obliged to get under weigh, and stand out of the Mole, yet the boats, with men, women and children, are rowing after us. Thus it has been in every place we have visited. In Port Mahon, we were visited by all the officers of our squadron.

"Yesterday we were amused with one of the processions of the Church. It was a splendid show. The whole was preceded by eight giants, four men and four women, gorgeously dressed. Then followed music, friars, priests, people with lighted wax torches, children dressed in muslin and gold, having wings on their shoulders, and strewing flowers in the way. Then the mystery of the real presence, carried on the shoulders of priests and others, burning before it. This retinue was two hours in passing, and the innumerable flags, standards and gilt devices were almost indescribable."

[The Cleopatra's Barge arrived at Leghorn, July 15.]

While in the strait of Gibraltar the boy Perkins fell overboard from aloft: Capt. George Crowninshield in the cabin at the time heard the cry of "man overboard." He rushed on deck and into the dingey which he endeavored to lower with the assistance of some of the men. The dingey was overturned and Captain George thrown into the sea. Finally he and Perkins were rescued by the yacht's gig; but only after being a long time in the water. [B. W. C.]

*Extract from the DIARIO DI ROMA published at Rome in August, 1817,
Reprinted in the Essex Register, Oct. 11, 1817.*

"Soon after the visit of the fleet, anchored in our port a schooner from America, of a most beautiful construction, elegantly found, very light, and formed for fast sailing, constructed and armed like our light armed vessels. It was named the CLEOPATRA, belonging to a very rich traveller, George Crowninshield, of Salem, who constructed her for his own use, and for the voyages he had undertaken in company with Capt. Benjamin Crowninshield, his cousin. Besides the extreme neatness of every thing about the vessel to fit her for sea, her accommodations were surprising and wonderful. Below was a hall of uncommon extent, in which the luxury of taste, the riches and elegance of the furniture, the harmony of the drapery, and of all the ornaments, inspired pleasure and gallantry. The apartment of the stern was equally rich

and interesting. Five convenient Bed chambers, displayed with the same elegance, were at the service of the Captain, with an apartment for the plate of every kind, with which it was filled. Near was another apartment, which admitted all the offices of a kitchen, and in it was a pump with three tubes which passed through the vessel, to supply water from the sea, or discharge what they pleased, with the greatest ease. The rich and distinguished owner had with him besides his family servants, several linguists, persons of high talents in music, and an excellent painter. Everything to amuse makes a part of the daily entertainment. The owner and Captain were affable, pleasing and civil, and gave a full evidence of the talents, the industry and the good taste of their nation, which yields to none in good sense and true civility. The above travellers having complied with the usual rules of the City, and having expressed the due respect to the Apostolical Delegate, upon receiving a particular invitation, he visited the Cleopatra in company with many persons of distinction, and partook of an elegant collation."

NOTE FOUR.

From the Essex Register.

SALEM, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28, 1822.

[*The following extract is translated from a French work published at Genoa in 1820, lately received in this country, entitled "Correspondance, Astronomique, Géographique, Hydrographique, et Statistique, du Baron de Zach." The author is well known as one of the first astronomers in Germany, and stands high in the literary and scientific world.*]

"How does it happen that the Commanders of French vessels, with thirty-four schools of Hydrography established in the Kingdom, either know not, or do not wish to know, how to calculate the longitude of their vessels by Lunar distances, while even the *cooks and negroes* of American vessels understand it?

"Agreeably to my promise, p. 513 of 1st vol. of this Correspondence, I will now relate what I once witnessed on board an American vessel, the *Cleopatra's Barge*, which arrived in the month of July, 1817, at the port of Genoa from Salem, one of the handsomest Towns in the State of Massachusetts, U. S. A., Lat. 42°35'20" N., Long. 73°9'30" W. All the city crowded to see this magnificent palace of Neptune; more than 20,000 persons had visited this superb floating palace, and were astonished at its beauty, luxury and magnificence. I went among others. The owner was on board; he was a gentleman of fortune of Salem, who had amassed great riches during the late war with Great Britain. He was brother to the Secretary of the Navy of the United States. This elegant vessel was built for his own amusement, after his own ideas, upon a plan and model new in very many respects, and was considered the

swiftest sailer in America. He had travelled or sailed for his pleasure in this costly jewel (*bijou*) that appeared more the model of a cabinet of curiosities than a real vessel. He had left America in this charming shell (*coquille*) for the purpose of visiting Europe and making the tour of the Mediterranean & had already touched at the ports of Spain, France, Italy, the Archipelago, Dardanelles, coasts of Asia, Africa, &c. We have since heard of the death of this gentleman, a short time after his return to Salem. His name was George Crowninshield—he was of German origin—his ancestor was a Saxon officer who, having the misfortune to kill his adversary in a duel, sought refuge in America. The captain of this beautiful vessel was a lively old gentleman, a cousin to Mr. Crowninshield—his son, a young man, was also on board. I shall not here enter into detail concerning the remarkable construction of this vessel, still less her splendor—the public journals have already noticed them.

“In making some enquiries respecting my friends and correspondents in Philadelphia and Boston, among others I mentioned Dr. Bowditch. ‘He is the friend of our family, and our neighbor in Salem,’ replied the old Captain. ‘My son, whom you see there, was his pupil; it is properly he, and not myself, that navigates this vessel; question him and see if he has profited by his instructions.’ I observed to this young man, ‘you have had so excellent a teacher in Hydrography that you cannot fail of being well acquainted with the science. In making Gibraltar what was the error in your longitude?’ The young man replied, ‘six miles.’ ‘Your calculations were then very correct; how did you keep your ship’s accounts?’ ‘By chronometers and by Lunar observations.’ ‘You then can ascertain your Longitude by Lunar distances?’ Here my young captain appearing to be offended with my question, replied with some warmth, ‘What! I know how to calculate Lunar distances! *Our cook* can do that!’ ‘Your cook!’ Here Mr. Crowninshield and the old Captain assured me, that the cook on board could calculate Longitude quite well; that his *taste* for it frequently led him to do it. ‘That is he,’ said the young man, pointing to a Negro in the after part of the vessel, with a white apron round his waist, a fowl in one hand, and a carving knife in the other. ‘Come here, John,’ said the old Captain to him, ‘this gentleman is surprised that you understand Lunar observations. Answer his questions.’ I asked, ‘by what method do you calculate Lunar distances?’ The cook answered, ‘It is immaterial—I use sometimes the method of Maskeleyne, Lyons, Witchel or Bowditch, but I prefer that of Dunthorne, as I am more accustomed to it. I could hardly express my surprise at hearing that *black-face* answer in such a manner, with a bloody fowl and carving knife in his hands. ‘Go,’ said Mr. Crowninshield, ‘lay aside your fowl and bring your books and journal and show your cal-

culations to the gentleman.' The cook returned with his books under his arms, consisting of Bowditch's Practical Navigator, Maskelyne's Requisite Tables, Hutton's Logarithms and the Nautical Almanack, abridged from the Greenwich Edition. I saw all the calculations this Negro had made on his passage, of Latitude, Longitude, Apparent Time, etc. He replied to all my questions with admirable precision, not merely in the phrases of a cook, but in correct nautical language. This cook had sailed as cabin-boy with Capt. Cook in his last voyage round the world, and was acquainted with several facts relative to the assassination of that celebrated navigator at Owhyhee, February 1779. 'The greatest part of the seamen on board the Barge,' said Mr. Crowninshield, 'can use the sextant and make nautical calculations.' Indeed, Mr. Crowninshield had with him many instructors. At Genoa he had taken one acquainted with Italian;—he had also on board an instructor in the French language, a young man who had lost his fingers in the Russian campaign. What instruction! what order! what correctness! what magnificence! was to be observed in this Barge! I could relate many more interesting particulars concerning this true Barque of Cleopatra!"

NOTE FIVE.

Essex Register, Oct. 22, 1817.

We are indebted to Capt. G. CROWNINSHIELD, of the *Cleopatra*, for the specimens he has afforded of the riches of Italy. His coins, antient and modern, medallions, bronze figures, marbles, granites, plasters and minerals, have added much to our knowledge of the natural as well as civil history of Italy. He has supplied us the best modern guides for the visits we may pay to the antiquities of the Roman cities and for Rome itself. The profile view of Rome from Monte Mario, has a very good general effect. The views of Rome have been of every description, but Pronti's Illustrations of Antient Customs from Antient monuments, advance our knowledge of Roman manners, and Bianchi's exhibition of the subjects of Raphael's Paintings in the Vatican, gives us the bold designs of that great Master; while Pinelli's Modern Customs and Manners assist a comparison of the state of society in antient and modern times. The reduced views of Rome of the present year, are well adapted to be a companion of the traveller, and to aid the recollection of the wonderful works of art he may have visited. When we leave Rome, we leave the parent of the fine arts in Italy, but we see the monuments of antient greatness in other cities to instruct us in the sublime power of example, while it displays itself to the astonished senses of the world. The four celebrated edifices of Pisa, which he visited, would have been known from their own greatness, but the knowledge we have from whence this surrounding greatness arose,

brings new glory to Rome, the parent of these arts, these riches, and this prosperity. The riches collected in our country begin to have the power of inspiration upon our citizens. The arts live together, and while we breathe the air of health, and command the conveniences of life, we aspire at the proudest monuments of our fame and of our virtues.

[The style is Dr. Bentley's.—Eds.]

Essex Register, Oct. 25, 1817.

CLEOPATRA'S BARGE.

Having noticed the attention paid to the American Barge Cleopatra, at Rome, we could not refuse the pleasure of assuring our friends that Capt. G. Crowninshield, had been equally successful in arresting attention in France. The following is an extract from a Letter dated at Marseilles, 14th July, 1817, from a person long residing in France: "Capt. G. Crowninshield left this port in the beginning of this month, for Toulon and Italy. During his stay here, thousands of both sexes were on board of his beautiful Vessel. Every day it was like a continual procession. It gave me the utmost pleasure, as the universal opinion was that no vessel could compare with this Vessel. I felt proud that such a splendid specimen of what could be done in the United States was thus exhibited in Europe. We consider it as an act of patriotism. The Vessel was admired. The exquisite taste in her apartments greatly astonished the French for their *amour propre* had inclined them to believe that only in France the true *goût* was known."

We have now unequivocal proof that the enterprise of Capt. C. was adapted to urge a proper attention to our country, and that it has been one of the successful attempts to make known the American people most favorably to the commercial world of Europe.

NOTE SIX.

Essex Register, Oct. 4, 1817.

SHIP NEWS.

PORT OF SALEM.

Friday, Oct. 3.—Arrived brig Cleopatra's Barge, Benja Crowninshield master, and Geo. Crowninshield passenger, having visited the following places, viz.: Flores, Fayal, St. Michael's and Madeira, in the North Atlantic Ocean; thence to Tangier, Gibraltar, Algeziras, Malaga, Carthagena, Port Mahon, in the Island of Minorca, Barcelona, Marseilles, Toulon, Genoa, Leghorn (from thence to Florence by land, through the beautiful city of Pisa), Porto Ferrajo, Port Rio, Port Longon, in the Island of Elba and Civita Vecchia (thence to Rome by land). On leaving Civita Vecchia for America, passed through the Straits of Boniface, between Corsica and Sardinia.

The Cleopatra's Barge had a passage of 11 days from Civita Vecchia to Gibraltar, and twenty-seven from Gibraltar, having for ten days last past, experienced head winds and calms.

[She brought Gibraltar papers to 30th Sept. (*sic*) Quere, August, and a column of ship news.]

Essex Register, Oct. 4, 1817.

The celebrated BARGE OF CLEOPATRA has returned to our port. She has displayed in Europe the first example of a visit to European ports, in a vessel which had no other object than a view of the commercial cities which Europe contains. The visit is in the style of our American researches.

NOTE SEVEN.

Salem Gazette, Nov. 28, 1817.

DEATHS.

On Wednesday evening, very suddenly, on board the Cleopatra's Barge, CAPT. GEORGE CROWNINSHIELD, aged 51. Funeral from his brother John Crowninshield's house in Derby street to-morrow at 3 P. M. Friends and relations are requested to attend without a more particular invitation.

Same evening, SAMUEL CURWEN WARD, Esq., aged 50. Mr. Ward accompanied Captain Crowninshield in his late voyage in the Cleopatra, and has been confined ever since his return. His funeral will be at 3 o'clock this afternoon, which his friends are invited to attend.

Essex Register, Nov. 29, 1817.

On Wednesday evening, Captain George Crowninshield, aged 51, the late Navigator of the "Cleopatra's Barge," and eldest son of the late Merchant of Salem of the same name. He was born in Salem on the 28th May, 1766. To a very robust constitution, he united a very active temper, and he was from his youth the first in every enterprise, the most fearless of danger, and never sparing of himself in any labour he undertook. The employments of the sea were among his first cares, and no man earlier or better knew what belonged to practical seamanship. He was in early youth at sea, and had command of vessels, first in the West Indies, and then in the East. He was a commander in the West India trade as early as in 1790, and in 1794 sailed for India in the *Belisarius*, a well known ship of this port. With a band of brothers, all of whom possessed a full share of industry, with a variety of talent, he soon possessed the competence of wealth, and has ever since supported the character of generous charity, of a man ready in every danger, and of boundless resource at the moment, while he has expressed the most firm attachment to the Naval reputation of his Country.

His zeal for the Navy displayed itself in the transportation, at his

own expence, of the remains of Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow, of the Chesapeake, from the British Dominions to Salem, that they might be interred in the land of their nativity, and be embalmed by the tears of their country. After the late war, he determined to visit Europe, to which his employments at sea had never led him. He resolved to make the object of his voyage a display of our naval architecture, and of our ability to combine in the Ship not only all the conveniences, but all the luxuries of home. Without any other model than his own mind supplied, he produced the celebrated Cleopatra's Barge, which has been admired in both hemispheres, and accomplished in her all he wished, and after a visit to Rome, he returned to the place of his nativity. Upon his return his iron constitution seemed to have lost its strength, and he had such affections of the breast as obliged him to put himself under the care of his physician. He still retained all his cheerfulness, and apparently his agility, but his complaints returned oftener than before. On the day he died, he enjoyed himself at every meal, and received his friends at his table in the Barge, and had his usual frugal supper in her. Just before he expired, he complained not of pain, but of fainting, and in an instant fell, without one sign of remaining life.

Few men were more generous, and very few had a greater share of confidence. No man knew the practice of his profession better, and no one who knew him denied that he had great virtues. Every citizen recollects him with affection.

Funeral from his brother John Crowninshield's house in Derby street this afternoon at 3 o'clock—relatives and friends are invited to attend.

It is a singular circumstance that Capt. G. Crowninshield expired on the same evening and at the same hour with Mr. Samuel Curwen Ward, Merchant of Salem, who was his companion in the voyage in the Cleopatra. He was the senior brother of Capt. Richard Crowninshield, who lost his factory, in his absence, on the morning of the preceding day at Danvers.

[Doubtless from the pen of Dr. Bentley.—Eds.]

NOTE EIGHT.

The next page exhibits, in *fac-simile*, a portion of the advertising columns of the Salem Gazette, for July 21, 1818.

Salem Gazette, July 28, 1818.

The famous Cleopatra's Barge, formerly belonging to Captain George Crowninshield, deceased, was *knocked off* yesterday at 15,400 dollars, to his brother, Capt. Richard Crowninshield. Her extra furniture, valued at about 7 or 8,000 dollars, was first taken out.

Half of the privateer ship America was also sold *under the hammer* at the same time for 4,000 dollars, belonging to the same concern.

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On Saturday, 25th inst. at 10 o'clock.

Will be sold at Auction,



A new-SCHOONER, about
70 tons burthen, built of oak,
high deck and well calculated
for the southern business. She
now lies at Briggs' wharf, South Salem, where
she may be inspected. For further particulars
inquire of JOSEPH HOWARD,

WHO HAS FOR SALE,

A few bags white Sugar, of
good quality, and 30 bags Coffee.

Brig Cleopatra's Barge.

On Monday, the 27th inst. at 12 o'clock,

AT INDIA WHARF,

Will be sold at Auction, per order of the
administrators to the estate of the late
Geo. Crowninshield, deceased,



The elegant, well built
and fast sailing brig Cleons-
tra's Barge, burthen about 200
tons. As this vessel has been
so frequently viewed by the people of this vi-
cinity and strangers in general, a more partic-
ular description is unnecessary.

—ALSO—



One half of the ship A-
merica, armament and appur-
tenances. This Ship was a
successful cruiser in the last
war with Britain.

—ALSO—

One half of sloop Jefferson, and appur-
tenances.

These vessels, with their inventories, may
be examined at any time previous to the sale.

T. DELAND, Auct.

Salem, July 14, 1818.

Next MONDAY, at 9 o'clock,

At Thordike Deland's Office,
FRANKLIN PLACE.

(Per order of the administrators to the estate
of Geo. Crowninshield, deceased)

\$39,566 64 in the United States

Six Per Cent Stock.

26 Shares Union Marine Insurance Company.

11 do. Salem Marine do.

5 do. Massachusetts State Bank Stock.

DAY, the 25th
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MATERIALS FOR A GENEALOGY OF THE SPARHAWK FAMILY IN NEW ENGLAND.

(Continued from page 43.)

MRS. Priscilla (Hemans) Sparhawk, after the death of her husband, married Jonathan Waldo, and her will is recorded in the probate office of Alfred, Maine. In it she bequeaths to her son John, "all that wrought plate which he has already received," also to her son Nathaniel "all the plate of which I shall die possessed, or shall not have disposed of and delivered in my life time to those to whom the same may be conveyed." She wills to her daughter-in-law Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk her "Suit of Masquerade Damask," in return or offset for a "suit of silk cloths" given to her daughter-in-law Jane (Porter) Sparhawk.

They are to have her wearing apparel equally divided between them. Her sons Rev. John Sparhawk of Salem, Mass., and Hon. Nathaniel Sparhawk of Kittery, Maine, to have her estate, real and personal, divided between them. This was dated Kittery, Maine, July 12, 1749, and probated Mar. 31, 1755. It is probable that she was residing with her son Nathaniel.

This is further changed by a codicil in which she gives one hundred pounds old tenor, or the value thereof in other money to her granddaughter Priscilla Sparhawk.

44 Hannah Cooper, the daughter of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Edmund Frost, Feb. 1, 1710-11. Cambridge, Mass.

- 132 Hannah, bapt. Oct. 26, 1712; m. Samuel Bowman, Mar. 20, 1745-6; d. Apr. 25, 1794.
- 133 Elizabeth, bapt. Feb. 22, 1712-13; m. John Goddard, Feb. 19, 1734; d. Apr. 4, 1786.
- 134 Edmund, jr., bapt. June 12, 1715; m. Sarah Rand, Aug. 9, 1750; probably d. 1777.
- 135 Stephen, bapt. 18 Jan., 1718-19; grad. Harvard College, 1739; d. Aug. 9, 1749.
- 136 Jonathan, bapt. Feb. 20, 1720-21; probably d. in infancy.
- 137 Gideon, bapt. June 14, 1724; m. Sarah Ireland, Jan. 18, 1753; d. June 30, 1803.

Edmund Frost, sr., was residing in Kirkland St. at the time of his death, which occurred Nov. 6, 1752. Mrs. Hannah (Cooper) Frost died May 15, 1767, æ. 83 years.

45 Lydia Cooper, the daughter of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Jonathan Gove, Dec. 26, 1706. Cambridge, Mass.

- 138 John, b. Nov. 2, 1707.
- 139 Mary, b. Mar. 3, 1709-10; m. John Walker, Oct. 28, 1731.
- 140 Lydia, b. Aug. 22, 1712; m. Jona. Wellington of Weston, Jan., 1730-31.
- 141 Kezia, b. Apr. 17, 1715; m. Deacon Jos. Loring, 1735.
- 142 Hannah, b. Feb. 27, 1717-18; m. Thos. Goddard, Jan. 3, 1738-9; d. March 18, 1799.
- 143 Sarah, b. Dec., 1720; d. Jan. 20, 1720-21.
- 144 Jonathan, jr., b. Feb. 16, 1721-22; d. same day.
- 145 Jonathan, jr., b. Oct. 23, 1723; d. same day.

Mrs. Lydia (Cooper) Gove died at Weston, Mass., Apr. 18, 1740. Her husband, Jonathan Gove, married a second time, and his second wife survived him. His son John administered on his estate in 1747.

46 Sarah Cooper, the daughter of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Ephraim Frost, jr., Sept. 9, 1714, the brother of Edmund Frost, her sister Hannah's husband, both of Cambridge, Mass.

- 146 Ephraim, b. July 10, 1715; m. Mary Cutter, 1739; d. March 5, 1799.
- 147 Samuel, b. Dec. 18, 1716; m. A. Cutter, 1741; d. Sept. 30, 1798.
- 148 Sarah, b. Jan. 2, 1718-19; m. Moses Harrington; d. May 12, 1759.
- 149 Anna, b. Dec. 15, 1720; m. Thos. Adams, Sept. 22, 1737; d. Oct. 6, 1740.
- 150 Martha, b. Aug. 4, 1722; m. Jos. Adams, jr., Jan. 10, 1740; d. Dec. 23, 1749.
- 151 Eunice, b. July 19, 1724; d. Apr. 10, 1732.
- 152 Abigail, b. Apr. 25, 1726; m. Mr. Carter.
- 153 William, b. Nov. 13, 1727; d. Feb. 13, 1727-8.
- 154 Lydia, b. Aug. 8, 1729.

Ephraim Frost, sr., died June 26, 1769. Mrs. Sarah (Cooper) Frost died Feb. 21, 1753.

50 Walter Cooper, son of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Martha Goddard, daughter of Benjamin and Martha (Palfrey) Goddard, June 7, 1722. Cambridge, Mass.

- 155 Walter, bapt. Mar. 31, 1724; d. in infancy.
- 156 Walter, bapt. Feb. 23, 1728-9; m. Lydia Kidder, Mar. 13, 1755; d. April 1, 1756.
- 157 Benjamin, bapt. Feb. 8, 1729-30; d. in infancy.
- 158 Martha, b. Jan. 2, 1733-4; d. in infancy.
- 159 Samuel, bapt. Nov. 28, 1736; d. in infancy.
- 160 Martha, bapt. May 7, 1738.
- 161 Benjamin, bapt. Feb. 10, 1740-41; d. 1760.
- 162 Nathaniel, bapt. Apr. 14, 1742.
- 163 Samuel, bapt. Aug. 25, 1745.

Walter Cooper, sr., died Sept. 27, 1751. Mrs. Martha (Goddard) Cooper died April 10, 1768, æ. 65.

51 John Cooper, son of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Lydia (daughter of Solomon) Prentice, April 6, 1721. They had no children and he died Mar. 13, 1723-4. His wife, Mrs. Lydia (Prentice) Cooper, married Thomas Kidder, April 8, 1725.

52 Jonathan Cooper, son of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Sarah, daughter of Solomon Prentice, Oct. 25, 1732, Cambridge, Mass.

164 Jonathan, b. Mar. 23, 1734-5; m. Mercy Prentice, 1755-6.

165 Sarah, b. Sept. 5, 1736.

166 Samuel, b. Feb. 18, 1738-9; m. Hannah Geohegan, Mar. 19, 1763, *s. p.*; d. Sept. —, 1765.

167 Simon, b. July 24, 1741.

168 Daniel, b. Aug. 7, 1743; m. Lydia Mullett, May 9, 1764.

169 Solomon, b. Feb. 9, 1745-6.

170 Lydia, b. Apr. 24, 1748; m. Samuel Cox, Nov. 16, 1768, *s. p.*

Jonathan Cooper, died in Charlestown, 1766, probably in that portion near "Porter's," which is now embraced in Cambridge and formerly called "Cooper's Corner."

53 John Cooper, son of John and Elizabeth (Bordman) Cooper, married Hannah Johnson, Oct. 21, 1725.

171 John, b. Jan. 22, 1727-8.

172 William, b. Jan. 11, 1729-30; d. in infancy.

173 Anna, bapt. April, 1732.

John Cooper, sr., died April 15, 1733.

55 Elizabeth Cooper, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Bordman) Cooper, married Samuel Andrew, April 10, 1741. There is no evidence that they left any children. Winthrop calls him a "preacher," but this has yet to be proved. Administration was granted on his estate May 18, 1747.

56 Anna Cooper, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Bordman) Cooper, married Joseph Carter of Woburn, Mass., Feb. 12, 1718-19.

174 Anna.

Mrs. Anna (Cooper) Carter, probably died before 1735-6, as only her daughter is mentioned in the will of John Cooper, probated at that time.

65 Nathaniel Francis, son of John and Lydia (Cooper) Francis, married Ann ——.

- 175 Nathaniel, b. ——; m. Phœbe Frost, Apr. 11, 1751.
- 176 Benjamin, b. ——; m., 1st, Lydia Convers, Apr. 7, 1757;
2nd, Sarah Hall.
- 177 Richard, b. ——; m. Hannah Winship, Mar. 20, 1760.

Nathaniel Francis, sr., lived in Medford, Mass., and afterward removed to Charlestown, where he died Sept. 2, 1764, leaving his wife Ann (who died at Mason, N. H., Dec. 31, 1777, æ. 74) and the three sons above named.

66 Samuel Francis, son of John and Lydia (Cooper) Francis, married Mary ——.

- 178 John, b. ——; m. ——; d. before 1778.
- 179 Samuel, b. ——; m. ——; d. before 1778.
- 180 Lydia, b. ——; m. Ebenezer Blunt.
- 181 Mary, b. ——; m. William Tufts, Feb. 8, 1750.
- 182 Hannah, b. Nov. 28, 1726; m. Mr. Dickson, June 16, 1748.
- 183 Sarah, b. 1729; m. A. Smith.
- 184 Rebecca, b. ——; m. Aaron Blanchard.

Administration was granted to Aaron Blanchard on the estate of Samuel Francis, sr., Dec. 1, 1778, in which it appeared that all his family but his daughters Lydia, Mary and Rebecca were dead.

67 Anna Francis, daughter of John and Lydia (Cooper) Francis, married Benjamin Dana, July 23, 1724.

- 185 John, b. July 10, 1725; m. Abigail Smith, 1748.
- 186 Anna, b. Nov. 25, 1726; d. April 20, 1727.
- 187 Anna, b. March 5, 1727-8; m. Jonathan Kenrick, March 2, ——
1748-9.
- 188 Benjamin, b. Feb. 10, 1729-30; d. young.
- 189 Mary, b. ——; ——.
- 190 Benjamin, b. June 7, 1734.
- 191 Francis, b. Feb. 6, 1737.
- 192 Stephen, b. 1740; m. Eleanor Brown, Sept. 16, 1762; d. Oct.
15, 1822, s. p.

Benjamin Dana, sr., was a captain and died June 5, 1751, æ. 62. His wife survived him.

68 Joseph Francis, son of John and Lydia (Cooper) Francis, married Elizabeth ———.

193 Elizabeth, b. Nov. 7, 1736; prob. d. unmarried.

194 Lydia, b. Dec. 12, 1737.

195 Joseph, b. July 17, 1741.

Joseph Francis, sr., died in Medford, Mass., Feb. 1, 1749. Mrs. Elizabeth Francis, died Dec. 2, 1786. Apparently no more than these facts have been placed on record, concerning this branch of the Francis family.

71 Ebenezer Francis, the son of John and Lydia (Cooper) Francis, married Rachel Tufts, Nov. 15, 1733.¹

196 Susanna, b. Nov. 28, 1734; m. Samuel Cutter, April 28, 1757; d. Dec. 19, 1817.

197 Abigail, b. Oct. 6, 1736.

198 Lucy, b. March 12, 1738-9; m. Edward Wilson, Nov. 23, 1758;

199 Sarah, b. June 6, 1741; m. Thomas Wyer, March 8, 1766.

200 Ebenezer, b. Dec. 22, 1744; m. Judith Wood, 1766; d. July 7, 1777.

201 William, b. April 20, 1746.

202 Thomas, b. July 15, 1748; m. S. Hill, July 11, 1771.

203 Aaron, b. Feb. 16, 1750-51; m. ———; d. 1825.

204 John, b. Sept. 28, 1753; (Col.); d. July 30, 1822.

Ebenezer Francis, sr., died July 16, 1774.

72 Katherine Graves, daughter of Hon. Thomas and Sybil (Avery) Graves, married Hon. James Russell, April 13, 1738.

205 Charles, b. Jan. 7, 1739; m. Elizabeth Vassall, Feb. 15, 1768.

206 Thomas, b. April 18, 1740; m. Elizabeth Henley, May 2, 1765.

207 Katherine, b. Aug. 29, 1741; m. Samuel Henley —, 1762.

208 Rebecca, b. Aug. 28, 1743; d. young.

209 James, b. July 7, 1745; d. young.

¹"Medford Genealogies," p. 16.

- 210 Rebecca, b. Feb. 26, 1747; m., 1st, James Tyng; 2nd, Jno. Lowell, Jan., 1778.
- 211 James, b. Feb. 7, 1749; m. Mary Lechmere, Sept. 22, 1780.
- 212 Sarah, b. Dec. 2, 1750; d. unm., Oct. 14, 1819.
- 213 Mary, prob. b. —, 1752; d. unm., July 24, 1806.
- 214 Chambers, b. Dec. 3, 1755; d. Charleston, S. C., Mch. 16, 1790.
- 215 Margaret, b. Dec. —, 1757; m. Hon. Jno. Codman, July 15, 1781; d. March 12, 1789.

Mrs. Katherine (Graves) Russell died Sept. 13, 1778.

73 Margaret Graves, daughter of Hon. Thomas and Sybil (Avery) Graves, married Samuel Cary of Charlestown, Mass., Dec. 24, 1741.

- 216 Samuel, jr., b. Sept. 20, 1742; m. Sarah Gray, Nov. 5, 1772; d. Aug. —, 1812.
- 217 Thomas, b. Oct. 18, 1745; grad. Harvard College, 1761; m. Esther Carter, May 25, 1775; d. Nov. 24, 1808.
- 218 Jonathan, b. Oct. 21, 1749; shipmaster; died at sea.
- 219 Abigail Coit, probably b. 1751.

This is a somewhat more complete record than is found in Wyman's History of Charlestown, Mass., to which the compiler has been enabled to add from hitherto unpublished sources. The name Graves in the original records was spelled *Greaves*, but for uniformity's sake was changed to the modern spelling. Mrs. Margaret (Graves) Cary died Oct. 8, 1762. Samuel Cary, sr., died Nov. 28, 1769.

74 Rebecca, daughter of Rev. Edward and Rebecca (Coolidge) Wigglesworth, married Prof. Stephen Sewall, Aug. 9, 1763.

- 220 Stephen, jr., b. Jan. 1, 1768; — Dec. 26, 1768.

Mrs. Rebecca W. Sewall died Dec., 1783. Prof. Stephen Sewall died July 23, 1804, aged 71.

75 Rev. Prof. Edward Wigglesworth, D.D., son of Rev. Edward and Rebecca (Coolidge) Wigglesworth,

married Margaret, daughter of Thos. and Hannah (Cushing) Hill, in 1765.

221 Margaret, b. Dec. 28, 1766; m. Rev. Jno. Andrews, Sept. 8, 1789.

222 Mary, bapt. Nov. 13, 1768; — Aug., 1784.

223 Edward Stephen, bapt. Nov. 13, 1771; H. C., 1789; — Aug., 1790.

224 Thomas, b. Aug., 1773; — Aug., 1773.

225 Thomas, b. Nov. 2, 1775; m. Jane Norton, Apr. 28, 1803.

Mrs. Hannah (Hill) Wigglesworth died in April, 1776.

Rev. Edward Wigglesworth married, second, his cousin Dorothy Sparhawk, June 6, 1778 (see 81). Mrs. Dorothy (Sparhawk) Wigglesworth died Aug. 25, 1782, and in Oct., 1785, he married a third time Miss Sarah Wigglesworth.

We have not found so far any record in print of his death or of that of his third wife.

78 Samuel Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Joanna (Winchester) Sparhawk, married Elizabeth Gardner, Mar. 23, 1758.

226 Mary, b. Dec. 17, 1758; m. Isaac S. Gardner, June 13, 1784.

227 Joanna, b. Apr. 6, 1764.

228 Samuel, b. Feb. 10, 1766.

Samuel Sparhawk was a descendant, through his grandmother, Mrs. Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, of Dep. Gov. Thomas Danforth; of Lieut. John and Elizabeth (Bowles) White through his mother. Through his grandmother, Mrs. Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, he was also a descendant of the Rt. Hon. Sir Oliver St. John of Clayshoe, Kn't, Devonshire, England. His great grandfather, Rev. Jos. Whiting, was a graduate of Harvard College in 1761 and preached forty-three years at Southampton, Long Island,¹ where he died. His mother, Mrs. Joanna (Winchester)

¹ MSS. in possession of Edward A. Bowen.

Sparhawk, died June 26, 1786, more than twelve years after her husband (see 31).

79 Joanna Sparhawk married Col. Thomas Gardner, June 12, 1755.

229 Richard, b. ———; m. Hannah Goldthwaite.

230 Thomas, b. ———; d. young.

231 Thomas, b. ———; m. Hannah Gardner, 1790.

232 Samuel, b. ———.

233 Elizabeth, b. ———.

Col. Thomas Gardner was wounded at the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, and died July 3, 1775. Mrs. Joanna (Sparhawk) Gardner died Nov. 24, 1794.

82 John Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Joanna (Winchester) Sparhawk, married Mary Bacon, Oct. 29, 1767.

234 Benjamin, b. Jan. 6, 1769; m. Emma Martin.

235 John, b. July 24, 1770; m. Mrs. E. M. Sparhawk; d. Apr. 12, 1861.

236 Samuel, b. Feb. 3, 1773.

237 Mary Stacey, b. Apr. 26, 1775; — Oct. 5, 1777.

238 Thomas, b. Feb. 2, 1779.

In the record of his parents' children John Sparhawk was erroneously entered as marrying a Miss Jacobs. Through the kindness of a descendant we have since been enabled to correct that error and present the above as correct. Mrs. Mary (Bacon) Sparhawk died April 17, 1783, aged 32 years. Her husband and his brother owned land in Groton, Townsend, Cambridge and many other places.¹

86 Mary Sparhawk, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Oliver) Sparhawk, married Isaac Gardner, jr., April 26, 1753.

¹ MSS. in possession of S. E. Sparhawk, Marblehead, Mass.

239 Isaac Sparhawk, b. ———; m. Mary Sparhawk (see 226), June 13, 1784.

240 Joanna, b. ———; m. Thomas Gardner (see 231), 1790.

241 Samuel, b. ———.

242 Susanna, b. ———; m. Dr. Wm. Aspinwall.

Isaac Gardner was son of Isaac and Susanna (Heath) Gardner. He and his wife are reported to have had ten children, but the four here named are all that have been definitely and authentically located. Isaac Gardner, jr., was surveyor in 1751, 1755, 1775, grand juror in 1758, and was put upon many patriotic committees. Finally, to quote from the Brookline church records (in the town, where he lived and died), "Isaac Gardner lost his life at Cambridge fighting for the Liberties of his Country, as the British Troops were on their retreat from the Battle of Concord." This was April 19, 1775.

Mrs. Mary (Sparhawk) Gardner was a granddaughter on the maternal side of Bethiah Fuller, who married Nathaniel Oliver, Jan. 14, 1730-1.

89 Hon. Thos. Sparhawk married Rebecca Stearns, second daughter of Rev. David Stearns July 10, 1758.

243 Thomas, b. Apr. 12, 1760; m. Octavia Frink, 1791.

244 Rebecca, b. July 17, 1762; m. Josiah Bellows, 1788; d. 1792.

245 Oliver Stearns, b. July 23, 1764; d. Oct. 18, 1765.

246 Oliver Stearns, b. July 16, 1771; D. C., 1793; m., 1st, H. S. Whitney, Nov. 3, 1798; 2nd, Naomi Sparhawk, 1819; d. July 6, 1824.

247 Mary, b. 1773; m. J. Bellows, 1793.

248 Jno. Stearns, ———; D. C., 1796; d. 1800.

249 Jonathan Hubbard, b. 1781; D. C., 1802; m. C. Porter, 1814; d. 1819.

250 Samuel, b. 1786; m. Sophronia Brown, 1807; d. 1835.

Hon. Thomas Sparhawk died in 1802. He graduated at Harvard College in 1755; settled the same year in Lunenburg as a teacher. Removed to Walpole, N. H., in 1769, where he was Clerk of the Court and Judge of Probate.

93 Abigail Sparhawk, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Oliver) Sparhawk, married, second, Palsgrave Wellington, M.D. (pub. Nov. 28, 1772).

251 Mary Oliver, b. 1773.

252 Penelope, b. 1784.

253 Lucy Sparhawk, b. 1788.

254 Nancy, b. 1789.

255 Christiana, b. ———.

256 Abigail, b. ———.

257 Edmund, b. ———; D. C., 1811; d. 1823.

Palsgrave Wellington, M.D., died Aug. 29, 1808.

101 John Sparhawk, M.D., son of Rev. Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Perkins) Sparhawk, married, first, Elethea Webster, second, Elizabeth Smith.

258 Eliza Perkins, b. ———; m. Hon. Joel Jones.

259 Thomas, b. ———; m. Catharine Passmore.

260 Eletheia, b. ———; m. A. Gordon; d. 1845.

261 Elizabeth, b. ———; d. April 5, 1784.

262 John, b. ———; d. Oct. 5, 1785.

263 John, b. ———.

264 Elizabeth, b. ———.

John Sparhawk, M.D., of Salem, Mass., at first; who we were erroneously led to believe married Elizabeth Perkins, married twice, and the correct names are given here, through the kindness of a descendant. He removed to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, about 1750; there in 1761 he was among those who signed the famous "Non-Importation Articles" which are on file in Independence Hall.

103 Nathaniel Sparhawk, son of Noah and Priscilla (Brown) Sparhawk, married Lydia Blake (published June 16, 1753).

265 John, b. Sept. 10, 1753; d. 1791.

266 Nathaniel, b. Mar. 23, 1755; m. Miss Pierpont; d. 1847.

267 George (M.D.), b. April 21, 1757; H. C. 1777.

268 Noah, b. April 29, 1759; m. Miss Brintnall.

269 Blake, b. April 12, 1761; m. Anna Dana, Dec. 18, 1786.

270 Lydia, b. April 10, 1763; d. y.

Mrs. Lydia (Blake) Sparhawk died Sept. 27, 1766.

Nathaniel Sparhawk married, second, Hannah Murdock of Newton, Mass. (published Nov. 12, 1767).

271 Edward, b. Nov. 29, 1770; m. E. Murdock, 1804.

272 Katherine, b. ———; prob. d. unmarried.

273 Thos. Gardner, bapt. Nov. 5, 1775; d. y.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, sr., was selectman, 1772–1775, and died Oct. 1, 1777.

Mrs. Hannah M. Sparhawk died Jan. 27, 1826, æ. 83.

104 Noah Sparhawk, jr., son of Noah and Priscilla (Brown) Sparhawk, married Abigail Frink.

274 Abigail.

275 Cotton.

276 Enos.

277 Hull.

278 Justin.

279 George, b. 1757; d. 1783.

Noah Sparhawk, jr., married, second, Lydia Whipple.

105 Martha Sparhawk, daughter of Noah and Priscilla (Brown) Sparhawk, married John Hancock, Nov. 20, 1760, Cambridge, Mass.

280 John.

281 Nathaniel Sparhawk.

282 Martha.

John Hancock, sr., was a goldsmith and resided part of the time in Cambridge and part of the time in Boston. He was a lineal descendant of Nathaniel and Joanna Hancock who were of Cambridge, Mass., as early as 1634. He was second cousin to John Hancock the signer of the Declaration of Independence.

112 Priscilla Sparhawk, daughter of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk, married Judge Nathaniel Ropes, Sept. 2, 1755.

- 296 Nathaniel, b. June 13, 1759; m. Sarah Putnam, Apl. 17, 1791; m., 2nd, Elizabeth Cleveland, Apl. 12, 1803; d. Aug. 8, 1806.
- 297 Abigail, b. — 1761; m. Wm. Orne, March 24, 1780; d. May 20, 1813.
- 298 John, b. Jan. 10, 1763; m. Abigail Ropes, June 10, 1784; m. H. Haraden, Dec. 11, 1787; d. July 9, 1828.
- 299 Elizabeth, b. Nov. 28, 1764; m. Jon. Hodges, Mar. 30, 1788; d. Aug. 30, 1840.
- 300 Jane, b. Jan. 22, 1767; m. Sam'l C. Ward, Oct. 31, 1790; d. Jan. 18, 1803.
- 301 Samuel, b. — 1773; d., unmarried, at sea, Sept. 21, 1794.

Mrs. Priscilla S. Ropes died in Salem, Mass., Mar. 19, 1798.

Judge Nathaniel Ropes died Mar. 18, 1774.

Nathaniel Ropes, sr., was born May 20, 1726. He was an only child; his parents were Nathaniel and Abigail (Pickman) Ropes, and he was graduated from Harvard College in 1745. In 1761 he was appointed a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County. In 1766 he was Chief Justice, and in 1772 was promoted to the bench of the Superior Court of Judicature. He was also a representative and a member of the Executive Council, also Ruling Elder of the First Church. He died of small pox in the prime of life. A full account of him is given in Vol. VII of "The Essex Institute Historical Collections," pages 153-154.

114 Catherine Sparhawk, daughter of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk, married (her own cousin) Nathaniel Sparhawk, jr., of Kittery, Maine.

- 302 Nathaniel, b. —; d., unmarried, 1830.
- 303 Wm. Pepperrell, b. —; H. C., 1789; d., unmarried, 1817.
- 304 Eliza, b. —; m. Andrew Spooner; d. 1802.

305 Susan, b. — ; d., unmarried, 1803.

306 Catherine, b. — ; m. Daniel Humphreys, jr., June, 1794 ; d. 1805.

They were, part of their lives, residents of Salem, Massachusetts.¹

Mrs. Catherine (Sparhawk) Sparhawk died in Kittery, Maine, in 1778 ; her children and husband survived her. Of her husband's second and third marriages a full account will be found by referring to number 126. Of the five children by this marriage, Nathaniel the eldest died unmarried in Weathersfield, Vermont, at the residence of Hon. Wm. Jarvis. The latter had married his half sister Mary Pepperrell Sparhawk, and offered his brother-in-law a home with him which was accepted. The second, Nathaniel, jr., died in York, Maine, and was interred in the tomb of his great grandfather Sir Wm. Pepperrell at Kittery, Maine. Eliza Sparhawk married Andrew Spooner, and her descendants are the only ones to-day who remain of these five children by her father's first marriage. Her sister, Susan Sparhawk, went abroad and nursed her father through a long illness in London, and died there in 1803. Catharine Sparhawk, the youngest of the five, married Daniel Humphreys, jr., a son of Daniel and Mary King Humphreys, and maternally descended from Richard the brother of President John Cutts, through the Kings and Vaughans. The line of her descendants died out in the first generation.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, sr., was appointed in 1773 to the Council, but declined to serve.²

115 John Sparhawk, the son of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk, married Abigail King, January 12, 1769.

¹ Sabine's "Loyalists of the Am. Revolution," p. 323.

² Sabine's "Loyalists of Am. Revolution," p. 323.

307 John, b. Dec. 2, 1769; m. Miss Craig.

308 George King, b. June 22, 1771; m. A. Humphreys, June, 1794; d. June, 1848.

309 Thomas, b. June 17, 1773; d. young.

310 Mary, b. April 28, 1775; d. Sept. 29, 1783.

311 Samuel, b. Aug. 13, 1777; m. Elizabeth McKinstry, 1803; d. Nov., 1834.

312 Susannah, b. Mar. 18, 1779; d., unm., 1863.

Mrs. Abigail King Sparhawk was the daughter of William and Mary Vaughan King and a great granddaughter of Richard, the brother of President John Cutts of Portsmouth, N. H. She died February 18, 1825, in the eighty-seventh year of her age. Her husband died Sept. 22, 1787, having been speaker of the New Hampshire House of Representatives, and many years selectman in Portsmouth, N. H. An interesting account of his life will be found in "Life and times of William Jarvis by Mrs. Mary P. S. Cutts," pp. 426-7.

116 Samuel Sparhawk married ——— ———.

313 Samuel, jr., b. ———.

314 Eliza, b. ———.

118 Jane Sparhawk, daughter of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk, married John Appleton of Salem, Mass., Oct. 6, 1767.

315 Henry, b. 1768; d. 1823.

316 Jane, b. 1770; d. 1791.

317 Jno. Sparhawk, b. 1775; m. Mary Lander; d. 1824, *s. p.*

318 Margaret, b. 1777; m. Willard Peele; d. 1838.

319 Nathaniel, b. 1779; m. Elizabeth Ward; d. Dec. 21, 1818.

320 William, b. 1781; d. 1802.

120 Susannah Sparhawk, the daughter of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk, married George King Atkinson, May 12, 1771. Her husband's name was originally George King; a brother of Abigail King, who

married John Sparhawk. By the provisions of the will of Hon. Theodore Atkinson, he inherited his property upon condition that he assumed the name of Atkinson, which he did. They had no children, and her will which we herewith give, in part, reads as follows :

"I give and bequeath to my nephews Wm. K. Atkinson, John Sparhawk and Thomas Sparhawk, all my public securities, monies in the funds, notes of hand, bonds, debts of every kind due to me ; judgements, executions and mortgages, to be equally divided between them my said nephews in equal thirds, share and share alike.

To Daniel Humphreys, Esq., my brother-in-law, one hundred pounds, and my house and land, shop, wharf, etc., at Puddle Dock in Portsmouth.

To my beloved brother Samuel Sparhawk, £40 *per annum during his life*. To his son Samuel Sparhawk, jr., £50, to be paid in six months after my decease. To his daughter Eliza Sparhawk £50, to be paid in six months after my decease. To the relict of my dear departed brother John Sparhawk, £30 per annum during life. To my nephew John Sparhawk, my dwelling house, garden and all my household furniture and plate (except what is hereinafter bequeathed), my book case, books, my horses and my carriages.

To my nephew Geo. King Sparhawk, my plain silver oval waiter, my largest silver teapot and teaspoons with the 'King' crest.

To my nephew Thomas Sparhawk, the land fronting my dwelling house, and also my mowing field at the creek ; also I give him £100.

To my nephew Samuel Sparhawk my pasture land at the Creek.

To my niece Susannah Sparhawk £40 sterling. To my

nephew Daniel Humphreys, jr., the field this side the creek with the barn on it, and £30 and 2 small silver salvers.

To my nephew George Humphreys the lot near my coach house which is now hired of me by Abner Blaisdell. It is my will that my protege Eliza Winslow be suitably provided with apparel, schooling and all other conveniences, until she attains the age of eighteen ; and at 20, or sooner if married, the sum of £60 sterling.

To my sister Priscilla, my suit of black satin, and my black laced shade.

To my niece Peggy Appleton, daughter of my sister Jane, my suit of Brussels and my leather wrought fan. To my nephew Wm. K. Atkinson, the family pictures, my silver wrought bread basket, my largest silver tankard, my new silver plated tea-Urn, 1 case Silver handled knives and forks, my largest Wilton carpet, also sundry books.

To my niece Katy, my white Satin cloak trimmed with ermine. Sister-in-law Abigail aforesaid, my black satin cloak trimmed with broad lace. To Deborah, wife of Nathaniel Sparhawk, my suit of Dove colored Satin.

All the residue and remainder of my estate to my nephew aforesaid, John Sparhawk, and his heirs forever. Nephews John and Thomas Sparhawk to be joint executors of the will.

Signed in presence of

A. R. CUTTER.

WM. CUTTER.

ABIGAIL MITCHELL."

There are numerous minor bequests of jewels, watches, apparel, etc., to sundry persons, not necessary to enumerate.

THE GOV^R ENDECOTT ESTATE.

GOVERNOR ENDECOTT'S WILL.

The last will & Testam^t of John Endecott Senior late of Salem now of Boston made the second day of the third moneth called May 1659. | as followeth. |

I John Endecott being (through the grace & mercie of God) at this present in health & of sound memorie doe make this my last will & testam^t as followeth. |

Imp^rimis I giue to my Deare & Louing Wiefe Elizabeth Endecott all that my ffarme called Orchard lying wth in the bound^s of Salem together wth the Dwelling Howse, out-houses, Barnes, stables, Cowhouses, & all other building & appurten^ances therevnto belonging & appertayning, And all the Orchards nurseries of fruit trees, gardens, fences, meadow & salt marsh therevnto app^tayning, And all the feeding ground^s & arrable & planting ground^s there, both that w^{ch} is broken vp & that w^{ch} is yet to break vp. As also all the timber trees & other trees for wood or other vses. together wth all the swamps therevnto belonging or app^tayninge during her naturall life. |

Itm I giue vnto her my said wiefe all my moueable good^s w^{ch} are at Boston in the howse I now dwell in. viz. all my bed^s bedsteedes. bolsters pillowes Coverletts. blanketts ruggs courtaynes & vallence & all furniture belonging to them of one kinde or another and all my carpetts cush-eens & all goods of that nature. Also I giue vnto her my said wiefe all my table board, table liñing, cubbard^s cubbard clothes stooles, truncks chests, or any other good^s now in my posfession viz. pewter brasse, Iron, Andirons, spitts. Also I giue vnto her all my siluer plate & spoones of one kinde & another And all my Linnen of what sort soeuer.

Itm I giue vnto her my said wiefe all my ruther cattle of one kinde & another as also all my sheepe, & all my wearing clothes w^{ch} shee may bestow on my children as shee shall see good, Also I giue vnto her all my bookes whereof shee may bestow on my two sonnes such of them as they are capable to make vse of & the rest to be sold to helpe pay my debts.

Also I giue vnto her my said wiefe my howses at Salem & the ground belonging vnto them, And all the good^s there w^{ch} are myne, leaving to my wiefe full power to Dispose of them whether howses or good^s as shee shall see good. Also I giue vnto my said wiefe all such debts as are due or shalbe due vnto me at the day of my deptime, either from the Countrie or from any pson or psons inhabiting in this Countrie or in England or elsewhere.

Also I giue vnto her Catta Iland neere Salem (w^{ch} the generall Court gaue me,) during her naturall lief, & after her decease to my twoe sonnes. John & Zerobabel or to the longest liuer of them.

Also I giue to John Endecott my eldest sonne. the farme w^{ch} I bought of Henry Chickerin of Dedham (w^{ch} I formerly bestowed on him) lying wthin the bound^s of Salem

And all howses & land^s whether meadow or pasture or arable land as it is conveyed vnto me in an Indenture bearing Date the fowerth day of the eighth moneth Anno 1648. And the said Indenture or conveyance to be Delivered vnto him & the said land wth the appurtenances to be to him & his heires foreuer. |

Itm I giue to him & to my younger sonne Zerobabel the whole ffarme called Orchard to be q^{ted} indifferentlie betweene them after the decease of my said wiefe

Also I giue vnto Zerubbabl a farme out of the farme lying vpon Ipsw^{ch} riuer contayning three hundred acres whereof ffortie acres is meadow lying along the playne by the rivers side next to Zacheus Gould his land w^{ch} lyeth

by the brooks side that runneth into Ipsw^{ch} riuer at the furthest end of the playne. |

Itm I giue vnto my said Loving wiefe my eldest mare w^{ch} she was wont to ride on & her eldest mare foale

Item I giue vnto my sonne John Endecott the horse coalt that now runs wth the mare. |

Also I make my wiefe sole & onelie executrix of this my last will & testam^t, And doe desire that Elder Pen & Elder Coleborne will be the overseers of this my last will, & if God should take either of them out of the world : That the longest liuer of them hath heereby libertie wth my wife's consent to choose another overseer vnto him.

And whereas the generall Court hath giuen vnto me the fourth q^t of Block Iland, I doe heereby bequeath it vnto my said wiefe to helpe pay debts wthall If I dispose not otherwise of it before I dye.

Itm I giue vnto my said twoe sonnes John & Zerubbabel the twoe farmes I bought, the one of Captayne Trask, the other of Captayne Hawthorne lying vpon Ipsw^{ch} riuer next adioyning to my farme vpon the said riuer.

Itm I giue all the rest of the land belonging to my farme vpon the said riuer w^{ch} is not disposed of to my twoe sonnes John & Zerubbabel, my eldest sonne to haue a Double portion thereof

Also I giue vnto John Endecott & Zerubbabel all the Land w^{ch} was giuen me by the twoe Sachems of Quinebaug : my Eldest sonne to haue a Double portion thereof.

Itm I giue to my grandchild John Endecott Zerobabel his sonne, Ten pownds w^{ch} is to be payed him when he is one & Twentie yeares of age. Also that Land I haue bequeathed vnto my twoe sonnes in one place or another my will is that the longest liuer of them shall enioy the whole except the Lord send them children to inherit it after them

Itm I giue vnto M^r Norrice teacher of the Church at

Salem xl^s. & to M^r Wilson pastor of Boston xl^s & to M^r Norton, teacher xl^s.

Itm I giue to the poore of Boston fflower pound^s to be disposed of by the Deacons of the Church.

Jo. Endecott [Seal with arms
and a horse, stag or lion
rampant for crest.]

Indorsed: The last will & testam^t of me Jo: Endecott

1665. Courts gratuity to M^{rs} Eliz. Endecott, relict to
25 May y^e late Gou., 160th.

The Court judgeth it meete in remembrance of the good service of the late John Endecot, Esq^r, Goũno^r, & the condition of his relict, to order the Treasurer of the country to discharge the charge of wine, cakes, toombe, & powder expended on the late funerall of the late Goũno^r, & that M^{rs} Endecot, his relict, be pajd & satisfied out of the country treasury one hundred & sixty pounds, by æquall proportions, by the Tresurer, in fīue yeares the whole; sixty pounds whereof was in consideration of hir expence of seventy pounds in mourning cloaths for herself, children & family.

The County Court last at Boston hauing presented to them this Instrument & finding that y^e differenc betweene the mother & y^e Eldest sonne about y^e probat thereof to be such as their determination would not be rested in Referred it & w^t both could say to the Courts determination.

The māgists hauing duely perused this last will & testamen^t of the late Honoured Gou^eno^r written. Signed Sealed & Subscribed by his owne hand apparently knowne to be his owne hand writing together wth the testimony of w^m Salter. & y^t it was made in the time of his health & mem-

ory & y^t it was showne to him in the forme as now it is together wth the evidence of m^r Houchin. The magest Doe Allow & Approove thereof to be the last will & testament of the sayd Jn^o Endecott Esq. late Gouverno^r their brethren the deputjes hereto Consenting

Edw Rawson Secrety

The County Court last at Boston having presented to them this Instrument & finding that the difference betweene the mother & the Eldest Sonne about the probat thereof to be such as their determin would not be rested in : transferred it & what both of them could say & produce thereabouts to the Generall Courts determination =

The magis^{ts} hauing Duely pervsed this Instrument the last will & testament of the late Honoured Gouverno^r written signed & Sealed by his owne hand (apparently knowne so to be) together wth the testimony of w^m Salter attesting that it was made in the time of his health. & memory, & that it was shewne vnto him in the forme as now it is : and also pervsed wha^t hath binn tendered by m^r Houchin to Invalidatt the same : The Magists Judge it meete to declare that they doe allow & approve of this Instrument to be the last will & testament of the sajd late John Endecot Esq^r : their brethren the deputjes hereto consenting.

This was voted. by y^e magis^{ts} Edw Rawson Secrety
instead of what is aboue written.

The Deputy's Consent
not with o^r Hono^{ed} magis^{ts}
in approueing of this In-
strument as a Will

William Torrey Cleric.

The Deput^s Judge meete to
referre the Ifsue of this
case to the next sestion in
october & y^t all p^osons Con-
cerned attend the same re-
ffering to the Consent of o^r
Honrd magis^{ts} hereto

William Torrey Cleric

Voted by the whole Court together that they doe not approve of this Instrument to be the last will & testament of the late Jn^o Endecott Esq^r Gouverno^r: 17: october 1665

q Edw. Rawson Secrety

COURTS FINALL JUDGM^T TO SETLE Y^E LATE
GOV^R ENDECOTS ESTATE.

Att a Generall Court of Election held at Boston : the 23th May : 1666 &c.

In ans^r to a petiçõn exhibited to this Court by M^{rs} Elizabeth Endecot, the relict of the late hon^d Governo^r, Jn^o Endecot, Esq^r. deceased, * * * and Zerubbabell Endecot, their sonnes, for settling the estate of the sajd John Endecott, deceased, according to an instrument, (on file wth the records of this Court,) to which the hand & seale of the sajd John Endecot, deceased, is annexed, bearing date May 2^d, 1659, after a full hearing of all partjes concerned in the sajd estate, (*i.e.*,) the sajd M^{rs} Elizabeth Endecot & hir two sonnes, M^r John & M^r Zerubbable Endecot, M^r Jeremiah Houchin, being also present in the Court & respectfully presenting their pleas & evidences in the case.

For a final issue whereof, this Court doeth order, & judge meete to declare, that the sajd estate shall be divided betweene the aboue sajd widdow & hir two sonnes, according to the aboue sajd writing on file provided alwayes whereas the farme called Chickerings was by deed of sale or guift made ouer to M^r John Endecott sundry yeares before the date of the aboue sajd instrument to haue & to hold the same to him, his heires, & assignes foreuer, —

This Court doe judge meete to order & declare, that the sajd John Endecott shall enjoy the same to him his heires, & assignes foreuer, (any thing in the aboue sajd writing that may seeme to contradict the same notwithstanding.)

And also whereas there doeth appeare to be lesse provision made for the wife of the aboue named Mr John Endecott then may seeme æquall, or was the reall intent of the abouesajd John Endecot, Esq^r. deceased, who had during his life speciall favor & respect for her,—

This Court doeth order, that M^{rs} Elifabeth Endecot, the now wife of the aboue named Mr John Endecot, in case she shall surviue the said John, hir husband, shall injoy all that estate of houses & lands mentioned in the aboue sajd instrument, as bequeathed to the sajd John, hir husband, during hir naturall life, (not suffering any strip or wast to be comitted on the same,) anything contained in the aboue named instrument notwthstanding.

And this Court doeth also order & declare, that whereas the abouesajd M^{rs} Elifabeth Endecot, widdow of the aforesajd John Endecot, Esq^r, deceased, is seized, according to the abouesajd instrument, of the goods & chattells of the sajd John Endicot, Esq^r, her late husband, deceased, in case shee shall dye seized to the value * * * more then eighty pounds st^r, q^{te} thereof * * * the same shall be divided betweene her sonnes, Mr John Endēōt & Mr Zerubabel; and the sajd John, being the eldest sonne, shall haue a double porcōn thereof. Finally, this Court doth impower the sajd M^{rs} Elizabeth Endecot, relict, widdow of the aboue named John Endecot, Esq^r. deceased, sole administratrix on the estate whereof he djed seized, she bringinge in a true inventory thereof to the next Court for the county of Suffolke, & discharging all debts due from the sajd estate.

Salem y^e 27. 2^{mo} 65 —

We hose names are Vnder Writen being Desired to prize the Estate of John Edecott Esquire the Late Governor of the Masettsets—

Impr	The home farme together with the hous- li	
	ing orchards and fenses five hondred and	
	fifty pownds	550
	It to hondred & fifty Acors at a farme	
	Liing vpon Ipswich Riuer being part of a	
	farme giuen by the Country together with	080
	the Meddow to it eighty ^s	
	It a house at the towne with three Acors	
	of Land to it one hondred pownd	100
	It three Bedsteeds five pownds	005
	It fower oxen five and twenty pownds	025
	Eaight Cowes thirty two pownds	032
	It three two year olds nine pownd	009
	It six yearlings nine pownd	009
	It fower Calues two pound	002
	John Porter	Total
	Thomas Punchard	815

More in certeine tenn acre lotts y^t
m^r Endecott purchased of Seuerall
men to be made out & vallued =
more in two hundred & fifty acres of
vpland & meadow q^t of y^t farme y^t ly-
eth in Topsfeild vndesposed of.

Itt 2 farmes in y^e Country purchas^t
of Maj^r Hawthorne & Cap^t Traske giuen
them by y^e Country 500 :

Ittm an Island called Catta Island
more for 9 mares horses & colts sold
to m^r Daury at 53.10 00
an old mare remayning valued at 08 00 00
five barrels of sidar at farm^r Por-
ter's leakt out to 4 & on half
1 p^r of smale milstones

A debt in m^r Aleoks hand uncertajne

At A County Court held at Boston 13 febr 1686.
M^{rs} Elizabeth Endecot Deposed in open Court that these 3 papers Containe a true Inventory of the Estate of
the late Hon^d J^{no} Endecot Esq^r to hir best knowledg that when she knowes of more she will discover y^e same

Wearing App ^{rl} valued	50 00
in y ^e closet bookes &c	30
a clock	03
200 ac ^r s at Ipswich	80
m ^r Trask & m ^r Hauth ^r ns	
farmes	30
the tenn ac ^r lotts	80
1 p ^r pistolls	}
= Crosbowes & fouling peec	
27 Decemb 1666	

An Inventory of y^e goods & chattells of the Late
Honnored governo^r m^r John Endicot prized by the
Subscribers 3i (5) 65

Inprs : wearing Apparrell & mony	65-15-3
it in siluer plate seuerall peeces in all	10- 0-0
it in seuerall Remnants of broad Cloath	
kersey serge stuffe & some Linen	10-19-4
it one ffeatherbed w th ffurniture to it	15- 0-0
it 3 Chaires 2 stooles 1 Chest 1 Cup-	
bord & Carpet	i- 3-0
it a Deske Case of siluer hafted kniues	
& a Dyall :	i 14-4
it in seuerall small things	0-10-0
These aboue written are in y ^e governor chamber	
It in the Closet in bookes a saddle w th it	} 36- 0-0
ffurniture & some other small thinges	
it in Linnen of seuerall sorts ffor	} 17- 2-0
Bed & table & other sorts	
it one Curtaine a standinge bed Truckle	
bed w th ffeather beds, Boulsters &	
Rugges	10- 3-0
it a chest of Drawers another Chest a	
Truncke some Hose yarne & a pr of	
Tonges	01-9-10

	It in the garret 8 bushells of wheat by estimatio one bedstead ffeather bed boulster and Hangings an old Jacke & Hammacke	} 09-7 -0
<u>13 13-0</u>	it one fflowlinge peece broken steele bowes empty Cases of bottles & other thinges	} 04-6 -0
	it in the plour a Clocke	03- 0-0
	it pistolls & Holsters 20 ^s a Cubbord 30 ^s	02-10-0
	it 8 Chaires 42 ^s 8 ^d one stoole 4 cushions	02-12-8
<u>11-4-8</u>	it Table Carpet & 3 stooles 50 ^s And Irons 12 ^s	03- 2-0
<u>3 15-0</u>	it in the Hall a marble Table fframed Table stooles chaire & Candlesticke Cast And Irons	} 03-15-0
	it in the Kitchin pewter 40 ^s Brasse pot 3 skellets 3 Iron pots one skel- let 40 ^s one copper 3 ^d Iron thinges about the ffyre 40 ^s	} 09- 0-0
<u>12-13-2</u>	it Seuerall other thinges	03-13-2
	it a prentice boye 10 [£] a small bed for him 20 ^s	011- 0-0
<u>12-15-0</u>	it in the Cellar barrells & tubbs 20 ^s also y ^t were fforgotten some small thinges 15 ^s	} 01-15-0
		<hr/> 224-7-7 <hr/>

more in apeece of searg for a wascoat

a peece of silke	} all w ^{ch} m ^r Ende- cott Gaue to his wife to make hir Apparell seull yeares befor his Death
prunella	
a peece of mohaire	
& 4 yds of hol- land	

Indorsed :

John Wiswal } *Lfs*
Peter Brackett }

Inventory of Gour Endecott household.

in the garrett	
a pcell of wheat estimated 8 bush	01-12-0
it 2 empty Cases of bottles & 16 empty Round bottles	01- 0-0
it seuerall broken & old steele bowes & pistoll	01- 0-0
it an old Jacke — & a Hamacke	01-15-0
it 2 musketts one fflowling peece	02- 0-0
it one bed ffeather bed boulster & Hangings	06- 0-0
it 2 spinning wheles 6s	0-06-0
in the parlour a Clocke	03- 0-0
it y ^e pistolls & holsters	01- 0-0
it a cubbard	01-10-0
it a p ^r of And Irons	00-12-0
it 4 Chaires 6s 8d	01- 6-8
it 4 Chaires at 4s p chaire	0-16-0
it one stoole & 4 cushions	0-10-0
it one Table & Carpet w th three stooles	02-10-0
in the Hall one table & 4 stooles	01-10-0
it one Chaire 5s a Candlesticke 2s	0-07-0
it one Marble table & 3 stooles	01- 0-0
it p ^r Cast And Irons	0-18-0
in the Kitchin one kettle & warmeinge pan	01-10-0
it 2 morters p ^r skales	01- 0-0
it wooden vefsells & trays & siues	00- 6-8
it one Drippinge pan	00- 5-0
it 3 Iron potts & one skellet	01- 0-0
it one brafse pot & 3 skellets	01- 0-0
it in pewter seuerall sorts	02- 0-0
it p of and Irons tramells ffryinge pan spitts & all instruments about the ffyre	02- 0-0
It boxe Iron & heaters	0- 1-6
it a Copy 3 ^d & seuerall od thinges 10s	03-10-0
it a bed for the boye	01- 0-0
in the Cellar barrells & tubbs	01- 0-0

it one boye beinge prentice	10- 0- 0
more in a peece of searge for a wascoat	55-5-10
a peece of Silke pruned	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; font-size: 4em; line-height: 1;">}</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> all w^{ch} m^r Endecott gaue to his wife to make hir Apparrell seuerall yeares before his Death </div>
nella	
a peece of Mohaire &	
a 4 y ^{rds} of holland	
	169- 2 9
	224 8 7

John Wiswal *Lfi*

THE WILL OF JOHN, ELDEST SON OF GOV^R JOHN ENDECOTT.

In the name of God Amen the 27th of January, one Thousand six Hundred Sixty & Seaven, I John Endicott of Boston in new England Eldest Sonn to the late John Endecott Esq^r & late Governor of the mastachusetts Colony being sick of a sore throate & other distempers of body, but as well & perfect in mind & memory as Euer I was when I was in my best health, & greatest strength God bee prayسد doe make & Ordaine this my last will & Testament as followeth,

I doe willingly & with a free hart render & giue againe into the hands of my Lord God & Creator which hee of his ffatherly goodnes gaue vnto mee my spiritt when hee first fashioned mee in my mothers wombe, making mee a liuing & reasonable Creature, hoping in his infinit mercy towards mee in Jesus Christ, my Sauio^r & Redeemer and as for my body I commend it when Gods time is, with a free & good will to the Earth from whence it came there to bee buried with decent buriall by my Executrix herein nominated & hoping of a blefsed & happie Resurrection at the great day, And whereas [*I for*] sooke all other women & joyned my selfe in marriage vnto [*my*] deare wife and wee twaine became one flesh, And shee has carryed her self

a louinge helpfull & painefull wife unto me I giue & bequeath vnto her my sayd wife all my whole estate [* * * * *] Personall, I say I giue & bequeath [* * * * * *with my*] house in Boston joyning to George B [* * * * *] & Appurtenances thereto belonging,

Also I giue & bequeath vnto my [* *] all Lands * * * * of Salem the whole farme call [*ed Tarve*] lls farme * * * * & afixes foreuer,

Also I giue & bequeath vnto Elizabeth my said wife * * Chattles within & without dores where soeuer they sh * * all other Estate that belongs to mee both in reuersion * * to bee disposed by her foreuer, I doe Ordaine Appoint * -beth my wife, sole Executrix of this my last will * * * * I make my ffather in Lawe Jeremiah Howchin * * * * Saffin Ouerseers of this my last will.

John Endecott [*& a seal*]

Signed sealed & deliuered

in the presence of vs

Jeremiah Howchin

Nathaniell Green

Rob^t Bradford

Moses Bradford

the word well Enterlined & * * * fect blotted before signing

Att a meeting of the Gouvernour major Generall Joh * * * & Recorder in Boston the 24 ffeb: 1667

Jeremiah Howchin & Rob^t Bradford & Moses Bradf * * before the magistrates & Reccord^r, that hauing subs * * names as wittnesses to this instrument were present * * thereof, & did both see & heare the late m^r John [*Endecott*] signe seale & publish the same to bee his last * * -ment, that when hee soe did he was of a sound disp * * their best knowledge

Edw : Rawson Record

M^r Z. ENDICUTT, HIS WILL, 1684.

I Zerubabel Endecot, Sen^r, of Salem in the County of Essex in New England thorow the Lord's mercy being of perfect memory and understandinge do make this my last wil and testament November 23th 1683 : as followeth

Imprimis my wil is that Elifabeth my wife shal have made good unto her and enioy the estate made fure to her by way of dowry before marriage, and that she shal enioy my now dwellinge house so long as she shal be pleased to liue vpon the farme orchard.

Item. I giue vnto my two fons John and Samuel and to the heyres of their bodyes my farme orchard : reseruinge to the sayd Elifabeth my wife one third part of the sayd orchard farme duringe her life, the other two third parts I giue vnto my sayd two sons John and Samuel after my decease. and after the decease of the sayd Elifabeth my wife the other third part to be equally diuided betweene my sayd two sons John and Samuel and the diuision to be made by my ouerseers.

Item. I giue vnto my three sons Zerubabel Benjamin and Joseph my farme vpon Ipswich Riuer adioyninge to Topsfeild being five hundred and fifty acres to be equally deuided both vpland and meadow to be equally deuided betweene my sayd three sons.

Item. I giue vnto my five daughters (viz) mary Sarah Elifabeth and Hanna and Mehetabel to each of them fifty pound to be payd vnto them by my Executors as follow—viz

that all the rest of my land both in possession and reversion viz the land called the smal lots on the fouth of the playne belonging to the farme orchard—the myrie swamp at the head of the playne — the five hundred acres of Land bought of maior Hathorne and Capt. Traske with Catta Isle Land or any other Land belonging to me in any other place which I have not otherwise bequeathed with all my neat rother with all my moueable goods shal be improued by my executors for the payment of my debts — my wiues Joynture, and the seuerall legacies to my five daughters and my wil is that all my houshold goods. that is to say my beddinge linnen and wollen. and all such houshold goods as I doe not in this my wil dispose of shal be giuen to my five daughters to be Equally deuided among them as part of their seuerall legacies.

Item I giue vnto Zerubabel my son one halfe acre of my Land lyinge in the Towne of Salem the other acre to be improued by my executors for the bringinge vp of my two daughters Elisabeth and mehitabel

Item I giue vnto my Son John al my Instruments and bookes both of phisicke and Chirurgery. and all the rest of my bookes of Diuinity I giue vnto the rest of my children to be equally deuided among them

Item. where as my Late father by his last wil bequeathed vnto me his farme called Bishops or chickeringe farme I doe giue the sayd farme to my five sons to be equally deuided among them.

Item my will is that in case the seuerall parcels of Land and moueable goods shal not amount so

far as to pay my debts. my wiues Joynture and Legacyes. It shal be payd what remaynes out of the seural portions giuen to my fiue sons. but in Case it exceeds the sayd debts and legacyes the ouerplus shal be diuided to each of my sons an equal share

Item I giue to Beniamen Scarlet fiue pounds and all the Land now in his possiession duringe his life

Item my wil is that in case eyther my son John or Samuel depart this life and leaue no heyres of their bodyes. then my wil is that the land giuen to them shal remayne wholly to the survivor he payinge to each of my fiue daughters twenty pound as likewise If any of my thre sons depart this life without heyres of their bodyes lawfully begotten then their part shal remayne to the suruiuer they payinge to each of my fiue daughters ten pounds — In absence of my executors my ouerseers undernamed haue ful power to act in the behalf of my two youngest daughters accordinge to this my wil

Item I consytute and appoynt my two sons John and Samuel to be the executors and my Louinge frinds Israel porter Joseph Hutchinson and Nathaniel ffelton Sen^r ouerseers to this my last wil and testament — And In witnesse that this is my Last wil and testament I haue hereunto set my hand and seale dated the day and yeare aboue written

Zerobabel Endecott

[Seal with arms
& a phœnix, griffin,
or displayed eagle
for crest.]

Signed and Sealed in the presence
of us

Nathaniel ffelton. Sen :

signum

Joane **I** Read

Leift Nathaniell felton & Jone Read Appeared in Court at Ipswich. 27th of March 1684 & made oth that they were present & saw Zerrobabell Endecote Signe Seale & he then declared the within written to : be his Last will & testament & that he was then of disposing mind.

attest John Appleton. Cler^s.

An inventory of the moueable goods in the House of Mr Zerubabel Endecot deceased taken by vs whose names ar vnderwritten. Jan : 28th 168³/₄

In the New house in the hall

Imprimis 3 featherbeds. 2 bolsters. 4 pillows. 2 Rugs. 1 old carpet. a payre of red Curtayns and val-lons. a payre of streiked curtayns and vallons. a chest of drawers. a case of glasse botles. a stone table. a sea chest. 4 gold Rings [a Cabi-net. a case Lances. 2 Rasors. a box of Instru-ments. a dyal] 10 bookes in folio. 16 in quarto. 2 great chayers. 6 high Chayers. [2 guns. 1 Rapier. a Cupboord and a warming pan. a sil-uer salt. a siluer spoon. a siluer wine cup] 12 case Kniues with siluer hafts — a great trunke. 2 silke gownes. 2 diaper table cloths. a payre of sheets. 2 Cupbord cloaths. 12 diaper nap-kins. 7 caps that were the Gouvernours. 3 payre of fringed gloues. a bible. a laced Cupbord cloath. 2 bedsteads. a box smothering iron with

2 heaters. fire shouel and tongs. smal tongs. a saw with six Instruments for a Chirurgion. a curb bit. a brasse powder horne with a shot bag and belt. a powder horne. a copper hake. 3 urinalls. 3 earthen Pots. a bason. six Pewter platters. a bed pan. a tonnel. a brasse lamp. a looking glasse. an iron mortar. a metal mortar. a barrel of porke.

In the chamber.

A feather bed a bolster and two pillows—[a payre of silke curtaynes. a long carpet with a chest and in it 3 earthen dishes 4 earthen platters and six Jugs]

[a chest & in it 6 large peuter platters. 6 smaller platters. a lattin dripping pan, an Iron dripping pan, a brasse candlesticke. 2 pewter candlesticks. a great tin candlestick. a great salt. a little salt. 6 plates. a payre of copper scales & a box of trenchers]

[a Chest with linnen viz 2 payre of sheets. a diaper table cloth. 13 diaper napkins. 10 fine napkins. a nother diaper table cloth. a sheet with a seeming Lace. fve towels. 7 pillow beares. 1 silke scarfe. silke sleeues. an apron. a child's blanket with other childbed linnen. & 7 small pillows]

a chest of bookes & writings.

Item

2 oxen. 5 coves. 2 2 yeare old. 2 yearelings. 1 horse. 4 swine. 16 spring pigs. Accordinge to estimation 80 or 90 bushels of Indian corne in loose eares. 5 turkeis. 2 tame geese.

In the Kitchine

Three brasse ketles. a bel metle pot. foure iron pots. an iron skillet. a brasse candlesticke.

6 hakes. 6 payre of pot hookes. 6 spits. 2 fenders. 2 fryinge pans. a payre of long Andirons. a payre of great Andirons in the parlour. 3 payles. 1 Lattin dripping pan. 1 sacke. 5 bush indian corne. a saddle, pillyon and pillyon cloath. an iron kete. a bason. a brasse skillet. a skimmer. an iron forke. a payre of bellowes. a Large iron dripping pan with feet.

In the Cellar

Sixteene empty barrells. 8 Jarrs. a bowle. a payre of wooden scales. a set worke tub. $\frac{1}{2}$ bush salt. $2\frac{1}{2}$ empty hogsheads. 4 Cheese fats. 11 bar: wthon head apeice. a bag of hopps about six pound.

In the old house

1 Copper. an iron peel. a hand saw. 2 augers. a Jack. a payre of pruninge sheeres. an iron mil. 3 wheeles. a treuet. 2 old bedsteeds wth some old iron and other Lumber.

His wearing Apparel.

A blacke Coat wth Doublet and hose. 2 hatts. a lether coat. a payre of gloves. a payre of shoes. 3 payre of stockings. a camlet coat. a twilted gowne.

At Steuen fishes a warming pan.

at Tho: Keny a gun

at Nath ffelton inn a carbine

at Ben: skarlets a great chayne. a payre of brasse Andirons, and a payre of iron dogs. a gold ringe.

At Daniell andrews an Iron Crow.

at willyam Trasks a pewter Limbecke.

We whose names ar vnderwritten do present this list of the moveables belonginge to m^r Endecots estate as by

vertue of an order frome m^r Browne Esq^r & m^r Gedney,
Esquire

Nathaniel ffelton sen
Joseph Huchinson

An Inuentory of the Estate of m^r Zerobabell Endicott
Late of Salem Deceased taken by us whose names are un-
derwritten att the Request of Zerobabell Endicott Admin-
istrator to the affore sd estate : taken y^e 4th march 169⁶₇

Imprimis	The ffarme called oarchard ffarme being by estimation aboute three hundred acres of upland swamps and mar- ishes to gether with all the build- ings fences and privillages there unto belonging : in the Tenure and occupation off walter phillips.		£b 1500 - Sh 00
It.	a ffarme of ffive hundred and fifty acre of upland and meadow Lying on both sides Ipswich River.	£b 650 - Sh 00	
It.	The miery swamp so called be it more or Less att three pound q ^r acre [being four acres-	£b 12 - Sh 00]	
It.	A stone Table.	£b 03 - Sh 00.	
It.	A grate Iron spitt	£b 00 - Sh 5	
It.	Sundry things in the Hands of Hannah Endicott Relick widdow of Samuell Endicott, viz : a Chest of Drawers	£b 02 - Sh 00	
It.	an old Iron pott Tramell and pott hooks Iron skillit old frying pan and box Iron	£b 00 - Sh 16	
It.	an old warming pan and 2 old platers and old chairs	£b 00 - Sh 12	

It. an old dripping pann old pestill
and morter and small spitt and
other old Iron £b 01 - Sh 00

It. The Reversion of Ten acres of
Land or there abouts in the pos-
session of Benjamin scarlett giuen
to him by the said Deceasd During
his naturall Life £b 35 - Sh 00

It. Two hundred acres of Land be-
ing a Town grant Lying and being
on the southerly side of the Gov-
eners plaine so called being the
most of it sold To severall persons
by samuell Endicott £b 400 - Sh 00

It. fifty Two acres of Land Called
the small Lotts: adjoyning to m^r
Reads ffarme and m^r Dowinings
ffarme being all sold to severall per-
sons by John and samuell Endicott £b 104 - Sh 00

It. catt Island att the mouth of
marblehead harbour sold by sam-
uell Endicott To Richard Read £b 30 - Sh 00

£ 2726 “ 13

John Putnam fen^r

thomas fuller fen^r

Essex Sc.

Thomas putnam

Before the Hon^{ble} Barth^o Gedney Esq^r Judge of probate
of wills &c^a for sd County march 15th 169⁶₇

Zerobabel Endecott Adm^{tr} of the Estate of Zerobabell
Endecot late of Salem dec^d made Oath that the aboue is a
true and perfect Inuentory of the Estate of the s^d dec^d to
the best of his knowledge & if more Comes to his knowl-
edge he will also giue an acct. of the same.

Sworne attst Jn^o Croade Reg^r

Jurat^r q^o y^e Adm^{tr} Mrch 15 : 9⁶₇

WAS GOV. ENDECOTT'S HOUSE THE FIRST PLACE OF WORSHIP?

It has been the accepted view, as stated with a qualified indorsement by the "Committee on the authenticity of the Tradition of the First Church,"¹ that our Puritan Forefathers "worshipped from 1629 to 1634, in an unfinished building of one story," and in the last named year erected the structure of which the skeleton remains to us.

The earliest authority known to the writer for the above statement, which was asserted by Felt without quoting authority therefor² may be found in Dr. Bentley's "Description of Salem," printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1799,³ and is in these words,— "An unfinished building, of one story, was used occasionally for public worship in Salem, from 1629 to 1634. A proper house was then erected by Mr. Norton, who was to have £100 sterling for it. The old church now stands upon the same spot." Dr. Bentley was not always accurate. Was he in this instance giving the weight of his authority, without examination, to a current tradition of his day, or had he sources of exact information now lost to us? It will be noted that while Dr. Bentley qualifies his statement with the word "occasionally," later writers have been less cautious.

In a copy of this Description of Salem, which was in the possession of that indefatigable antiquary, the late George A. Ward, as early as 1819, and was by him copiously annotated and presented to the Essex Historical Society in 1821, he comments on the above quoted passage in these words,— "The Town Records begin 26th 10th mo. 1636, so there is no positive proof of there having been a meeting house built in 1634 by Mr. Norton, for £100, or that the first house was unfinished." And it is not with-

¹See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. II, p. 145.

²Felt's Annals of Salem, 1st Edition, p. 72; 2nd Edit., Vol. II, p. 613.

³1st Series, Vol. VI, p. 226.

out significance that the mural inscription, which, in 1865, Mr. Ward caused to be placed upon the present First Church, utterly ignores the tradition of the "unfinished building."

Of the antiquaries who accept the "unfinished building" tradition, some of them place it near the first church location, and suppose it to have become a warehouse after the building of the meeting-house; others regarded it as the germ of the first fort, which stood near Sewall Street, and was known later as the Arbor or Harbor Fort.

But amongst the considerable accumulation of historical material printed in the "Colonial Series" of "English State Papers" for "America and the West Indies" some of it bearing largely on Gov. Endecott's famous mutilation of the British "Flag or Antient," will be found at Vol. I, page 194, a letter which James Cudworth of Citewat (Scituate) wrote in December, 1634, "to his verie lovinge & kinde father," Dr. Stoughton, and which perhaps puts the matter in a different light. These are his words.— "Some of the church of Salem have cut out the cross in the flag or antient that they carry before them when they train. Cap. Endecott, their Captain, a holy, honest man, utterly abandons it. His house, being the largest, is their Meeting-house, where they are as yet but 60 persons."

In May of that year, Capt. Israel Stoughton, of Dorchester, wrote to Dr. Stoughton, "his dear brother" stating¹ that he supposes "he will hear much about the cross in the banners; it is true Capt. Endecott did deface it upon his own private head:" doubtless the same Dr. Stoughton above addressed.

The query suggested by Cudworth's use of the word "meeting-house" is whether he meant that the Governor's house was their place of worship or their place of *rendezvous* "when they train." Does he mean by "60 persons,"

¹ State Papers, Colonial Series, for America and the West Indies, Vol. I, p. 179.

sixty heads of families in the church, sixty men capable of bearing arms, or sixty attendants at divine worship? Or is Cudworth in error and speaking without sufficiently exact information?

THE SETTLEMENT OF BEVERLY.

In the year 1830, Israel Thorndike, jr., Esquire, was at the expense of procuring to be made, by Joshua Coffin of Newburyport, a fair copy of the first volume of the Records of the Town of Beverly. This he presented to the town and received a vote of thanks therefor at the March meeting of 1831.¹

At the end of the copy, Mr. Coffin inserted a sketch of the patriarch and pioneer of the town, Roger Conant, and Mr. Rantoul added a note signed by himself, and intended by him to correct some misconceptions entertained by Mr. Coffin. The note has value in connection with the question raised in Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., xviii, p. 307, is dated August 20, 1837, and is in these words:

"From depositions taken about 1681, in relation to Mason's claim, an abstract of which may be found in Felt's Annals of Salem, page 268, it appears that Conant and others first settled on Salem side, probably on the tongue of land between Collins' Cove and the North river, over which tongue of land Bridge street is now located. Conant afterwards removed to the other side of Bass river and continued to live on Bass river side, afterwards Beverly, till

¹ Town Meeting, March 14, 1831. Voted, on motion of Hon. Robert Rantoul, That the thanks of the town be presented to Israel Thorndike, junior, Esquire, of Boston, for his generous regard to the interest of the town, in causing the first volume of the records of the town to be substantially and handsomely bound, and also in having the same copied and bound in like manner, thereby doubling the probability of their preservation and by the copy rendering them easy of use and intelligible to all. That the Town Clerk be requested to communicate this Vote to Mr. Thorndike.

the time of his decease. It is probable, but it is not certainly ascertained, that the first settlement of Beverly was by the removal of John and William Woodberry (brothers) from Salem side to Woodberry's point, now sometimes called Curtis's point or Curtis Woodberry's point, in 1630.

"Roger Conant removed to Beverly side about the same time.

"Tradition says that the first frame house built in Beverly was on said point. This house was taken down, not many years since, by John Prince, who built a house in or near the same place.

"John Balch, another of Conant's companions, removed to Beverly side about the same time.

"Roger Conant's petition, [page 135, of Coffin's Copy of Town Records] will agree better with the above than with the note on the preceding page, which was made by Joshua Coffin.

"Mr. Coffin, in stating that Roger Conant and his associates first settled on Beverly side of Bass river followed the Rev. William Bentley's History of Salem, published in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. This history was written many years before Mr. Felt's Annals of Salem and it is manifest, by comparison, that Mr. Felt had access to ancient official papers not seen by Mr. Bentley. The depositions referred to throw much light upon this subject. The circumstance of Roger Conant's living on Beverly side of the river for nearly fifty years, and ending his days there, probably gave rise to a traditional story that he first settled there. A careful reading of Conant's petition I think must settle the matter. If he had first settled on Beverly side he certainly would have stated that circumstance as a reason why he should have the privilege of giving a name to the town, rather than that he was 'the first that had house in Salem.'"

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE ROGER WILLIAMS HOUSE.

In the general disposition to "prove all things" which has cast a doubt over so many traditions once held sacred the ancient Roger Williams House has not escaped. But skepticism must give way before the known facts in this case. There are at least five independent lines of argument, each of which makes it reasonably certain that the estate in question, during the debated period, was the property of a Mr. Williams. "Mr" was not a mere title of courtesy in those days but had a well defined significance and a well guarded application.¹ The champions of the Williams House claim can well afford to rest their case here. If there were living in Salem between 1631 and 1636 some person named Williams other than Roger and entitled to the prefix Mr., which was in common use with the clergy, then we think it is incumbent on the doubters to produce that Mr. Williams and either show that he did own, or at least that he might have owned the estate in question. No such person is known to our local antiquaries.

That Roger Williams owned a house in which he lived, in Salem, appears from his letter to Major Mason in 1670² where he says "when I was unkindly and unchristianly, as I believe, driven from my house and land and wife and children (in the midst of a New England winter now about 35 years past) at Salem, that ever honoured Governor, Mr. Winthrop, privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Nahigonset Bay" etc.

In a letter to John Winthrop in 1638,³ he says "I owe betweene 50 & 60 *li* to Mr. Cradock for commodities re-

¹ See Felt's Hist. Ipswich, p. 23; Felt's Annals of Salem, First Edition, pp. 56 and 523; Second Edition, Vol. I, pp. 165-6. Babson's Hist. Cape Ann, p. 116.

² Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 276.

³ Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Series, Vol. VI, p. 230.

ceived from Mr. Mahew. Mr. Mahew will testify that (being Mr. Cradocks agent) he was content to take payment, what (& when) my house at Salem yealded: accordingly I long since put it into his hand, & he into Mr. Jollies" etc.

Reference to the history of this house is made in Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. VIII, pp. 257-9, and Essex Institute Bulletin, Vol. II, pp. 55-60. It is there shown that the records furnish a number of separate and independent proofs either of which it is thought would satisfy those acquainted with Salem antiquities, that the house and home of Roger Williams at the time he left Salem in 1636 was the house on the corner of North and Essex streets now preserved to us. They may be briefly restated.

I. We know from the evidence given in the Historical Collections, Vol. VIII, p. 258, that this is the same house, though somewhat altered, which Jonathan Corwin bought, Feb. 11, 1674, from the administrators of the estate of Capt. Richard Davenport. That it was then an old house, built in the primitive style, appears from a study of the contract¹ then made for its repair taken in connection with its subsequent well known history. The western part of the front still presents its original appearance, and the lines of the ancient roof and the form of the rooms can still be traced. In 1714, Jonathan Corwin was allowed two shares in the common lands "for his house and Mr. Williams cottage right." That is to say, it was proved, in 1714, to the satisfaction of the Proprietors of the Common Lands in Salem that "Mr. Williams" had lived before 1661² where Jonathan Corwin was then living.

II. The ten acre lot in the Northfield which went with

¹Bulletin, Vol. II, April, 1870, pp. 55-7.

²Acts of General Court, May 30, 1660. Province Laws, Act of Nov. 16, 1692-§3. Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. XIX, pp. 241-53. Town Records of Salem, 1679-1723, Vote of June 16, 1702. *Ibidem*, Vote of Feb. 2, 1714.

this house in the sale to Corwin is shown to have belonged to "Mr. Williams."

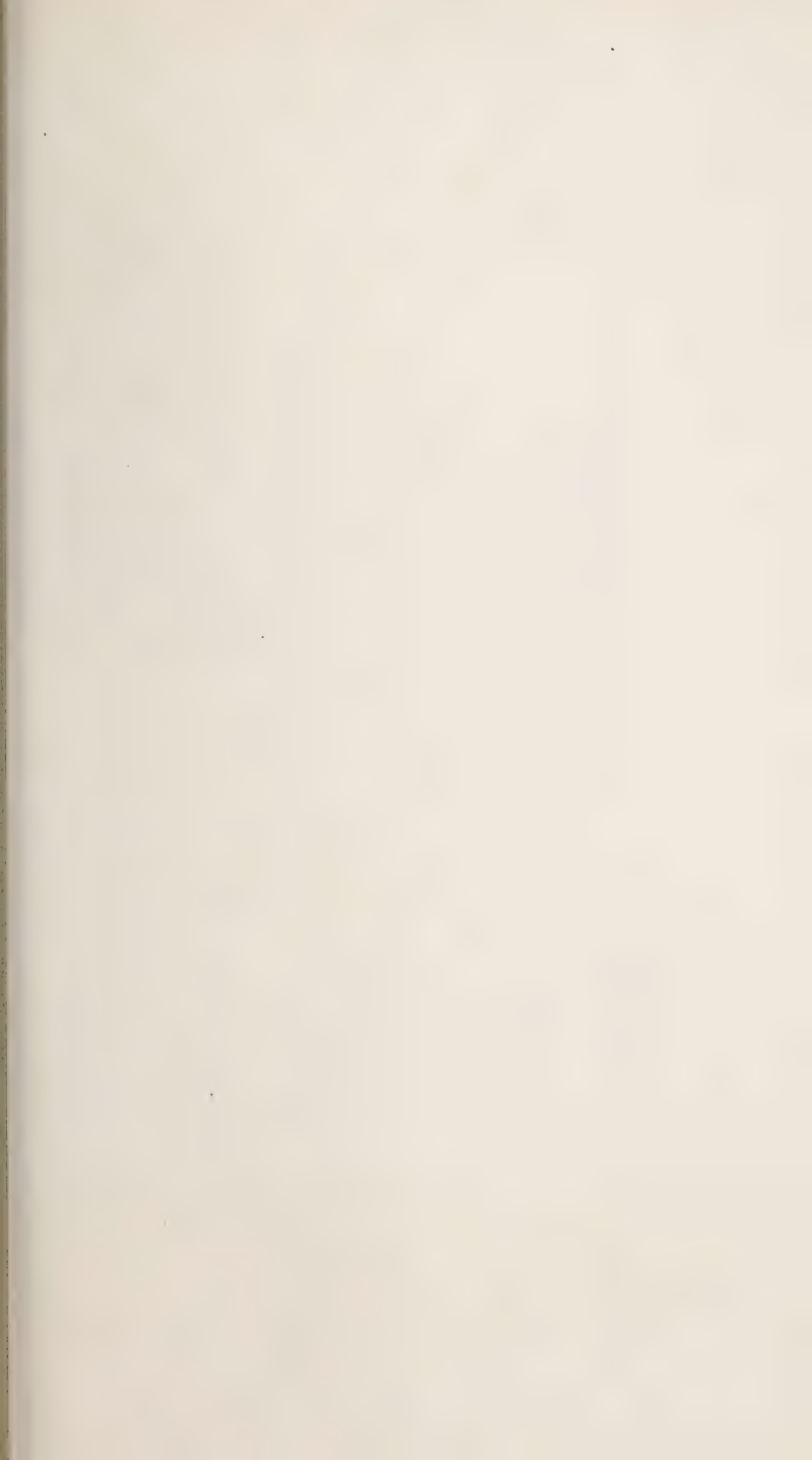
III. The appointment of "fence-viewers" in 1640 mentions "the field where Mr. Williams' house is" in such a connection as to show it to have been in this locality.

IV. That part of Essex street between Dean street and North street is described in the Court Records, in 1650, as "the way between Roger Morey and Mr. Williams his house that was."

V. North street is described, in 1671, as "formerly called Williamses Lane" After Jonathan Corwin bought the house it was called "Corwins Lane."

That "Mr. Williams" meant Roger Williams cannot be doubted. It is clear that it was perfectly understood at the time to whom the expression applied. If there had been more than one *Mr. Williams* in Salem's early history, the records would not have so invariably omitted the first name. But there was, in fact, no other to whom that title would have been given. The prefix "Mr." was used only for magistrates, ministers, eminent merchants and persons holding some official position. The only other "Mr. Williams" who figures in our Colonial records at that period was Francis Williams of Piscataqua and Strawberry Bank, now Portsmouth.

An examination of the character of the early settlers in that part of Salem lying west of North street as exhibited in the following rough sketch, suggests the idea that Roger Williams in choosing this site for his house may have been accompanied or followed by others of a similar freedom of spirit in religious matters. We find there the names of Veren, Gaskin, Trusler, Spooner, Shattock, Weston, Needham, Moulton, Buffum, Corey, Southwick, Maule, Reeves and Bishop, all reminding us of persons conspicuous on our records as promulgators of what were considered "erroneous doctrines," Quakers, etc.



[NORTH RIVER.]

HILLIARD VEREN.
ALLEN KENNISTON.
SAMUEL BELKNAP—SAMUEL GASKIN.
THOMAS COLE.
[BECKFORD STREET.]
THOMAS TRUSLER.
WILLIAM BOUND.
RICHARD BISHOP.
THOMAS SHAPLEIGH.
THOMAS SHAPLEIGH, SENIOR.
SAMUEL SHATTUCK, SENIOR.
[DEAN STREET.]

ROBERT, or JOHN, PEASE.
FRANCIS WESTON?

ROGER MOREY.
ANTHONY NEDDIAM.

WILLIAM BACON.

PHILIP VEREN.
HENRY REYNOLDS.

ROBERT BUEFUM.

ROBERT MOULTON

BOSTON STREET.

JOHN ALDERMAN.
GILES COREY.

LAWRENCE SOUTHWICK.

[TOWN BRIDGE.]

STREET.

EX S S E F

(THOMAS MAULE THOMAS ANTRON
[HAMILTON STREET]
MICHAEL SHAPLEIGH
ROBERT GOULD.
JOHN MOULTON
[FLINT STREET]

THOMAS GOULDTH.
WAIT.

HENRY KENNY.

TOWNS

"BRICK-KILN LANE"

"BRICK-KILN FIELD."

THOMAS TRUSLER.

JOHN BARBER.—RICHARD NOR

[NORMAN'S ROCKS.]

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XXV. JULY, AUG., SEPT., 1888. NOS. 7, 8, 9.

THE PART TAKEN BY ESSEX COUNTY
IN THE
ORGANIZATION AND SETTLEMENT OF
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

OF the nine most conspicuous names associated with the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 and the settlement of the region of which it was the *Magna Charta*, namely, Thomas Jefferson, Nathan Dane, Manasseh Cutler, Timothy Pickering, Elbridge Gerry, Rufus King, Rufus Putnam, Arthur St. Clair and Winthrop Sargent, seven — all but those of Jefferson and St. Clair — belong distinctively to Essex County. It has been thought well in this centennial year of the great events which secured that imperial domain to Freedom and the highest manhood, to put on record some account of the several parts borne by these distinguished sons of Essex, in so beneficent and far-reaching a work. Accordingly the following selections have been

brought together, from sources whose high authority will challenge the attention of the student of our history, and they are presented without comment, in the chronological order in which they were given voice. No attempt is made to reconcile statements in some cases apparently in conflict, but each stands on the authority of its well known sponsor, and is suffered to rest as it was originally made, to be read in the light of such facts as had at that time been discovered and established beyond question.

If a comprehensive statement and an exhaustive bibliography of the whole subject be sought, an admirable one is at hand in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Volume VII, Appendix One, pages 527 to 562 inclusive. Other sources of condensed information which may be named are Dunn's "Indiana" in the *American Commonwealth Series*, Chapters V, VI and VII, pages 177 to 293, and Rufus King's "Ohio" in the same series, Chapter VII, pages 161 to 188, together with Appendix II, pages 404 to 409 of that work. For partial views of the matter, the student is also referred to an article, prepared in 1853, for a chapter of the *Life of Rufus King*, by his son Dr. Charles King, President of Columbia College, and printed in *Spencer's History of the United States*, Vol. II, pp. 201-9, and in the "*New York Tribune*" of February 28, 1855, with able editorial comments thereon; also to Nathan Dane's appendix to Volume IX of his "*General Abridgment of American Law*,"

Note A, and his letter of May 12, 1831, addressed to John H. Farnham, Secretary of the Historical Society of Indiana, and printed in the "New York Tribune" of June 18, 1875; to William F. Poole's article in Volume CXXII, pp. 229-265, of the "North American Review" for April, 1876; to Peter Force's account of the Ordinance in Appendix I of the "St. Clair Papers," reprinted in Volume II, Appendix D, of the "Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler," and to Chapters IV, V, VI, VII, VIII and IX of the work last cited; also to the "St. Clair Papers," Vol. I, Chapters V and VI, pp. 116-141; to Bryant's History of the United States, Vol. IV, pp. 109-115; to Curtis's History of the Constitution, Vol. I, pp. 291-327; to Bancroft's History of the Constitution, Vol. II, pp. 430-9; to Benton's "Thirty Years' View," Vol. I, pp. 133-6; to Burnett's "Notes on the Northwest Territory;" to Major Ephraim Cutler Dawes's paper on the "Beginnings of the Ohio Company" read at Cincinnati, June 4, 1881, pp. 1-32; to the "Legislative History of the Ordinance," by John M. Merriam, in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1888, pp. 303-342; and to a paper by Frederick D. Stone, Secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, about to appear in their magazine of History and Biography for the year 1889, Vol. XIII.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.¹

[Letter to Samuel Hodgdon, dated, Newburgh, April 7, 1783.]

* * * * *

Respecting the Vermont lands, I have given up the idea.

* * * * *

But a new plan is in contemplation,—no less than forming a *new State* westward of the Ohio. Some of the principal officers of the army are heartily engaged in it. About a week since, [*I set*] the matter [was set] on foot² and a plan is digesting for the purpose. Inclosed is a rough draught of some propositions respecting it which are generally approved of. They are in the hands of General Huntington and General (Rufus) Putnam for consideration, amendment and addition. It would be too tedious to explain to you in writing all the motives to attempt this measure, and all the advantages which will probably result from it. As soon as the plan is well digested, it is intended to lay it before an assembly of the officers, and to learn the inclinations of the soldiers. If it takes, an ap-

¹Col. Pickering, H. C. 1763, was born at Salem, July 17, 1745; of a family which has been prominent in the affairs of Salem since 1637 and has owned without a break the old homestead since it was built in 1642. The first American ancestor contracted on the "4th day of y^e 12th moneth," 1638, with John Endecott, John Woodbury, William Hathorne and others, representing the town of Salem, for an enlargement of the first meeting house. Col. Pickering was a conspicuous civil and military officer sharing largely in Washington's confidence, and served in his military family and in his cabinet as Secretary of War and of State and as Postmaster General. He died Jan. 29, 1829, and lies buried in the Broad st. burial-ground, in Salem. Col. Pickering's scheme was by no means the first one for settling the Ohio country, although broached before the ink was dry on the terms of peace. At least twenty years before, as early as May, 1763, an association known as the "Indiana company," of which George Plumer Smith of Philadelphia has some of the original papers, was sending agents to England to obtain grants from the Crown; in 1753, an Ohio company was employing Washington as its surveyor; and 1744 is not too early a date to assign for the inception of these English designs upon the Ohio valley. Col. Pickering's portrait is in the Essex Institute.

²In the MS. now in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society and beautifully indexed, this sentence was first written "I set the matter on foot," and the words "I set" were afterwards erased, and "was set" interlined with a caret after "the matter."

plication will then be made to Congress for the grant and all things depending on them.

* * * * *

Adieu !

T. Pickering.

Saml. Hodgdon Esq.

P. S. April 8.—This morning a British officer from Sir Guy Carleton has bro't to H^d Q^{rs} the official accounts of Peace. Lord Surry is to come over ambassador to the United States. So I will soon shake you by the hand. But we must first celebrate here this great and happy event.

Te, Deum, laudamus!

T. P.

[Propositions enclosed in the above letter.]

* * * * *

"11. That a constitution for the new State be formed by the members of the association previous to their commencing the settlement, two-thirds of the associators present at a meeting duly notified for that purpose agreeing therein. The total exclusion of slavery from the State to form an essential and irrevocable part of the Constitution.

* * * * *

"15. That, the associators having borne together as brethren the dangers and calamities of war, and feeling that mutual friendship which long acquaintance and common sufferings give rise to ; it being also the obvious dictate of humanity to supply the wants of the needy, and alleviate the distresses of the afflicted,—it shall be an inviolable rule to take under the immediate patronage of the State the wives and children of such associators, who, having settled there, shall die, or, by cause of wounds or sickness, be rendered unable to improve their plantations, or

follow their occupations during the first twenty-one years. So that such destitute and distressed families shall receive such public aids, as, joined with their own reasonable exertions, will maintain them in a manner suitable to the condition of the heads of them; especially that the children when grown up, may be on a footing with other children, whose parents, at the original formation of the state, were in similar circumstances with those of the former."

ELBRIDGE GERRY.¹

On the 14th of October, 1783, a Committee of the Continental Congress presented a report upon the subject of Indian affairs and the Western lands. During the discussion Mr. Gerry offered the following proposition, which was "agreed to," although there is no entry showing that the entire report was adopted. Mr. Gerry moved to amend so that it would read as follows: "Your Committee therefore submit it for consideration whether it will not be wise and necessary, as soon as circumstances shall permit, to erect a district of the western territory into a distinct government, as well for doing justice to the army of the United States who are entitled to lands as a bounty, or

¹Born at Marblehead, July 17, 1744; H. C., 1762; Massachusetts Legislature, 1772; conspicuous in the first Provincial Congress and in the first Continental Congress; the friend and ally of Samuel Adams, he declared early for Independence of Great Britain and afterwards enrolled his name amongst the signers of the Declaration. Of the fifty-six signers he was the thirteenth in order; he was one of five from Massachusetts and one of eight Harvard graduates. As a member of the Federal Convention for framing the Constitution he objected to proposed extensions of the powers of the Congress and finally withheld his assent to the Constitution as reported. He was in 1797 an envoy to France; Governor of Massachusetts in 1810; and, in 1812, Vice President of the United States, in which position he died at Washington, November 23, 1814.

The substantial wooden mansion-house of two and one-half stories in which Mr. Gerry was born and lived at Marblehead, still stands on Washington near Pickett street, and opposite the chapel of the "Old North Church." It was once the residence of Capt. William Blackler, a hero of the Revolution who commanded the barge in which Washington was ferried across the Delaware.

in reward for their services, as for the accommodation of such as may desire to become purchasers and inhabitants, and in the interim to appoint a committee to report a plan, consistent with the principles of confederation, for connecting with the Union by a temporary government the purchasers and inhabitants of the said district, until their numbers and circumstances shall entitle them to form a permanent constitution for themselves, and as citizens of a free, sovereign, and independent state, to be admitted to a representation in the Union. Provided, such Constitution shall not be incompatible with the republican principles, which are the basis of the Constitution of the republican states of the Union."

April 23, 1784. Mr. Gerry offered, and Congress adopted the following :

"That measures not inconsistent with the principles of the Confederation, and necessary for the preservation of peace and good order among the settlers in any of the said new states, until they assume a temporary government as aforesaid, may, from time to time, be taken by the United States in Congress assembled."

THE SALEM MERCURY, NOV. 27, 1787.

[From a Letter of M. ST. JEAN DE CREVECEUR,¹ Consul, of France for the Middle States in America, published in Europe and dated August 26, 1784.]

THE Ohio is the grand Artery of that part of America beyond the mountains ; it is the center where all the waters meet, which on one side run from the Alleghany

¹J. Hector St. Jean de Crevecoeur, born in Normandy, 1731, came to New York in 1754, where he married an American wife, identified himself with the country, suffered in the Revolutionary War, was honored with the esteem of Washington and of Franklin, and wrote many letters and books of travel well describing American life and conditions. In 1782 he introduced the American potato in Normandy.

mountains, and on the other come from the high land in the vicinity of lakes Erie and Michigan.

It has been calculated, that the region watered by those rivers, comprised between Pittsburgh and the Mississippi, contains at least 260,000 square miles, equal to 166,920,000 acres. It is, without a doubt, the most fertile country,—the most diversified and best watered soil, and that which offers to agriculture and commerce the most abundant and easy resources, of all those that the Europeans have heretofore discovered and peopled.

It was on the 10th of April, at eight o'clock in the morning, that we quitted the key of Pittsburgh, and gave ourselves up to the current of the Ohio. This navigation requires neither effort nor labor, but merely the art of steering well, knowing and avoiding the shoals, etc., and keeping in the middle of the channel. Without either sails or oars, we proceeded along at the rate of three to five miles the hour, according to the disposition of the winds, and the different windings of the river, which almost throughout preserves a width of from two to three hundred fathoms. We were at the beginning of the increase; already its waters had risen nine feet at the key of Pittsburgh, and I never found less than twelve at any time that I sounded.

This sweet and tranquil navigation appeared to me like an agreeable dream. Every moment presented to me new perspectives, which were incessantly diversified by the appearance of the islands, points, and the windings of the river, without intermission,—changed by this singular mixture of shores more or less woody; whence the eye escaped, from time to time, to observe the great natural meadows which presented themselves, incessantly embellished by promontories of different heights which for a moment seemed to hide, and then gradually unfolded to the

eyes of the navigator the bays and rivulets, more or less extensive, formed by the creeks and inlets, which fall into the Ohio. What majesty in the mouths of the great rivers which we passed! Their waters seemed to be as vast and as profound as those of the river upon which we floated! I never before felt myself so much disposed for meditation. My imagination involuntarily leaped into futurity; the absence of which was not afflicting, because it appeared to me nigh. I saw those beautiful shores ornamented with decent houses, covered with harvests and well cultivated fields; on the hills exposed to the north, I saw orchards regularly laid out in squares; on the others, vineyard plats, plantations of mulberry trees, locust, etc. I saw there, also, in the inferior lands the cotton tree, and the sugar maple, the sap of which had become an object of commerce. I agree, however, that all those banks did not appear to me equally proper for culture; but as they will probably remain covered by their native forests, it must add to the beauty, to the variety, of this future spectacle. What an immense chain of plantations! What a long succession of activity, industry, culture and commerce, is here offered to the Americans!

I consider then, the settling of the lands, which are watered by this river, as one of the finest conquests that could ever be presented to man; it will be so much the more glorious, as it will be legally of the ancient proprietors, and will not exact a single drop of blood. It is destined to become the source of force, riches, and the future glory of the United States.

Towards noon, on the third day, we anchored at the mouth of the Muskingum, in two fathoms and a half of water. . . . It is towards one of the principal branches of the Muskingum, that the great savage village of Tuscarawa is built; whence a carriage [*portage*] of two miles

leads to the river Cayahoga, deep and rather rapid, the mouth of which, in Lake Erie, forms an excellent harbor for ships of two hundred tons. This place seems to be designed for a spot for a town; and many persons of my acquaintance have already thought of it. All the travelers and hunters have spoken to me with admiration of the fertility of the plains and hills watered by the Muskingum; also, of the excellent fountains, salt pits, coal mines (particularly that of Lamenchicola) of free-stones, etc., that they find throughout.

RUFUS KING.¹

On the 16th of March, 1785, a motion was made by Mr. King, seconded by Mr. Ellery, that the following proposition be committed:

"That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the States described in the resolve of Congress of the 23d of April, 1784, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been personally guilty; and that this regulation shall be an article of compact, and remain a fundamental principle of the constitutions between the thirteen original States and each of the States described in the said resolve of the 23d of April 1784."

¹ Born in Maine, 1755; H. C., 1777; studied law at Newburyport with Theophilus Parsons; in General Court from that town in 1783; Delegate to Congress in 1784-5-6; member of the Convention sitting at Philadelphia which formed the Constitution, when the Ordinance was passed at New York, July 13th; was appointed with Gerry, in 1785, as agents of Massachusetts, for fixing the terms upon which she would relinquish her claim on the Northwest Territory and they seem to have made the exclusion of slavery a condition precedent; Member of Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, 1788; afterwards United States Senator from New York and then Minister to England; died April 29, 1827.

RUFUS PUTNAM.¹

[Extracts from his journal, printed by Mary Cone: Cleveland: 1886.]

1785. While I was in Boston my election as one of the surveyors of the lands in the western territory was announced to me, in a letter of May 20, from the secretary of Congress, and requiring an immediate answer of my acceptance. I was considerably perplexed as to what answer to return, for I was not only under engagement to the state of Massachusetts, which I could not with honor disregard without their consent, but surveyors and hands were engaged for the season, provisions laid in, and a vessel chartered to take us to the eastern country. At the same time, I was very lothe to relinquish my appointment for the western country. On a view of the circumstances, I wrote a letter of acceptance to the secretary of Congress, and a letter to the Massachusetts delegates in Congress, requesting their influence that General Tupper might be accepted as a substitute for me in the western country until I could attend to the service in person. * * * *

1786. March 1. Delegates from eight counties of the state met at Boston agreeable to our request, and proceeded to form articles of agreement. * * * *

1787. Nov. 23. The directors of the Ohio Company this day appointed me Superintendent of all the business relating to the commencement of their lands in the territory

¹ John Putnam, the ancestor of all the New England Putnams, came from Buckinghamshire, A. D., 1634, and settled in Salem. From him, through his eldest son Thomas, his grandson Edward, and his great grandson Elisha, all Salem men, the last of whom married Susannah Fuller of Danvers and removed to Sutton in 1725, Rufus Putnam was descended in the fifth generation, having been born, April 9, 1738. He served in the French War, 1757-61, at its close studied surveying, was colonel, brigadier-general and chief engineer in the army of the revolution; was the third of the 288 officers of the continental line who memorialized Congress, June 16, 1783, in favor of granting bounty lands north of the Ohio, and addressed Washington on the subject; was a judge of the Northwest Territory in 1790-96, and surveyor general of the United States from 1796 to 1803.

northwest of the river Ohio. The people to go forward in companies employed under my direction, were to consist of four surveyors, twenty-two men to attend them, six boat builders, four carpenters, one blacksmith and nine common hands, with two wagons, etc., etc. Major Haffield White¹ conducted the first party, which started from Danvers the first of December. The other party was appointed to rendezvous at Hartford, where I met them the first day of January, 1788. From Hartford I was under the necessity of going to New York, and the party moved forward conducted by Colonel Sproat, January 24. I joined the party at Lincoln's Inn, near a creek which was hard frozen, but not sufficient to bear the wagon, and a whole day was spent in cutting a passage. So great a quantity of snow fell that day and the following night as to quite block up the road. It was with much difficulty we got the wagon to as far as Cooper's, at the foot of Tuscarawas mountain, now Strasburgh, where we arrived the twenty-ninth. Here we found that nothing had crossed the mountains. Our only resource now was to build sleds, and harness our horses one before the other, and in this manner, with four sleds

¹ Haffield White was a native of Danvers. At Concord Fight he commanded the Danvers Minute Men, and eight were killed. He had joined the army as a young man in 1755 and had taken an active and honorable part in the "Old French War." During the Revolutionary War he served as a lieutenant in Hutchinson's Regiment and as captain in Col. Rufus Putnam's Fifth Massachusetts. He was present at Trenton and Princeton and at the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga. He was in Campus Martius (the fort at Marietta, Ohio) during the Indian War of 1790-95. At its close he lived in Ohio, where he built the first mill erected in the territory.

From the Hamlet Parish, besides Jervis Cutler, there were in Major White's party, John, Amos and Ebenezer Porter, Nathaniel Sawyer, Isaac and Oliver Dodge, Josiah Whittredge, William and Edmund Knowlton and David Wallis. The record of David Wallis shows the stuff of which they were made. Falling sick with the small-pox on reaching the Muskingum, he withdrew from camp and made his bed beside a fallen tree, where food was brought and left for him. He got well and walked back to Pittsburgh through an unbroken wilderness with one companion; there worked at a smelting furnace, saved his wages and finally walked home to Ipswich. For sketches of some of the pioneers in this enterprise who marched from Danvers, see a series of papers, signed "A. P. P.," and printed in the "Danvers Mirror" for June, July and August, 1881.

and the men in front to break the track, we set forward and reached the Youghioghenny, February 14, where we found Major White's party, which arrived January 23.

April 1, 1788. Having completed our boats, and laid in stores, we left Sinoul's ferry, on the Youghioghenny, for the mouth of the Muskingum, and arrived there on the seventh, landing on the upper point, where we pitched our camp among the trees, and in a few days commenced the survey of the town of Marietta,¹ as well as the eight acre lots, nor was the preparation for a plan of defence neglected. For, besides the propriety of always guarding against savages I had reason to be cautious. For, from consulting the several treaties made with the Indians by our Commissioners (copies of which I had obtained at the war office as I had come on), and other circumstances, I was fully persuaded that the Indians would not be peaceable very long, hence the propriety of immediately erecting a cover for the emigrants who were soon expected. Therefore, the hands not necessary to attend the surveys were set to work in clearing the ground, etc., which I fixed on for erecting the proposed works of defence.

Thus were all hands employed until May 5, when I proposed to them that those who inclined should have the liberty of planting two acres each on the plain within the town plat, and make up their time after the first of July (the date to which they had been engaged in the company's service). Most of them accepted the offer, and with what was done by them and others who came about this time, we raised about one hundred and thirty acres of good corn, yielding on an average about thirty bushels per acre. The season was very favorable; we had no frost until winter. I had English beans blossom in December.

¹ Actually so named in honor of Marie Antoinette, at the first meeting of the directors held west of the Alleghanies, July 2, 1788, and a public square tendered her ill-starred Majesty. Louisville was already named for the King.

Campus Martius was situated on the margin of the first high ground, a plain sixty chains from the Ohio river and eight chains from the Muskingum. It consisted of four block-houses of hewn or sawed timber, two stories high, erected at the expense of the company. The upper stories on two sides projected about two feet, with loop holes in the projection to rake the sides of the lower stories; two of the block-houses had two rooms on a floor, and the other two, three rooms. The block-houses were so planned as to form bastions of a regular square and flank the curtains of the work, which was proposed to consist of private houses, also to be made of hewn or sawed timber, and two stories high, leaving a clear area of one hundred and forty-four feet square.

MANASSEH CUTLER.¹

[From the diary printed in his *Life, Journal and Letters*.]

[He was chosen, March 1, 1786, at the "Bunch of Grapes" Tavern in Boston, one of five to draw up a plan of Association, and March 8, 1787, one of three directors.]

¹ Dr. Cutler was born in Connecticut May 3, 1742, and before entering college studied medicine; A.B. of Yale, 1765; began a business life in the whaling fleet of Martha's Vineyard; studied law and was admitted to the bar, 1769; studied theology and was licensed as a preacher, 1770; ordained at Ipswich Hamlet, 1771; joined in the pursuit of the British in the "First Bull Run" from Lexington to Boston; commissioned as chaplain in the army, 1776; besides a large knowledge of botany and astronomy, he acquired a sufficient knowledge of medicine to take the place of the village doctor who joined the army as a surgeon, and to be summoned in consultation and to take part in autopsies. He fitted many young men for Harvard College. He was a friend and constant correspondent of Franklin; LL.D. of Yale in 1789; member of the Seventh and Eighth Congresses, 1801-5; and member of the American Academy, American Philosophical, Massachusetts Historical, Essex Historical, and many other learned and literary societies. He died in the pastorate at Hamilton, July 28, 1823. The house he lived in is shown in the picture on page 182, and his portrait is in the Essex Institute.

Major Ephraim Cutler Dawes, of Cincinnati, a descendant of Dr. Cutler, in whose possession the original papers remain, writes: The diary for 1786 is lost.

Dr. Cutler's diary of his journey to New York and Philadelphia, in 1787, as printed in "The Life of Manasseh Cutler" was not written each day, but, as shown by the different kinds of ink and difference in pens, indicated by heavier

1787. June 23. Preparing for a journey to New York.

June 24. Sunday. Exchanged with Mr. Parsons of Lynn. Rode to Cambridge.

June 25. To Boston. Left Boston for Dedham.

and lighter strokes in forming the letters, was written up at intervals of several days. He made, however, daily memoranda, and also made notes of each day in an interleaved almanac.

In the formal journal (see "Life of Manasseh Cutler, Vol. I, p. 236), he writes of *July 9, 1787*, that he spent the morning with Hutchins, attended the meeting of the Committee before Congress opened, was again with Hutchins until noon, dined with Dr. Rogers and other clergymen, again met the Committee, and spent the evening with Dr. Holten and other members of Congress.

Of the *10th July*, he says that he had a conference with the Committee and then went with Mr. Hazard to visit Dr. Crosby with whom he spent much time in Columbia College. He dined at Col. Duer's and left for Philadelphia in the evening.

The interleaved almanac entries for these dates are:

July 9th "attended Congress. Dined with Dr. Rogers and other clergymen."

July 10th "attended business. Dined with Col. Duer. Went over ferry towards Philadelphia."

The daily notes appear to have been made daily on loose sheets of paper afterwards sewed together. *July 9th* was skipped or lost and is written in between the 12th and 13th with a note "omitted in its proper place."

The record is:

"Monday, July 9. This morn waited on ye Com^e at Congress Chamber—waited on Dr Crosby—went to Columbia College—ye Dr is professor of midwifery in this College—it is an elegant, large stone building like that at Providence—small but good apparatus—small library. Dined with Dr Rogers, Dr Ewing, Dr Mc Courtland, Mr. Wilson and another gentleman—very politely entertained. Dr Witherspoon came in after dinner and spent a little time. Dr Ewing introduced me to Dr Rittenhouse. I spent ye evening at Dr Holtens quarters with delegates of Congress."

July 10th is in its proper place in the notes. The entry is:

"Tuesday, July 10. In ye morn waited on Mr. Dane. Dined with Col Duer in company with Mr Osgood of ye Board of Treasury,—Maj Sargent—2 ladies besides Mrs Duer or Lady Kitty. She is daughter of Lord Starling—one, a French lady—La Touche—Set out for Phila" . .

It is quite certain from these extracts that Dr. Cutler's visit to Columbia College was on July 9 and that he spent the forenoon of July 10 with Nathan Dane. The printed copy of a proposed ordinance was no doubt handed to Dr. Cutler on his first visit to Congress, July 6. He had ample time to examine and comment upon it and the forenoon of July 10 to communicate his idea to Mr. Dane.

In writing out the complete journal at some wayside inn, Dr. Cutler probably did not notice the omission of July 9 in its proper place in the notes, but wrote right along from memory with the result of confusing the incidents of two successive days. Many others who have undertaken to write diaries after a few days' interval have had the same experience.

It has never seemed to me difficult to determine what Dr. Cutler contributed to the Ordinance of 1787.

The Ohio Company originated at the meeting of officers in April, 1783, when Timothy Pickering submitted his proposition for the formation of a new state an essential condition of whose constitution was to be the total and irrevocable prohibition of slavery. That prohibition was a condition of the purchase.

June 26. Went on this morning for Providence.

July 5. About 3 o'clock I arrived at the city by the road that enters through the Bowery. Put up my horse at the sign of the Plow and Harrow. Took a walk into the city.

July 6. At 11 o'clock I was introduced to a number of members on the floor of Congress Chamber in the City Hall. Delivered my petition for purchasing lands for the Ohio Company, and proposed terms and conditions of purchase. Dined with Mr. Dane.

July 9. Waited this morning very early on Mr. Hutchins. He gave me the fullest information of the western country, from Pennsylvania to Illinois, and advised me, by all means, to make our location on the Muskingum, which was decidedly, in his opinion, the best part of the whole of the western country.

July 10. As congress was now engaged in settling the form of government for the Federal Territory, for which a bill had been prepared, and a copy sent to me, with leave to make remarks and propose amendments, and which I had taken the liberty to remark upon, and to propose several amendments, I thought this the most favorable opportunity to go on to Philadelphia. Accordingly, after I had returned the bill with my observations, I set out. [Dr. Cutler arrived, July 12; returned, July 14-17.]

July 18. Paid my respects this morning to the President of Congress, General St. Clair; attended at the City Hall on Members of Congress and their committee.

July 19. Called on members of Congress very early this morning. Was furnished with the Ordinance estab-

The purchase was a *private contract* of purchase. Dr. Cutler would have failed in his duty to his associates if he had not insisted upon a clause in the Ordinance protecting it.

Dr. Cutler had insisted upon a grant of land for a university and also that the school and ministerial sections should be reserved in the Ohio Company purchase. These grants would have been of little value without the mandate in the Ordinance to foster religion and encourage schools.

lishing a Government in the Western federal Territory. It is in a degree new modelled. The amendments I proposed have all been made except one, and that is better qualified. There are a number in Congress decidedly opposed to my terms of negotiation, and some to any contract. I must, if possible, bring the opponents over. Holten,¹ I think, may be trusted. Dane must be carefully watched notwithstanding his professions.

July 25. Mr. Osgood promised to make every exertion in his power in our favor.

July 26. We now entered into the true spirit of negotiations with great bodies; every machine in the city that it was possible to set to work we now put in motion.

July 27. At half past three, I was informed that an Ordinance had passed Congress on the terms stated in our letter without the least variation, and that the Board of Treasury was directed to take Order and close the contract. Sargent and I went immediately to the Board.

Aug. 29. Went to Boston and attended a meeting of the Ohio Company. Made a report of the purchase of the land from Congress, which was approved and confirmed.

Oct. 27. Major Sargent and myself signed the Indented Agreement on parchment in two distinct contracts, . . for near six millions of acres of land . . the greatest private Contract ever made in America. Dined with General Knox — a very large company, all old Continental officers except myself,—Baron Steuben one of the number.

Dec. 1. Sent to Danvers the men's baggage, who are going to the Ohio.

Dec. 2. LORD'S DAY.

¹ Dr. Holten was a native of Danvers, born June 9, 1738, and died there Jan. 2, 1816. He was of the third generation of village doctors of his name; sat in the Provincial Congress of 1774-5; on the Committee of Correspondence and Safety in 1776; was in the Continental Congress, where he for a time presided, from 1777-83, and in the Congress of the United States from 1793-5. From 1796 until his death he was Judge of Probate for Essex County. See Hanson's *Hist. Danvers*, pp. 188-194.

Dec. 3. This morning a part of the men going to the Ohio met here two hours before day. I went on with them to Danvers. The whole joined at Major White's.



Twenty men, employed by the company and four or five on their own expense, marched at eleven o'clock. This party is commanded by Major White. Captain Putnam took the immediate charge of the men, wagons, etc. Jervis¹ went off in good spirits. He is well fitted for the journey.²

Jan. 17, 1788. Mr. Haraden and I went to Salem to get the dimensions of wagons for the western country.

Jan. 28. Went into the woods with a team and carried a white ash log to the mill for felloes for wagon wheels, and brought home timber for the body.

Feb. 7. Sent to every man in the parish an invitation to assist me in hauling wood. Constitution adopted by Massachusetts.

Feb. 8. Hauled wood from over the Pond. Mr. Plummer here from Pittsburg in 19 days. Accounts of the arrival of Major White and my son.

March 4. Went to Providence in my chaise to attend a meeting of the Directors and Agents of the Ohio Company. Mr. Harris in a sulky. Arrived in Providence about sunset and lodged at Mr. Hitchcock's.

¹ Dr. Cutler's second son; the first of the party to step ashore at the Muskingum.

² A reminiscence written by Temple Cutler, Esq., Dr. Cutler's youngest son, of Massachusetts and Ohio, a well-known agricultural writer, gives some additional particulars of this event: "The little band of pioneers assembled at the house of Dr. Cutler, in Ipswich, Mass., on the third day of December, 1787, and there took an early breakfast. About the dawn of day they paraded in front of the house; and after a short address from him, full of good advice and hearty wishes for their happiness and prosperity — the men being armed — three volleys were fired, and the party (one of whom was his son Jervis, aged nineteen) went forward, cheered heartily by the bystanders. Dr. Cutler accompanied them to Danvers, where he placed them under command of Major Hasfield White and Capt. Ezra Putnam. He had prepared a large and well-built wagon for their use, which preceded them with their baggage. This wagon, as a protection from cold and storm, was covered with black canvas, and on the sides was an inscription in white letters, I think in these words, 'For the Ohio at the Muskingum' which Dr. Cutler painted with his own hand.

Although I was then but six years old, I have a vivid recollection of all these circumstances, having seen the preparations and heard the conversation relative to the undertaking. I think the weather was pleasant and the sun rose clear. I know I almost wished I could be of the party then starting, for I was told we were all to go as soon as preparation was made for our reception."

March 5. A meeting of the Directors and Agents of the Ohio Company at Rice's Tavern. Made returns of shares and prepared to draw next morning. Dined with the company at Rice's.

March 6. The Directors and Agents drew for the eight-acre lots. Began to draw at 9 in the morning, in the Council Chamber in the Court House—open doors—and a great number of people attended. Dined at Mr. John Brown's; a most superb entertainment. Completed our draught between nine and ten at night and were happy to find there was no mistake.

March 8. A meeting of the Directors in the forenoon. Adjourned the meeting of the Directors and Agents to the Muskingum on the Ohio. Came out of Providence at half past one, and rode to Dedham in company with Mr. Harris. Lodged at Mr. Chickering's.¹

June 19. Mr. Prince and I went to Boston together in my chaise. We dined in Boston and spent the evening at Mr. Clarke's with Mr. Belknap.

June 20. Purchased a sulky in order to go to the western country. Sent a letter to Mr. Barlow, in London or France. Spent the evening at Mr. Belknap's.

[*Salem Mercury for May 27, 1788.*]

¹It is said, that not less than 800 families have already gone from the New-England States, to settle in the Ohio Country.

[*Salem Mercury for June 17, 1788.*]

On Saturday last, Mr. ISAAC DODGE and Mr. OLIVER DODGE arrived at Wenhams from the MUSKINGUM, which they left the 18th of May. The party of men in the service of the Ohio Company, under the superintendency of Gen. Putnam, arrived at the Muskingum on the 8th of April, without any embarrassment, excepting the delays which the severity of the winter occasioned in preparing to go down the Ohio from Pittsburg. The natives who came in were very friendly, and wished to trade with their new visitors. Gen. Putnam had completed the surveys of the 4000 acres for a city, and one thousand eight acre lots. A large quantity of ground was sowed and planted, and the people were beginning to erect houses. The account they give of the country is exceedingly flattering. Provisions were cheap and plenty: Flour was purchased at 6s. per cwt. These men belonged to the party employed by the Company, but obtained leave to come home, for the purpose of making provisions for erecting mills. They came on foot, and were only 26 days from Muskingum to Wenhams.

June 27-28. Overhauling my sulky and painting it.

July 1. Making a travelling trunk for the western country.

July 4. Anniversary of American Independence. Went to Salem. Cadet and Artillery companies turned out and made a very pretty appearance. This evening received the very agreeable intelligence of Virginia adopting the Constitution.

July 14. Preparing for my journey westward.

July 16. Commencement at Cambridge. Set out in the morning, arrived at eleven o'clock, dined in the Hall.

July 18. Dined at the President's, and came home.

July 19. Preparing for my journey.

July 20. I preached at Mr. Swain's. Mr. Swain at Topsfield, and Mr. Story here. Informed the people of my intention to set out on my journey. Relinquished my salary, and they to supply the pulpit.

Monday, July 21, 1788. Set out from Ipswich on a journey to the Ohio and Muskingum. Mr. Ephm Kendall of Ipswich was gone on to Salem, where he, with Mr. Peter Oliver, joined me on horseback. I set out myself in a sulky. Made some little stop in Salem. We dined at Newhall's, in company with Judge Cushing and the Attorney-General, Mr. Paine. We were detained several hours in Boston. Left the town about sunset, having received a prodigious number of letters for Muskingum. Lodged at Major Whiting's in Roxbury. 34 miles. . . .

July 24. Set out late in the morning about 10 o'clock. Have had considerable business to do. Very showery. Made a stage at Judge Randall's in Pomfret. Stopped in Ashford to get Major Oliver's saddle-bags mended. Very sultry; frequent and smart showers, but we did not regard them so much as to put on our loose coats. Dined at

Major Clark's. Lodged at Dunham's in Mansfield. Rode 27 miles.

Friday, July 25. This morning very windy and showery. Set out late. Breakfasted at Widow Kimball's, in Coventry. Went on to Hartford, and dined at Bull's tavern. Mr. Bull sent for Captain Pratt, a recruiting officer for the Western Country, who gave us the stages from Bethlehem, and favored me with a letter to Mrs. Butler, the lady of General Butler, at Carlisle. Exchanged silver for gold Mr. Pomeroy, broker. Securities 3s 6d. on the £ but none to sell. Wrote to Mrs. Cutler, per Post. . .

Aug. 13. At this place we agreed to put up our horses at one dollar per month, oats at 3s. per bushel to feed my horse two weeks, twice a day. . . .

Aug. 14. This morning we went down to the Ohio river, one fourth of a mile, where we had the first sight of this beautiful river.

Sunday, Aug. 17. This morning rose early. The people got on board at nine o'clock. Went past Buffalo Creek before we could get the cattle on board.

Aug. 19. Began to rain about two, and continued to rain very hard until we landed at Muskingum. Passed the little Muskingum, 751 miles from Ipswich, a pretty large creek, and Duck Creek ; the course of the Ohio nearly north-west, having turned gradually and beautifully from south for four or five miles—fine bottom on each side. Against Little Muskingum and Duck Creek lies Kerr's Island, which bows in the same manner as the river, terminating about a mile before we landed.

The first appearance was the Fort, which was very pretty. The state of the air injured our prospect very much. We landed at The Point, and were very politely received by the Honorable Judges, General Putnam and our friends. General Putnam invited me to his lodgings, which is a marquee. Rained extremely hard in the evening and at night.

DANIEL WEBSTER.¹

[First Speech on Foot's Resolution, Jan. 20, 1830.]

The country was to be governed. This, for the present, it was obvious, must be by some territorial system of administration. But the soil, also, was to be granted and settled. Those immense regions, large enough almost for an empire, were to be appropriated to private ownership. How was this best to be done? What system for sale and disposition should be adopted? Two modes for conducting the sales presented themselves; the one a Southern, and the other a Northern mode. It would be tedious, Sir, here, to run out these different systems into all their distinctions, and to contrast the opposite results. That which was adopted was the Northern system, and is that which we now see in successful operation in all the new States. That which was rejected was the system of warrants, surveys, entry, and location; such as prevails south of the Ohio. It is not necessary to extend these remarks into invidious comparisons. This last system is that which, as has been expressively said, has *shingled* over the country to which it was applied with so many conflicting titles and claims. Everybody acquainted with the subject knows how easily it leads to speculation and litigation,—two great calamities in a new country. From the system actually established, these evils are banished. Now, Sir, in effecting this great measure, the first important measure on the whole subject, New England acted

¹Born January 18, 1782, died October 24, 1852. His paternal grandmother was Susannah Batchelder, descended from Rev. Stephen Bachiler, the first minister of Lynn, settled there in 1632, and the ancestor of the Essex County Batchelders. Mr. Whittier and Mr. Webster are reputed to have derived their very remarkable eyes from this Susannah Batchelder, who is their common ancestor.

with vigor and effect, and the latest posterity of those who settled the region northwest of the Ohio will have reason to remember, with gratitude, her patriotism and her wisdom. The system adopted was her own system. She knew, for she had tried and proved its value. It was the old-fashioned way of surveying lands before the issuing of any title papers, and then of inserting accurate and precise descriptions in the patents or grants, and proceeding with regular reference to metes and bounds. This gives to original titles, derived from government, a certain and fixed character ; it cuts up litigation by the roots, and the settler commences his labor with the assurance that he has a clear title. It is easy to perceive, but not easy to measure, the importance of this in a new country. New England gave this system to the West ; and while it remains, there will be spread over all the West one monument of her intelligence in matters of government, and her practical good sense.

At the foundation of the constitution of these new Northwestern States lies the celebrated Ordinance of 1787. We are accustomed, Sir, to praise the lawgivers of antiquity ; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus ; but I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787. That instrument was drawn by Nathan Dane, then and now a citizen of Massachusetts. It was adopted, as I think I have understood, without the slightest alteration ; and certainly it has happened to few men to be the authors of a political measure of more large and enduring consequence. It fixed forever the character of the population in the vast regions northwest of the Ohio, by excluding from them involuntary servitude. It impressed on the soil

itself, while it was yet a wilderness, an incapacity to sustain any other than freemen. It laid the interdiction against personal servitude, in original compact, not only deeper than all local law, but deeper, also, than all local constitutions. Under the circumstances then existing, I look upon this original and seasonable provision as a real good attained. We see its consequences at this moment, and we shall never cease to see them, perhaps, while the Ohio shall flow. It was a great and salutary measure of prevention. Sir, I should fear the rebuke of no intelligent gentleman of Kentucky, were I to ask whether, if such an ordinance could have been applied to his own State, while it yet was a wilderness, and before Boone had passed the gap of the Alleghanies, he does not suppose it would have contributed to the ultimate greatness of that commonwealth? It is, at any rate, not to be doubted, that, where it did apply, it has produced an effect not easily to be described or measured, in the growth of the States, and the extent and increase of their population.

Now, Sir, as I have stated, this great measure was brought forward in 1787, by the North. It was sustained, indeed, by the votes of the South, but it must have failed without the cordial support of the New England States. If New England had been governed by the narrow and selfish views now ascribed to her, this very measure was, of all others, the best calculated to thwart her purposes. It was, of all things, the very means of rendering certain a vast emigration from her own population to the West. She looked to that consequence only to disregard it. She deemed the regulation a most useful one to the States that would spring up on the territory, and advantageous to the country at large. She adhered to the principle of it perseveringly, year after year, until it was finally accomplished.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

[Second Speech on Foot's Resolution, Jan. 26, 1830.]

Having had occasion to recur to the Ordinance of 1787, in order to defend myself against the inferences which the honorable member has chosen to draw from my former observations on that subject, I am not willing now entirely to take leave of it without another remark. It need hardly be said, that that paper expresses just sentiments on the great subject of civil and religious liberty. Such sentiments were common, and abound in all our state papers of that day. But this Ordinance did that which was not so common, and which is not even now universal; that is, it set forth and declared it to be a high and binding duty of government itself to support schools and advance the means of education, on the plain reason that religion, morality, and knowledge are necessary to good government, and to the happiness of mankind. One observation further. The important provision incorporated into the Constitution of the United States, and into several of those of the States, and recently, as we have seen, adopted into the reformed constitution of Virginia, restraining legislative power in questions of private right, and from impairing the obligation of contracts, is first introduced and established, as far as I am informed, as matter of express written constitutional law, in this Ordinance of 1787. And I must add, also, in regard to the author of the Ordinance, who has not had the happiness to attract the gentleman's notice heretofore, nor to avoid his sarcasm now, that he was chairman of that select committee of the old Congress, whose report first expressed the strong sense of that body, that the old Confederation was not adequate to the exigencies of the

country, and recommended to the States to send delegates to the convention which formed the present Constitution.

An attempt has been made to transfer from the North to the South the honor of this exclusion of slavery from the Northwestern Territory. The journal, without argument or comment, refutes such attempts. The cession by Virginia was made in March, 1784. On the 19th of April following, a committee, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Chase, and Howell, reported a plan for a temporary government of the territory, in which was this article: "That, after the year 1800, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been convicted." Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, moved to strike out this paragraph. The question was put, according to the form then practised, "Shall these words stand as a part of the plan?" New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, seven States, voted in the affirmative; Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina, in the negative. North Carolina was divided. As the consent of nine States was necessary, the words could not stand, and were struck out accordingly. Mr. Jefferson voted for the clause, but was overruled by his colleagues.

In March of the next year (1785), Mr. King of Massachusetts, seconded by Mr. Ellery of Rhode Island, proposed the formerly rejected article, with this addition: "And that this regulation shall be an article of compact, and remain a fundamental principle of the constitutions between the thirteen original States, and each of the States described in the resolve." On this clause, which provided the adequate and thorough security, the eight Northern States at that time voted affirmatively, and the four South-

ern States negatively. The votes of nine States were not yet obtained, and thus the provision was again rejected by the Southern States. The perseverance of the North held out, and two years afterwards the object was attained. It is no derogation from the credit, whatever that may be, of drawing the Ordinance, that its principles had before been prepared and discussed, in the form of resolutions. If one should reason in that way, what would become of the distinguished honor of the author of the Declaration of Independence? There is not a sentiment in that paper which had not been voted and resolved in the assemblies, and other popular bodies in the country, over and over again.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

[Speech delivered in the Senate, March 7, 1850.]

The Convention for framing this Constitution assembled in Philadelphia in May, and sat until September, 1787. During all that time the Congress of the United States, was in session at New York. It was a matter of design, as we know, that the convention should not assemble in the same city where Congress was holding its sessions. Almost all the public men of the country, therefore, of distinction and eminence, were in one or the other of these two assemblies; and I think it happened, in some instances, that the same gentlemen were members of both bodies. If I mistake not, such was the case with Mr. Rufus King, then a member of Congress from Massachusetts. Now, at the very time when the Convention in Philadelphia was framing this Constitution, the Congress in New York was framing the Ordinance of 1787, for the organization and

government of the territory northwest of the Ohio. They passed that Ordinance on the 13th of July, 1787, at New York, the very month, perhaps the very day, on which these questions about the importation of slaves and the character of slavery were debated in the Convention at Philadelphia. So far as we can now learn, there was a perfect concurrence of opinion between these two bodies ; and it resulted in this Ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from all the territory over which the Congress of the United States had jurisdiction, and that was all the territory northwest of the Ohio. Three years before, Virginia and other states had made a cession of that great territory to the United States ; and a most munificent act it was. I never reflect upon it without a disposition to do honor and justice, and justice would be the highest honor, to Virginia, for the cession of her northwestern territory. I will say, sir, it is one of her fairest claims to the respect and gratitude of the country, and that, perhaps, it is only second to that other claim which belongs to her ; that from her counsels, and from the intelligence and patriotism of her leading statesmen, proceeded the first idea put into practice of the formation of a general constitution of the United States. The Ordinance of 1787 applied to the whole territory over which the Congress of the United States had jurisdiction. It was adopted two years before the Constitution of the United States went into operation ; because the Ordinance took effect immediately on its passage, while the Constitution of the United States, having been framed, was to be sent to the States to be adopted by their Conventions ; and then a government was to be organized under it. This Ordinance, then, was in operation and force when the Constitution was adopted, and the government put in motion, in April, 1789.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

TO EDWARD S. RAND AND OTHERS,

CITIZENS OF NEWBURYPORT, MASS. :

Washington, May 15, 1850.

The Constitution of the United States, in the second section of the fourth article, declares :

" A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

" No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

This provision of the Constitution seems to have met with little exception or opposition, or none at all, so far as I know, in Massachusetts. Everybody seems to have regarded it as necessary and proper. The members of the convention of that State for adopting the Constitution were particularly jealous of every article and section which might in any degree intrench on personal liberty. Every page of their debates evinces this spirit. And yet I do not remember that any one of them found the least fault with this provision. The opponents and deriders of the Constitution, of this day, have sharper eyes in discerning dangers to liberty than General Thompson, Holder Slocum, and Major Nason had, in 1788 ; to say nothing of John Hancock, Samuel Adams and others, friends of the Constitution, and among them the very eminent men who were

delegates in that convention from Newburyport: Rufus King, Benjamin Greenleaf, Theophilus Parsons and Jonathan Titcomb.

The latter clause, quoted above, it may be worth while to remark, was borrowed, in substance from the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, which was drawn up by that great man of your own county, and a contemporary of your fathers, Nathan Dane.

Mr. Dane had very venerable New England authority for the insertion of this provision in the Ordinance which he prepared. In the year 1643, there was formed a confederation between the four New England Colonies, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven; and in the eighth article of that confederation it is stipulated as follows: "It is also agreed, if any servant run away from his master into any other of these confederate jurisdictions, that, in such cases, upon the certificate of one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled, or upon other due proof, the said servant shall be delivered, either to his master, or any other that pursues, and brings such certificate or proof." And in the "Articles of Agreement" entered into in 1650, between the New England Colonies and "the delegates of Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of New Netherland," it was stipulated that "the same way and course" concerning fugitives should be observed between the English Colonies and New Netherland as had been established in the "Articles of Confederation" between the English Colonies themselves.¹

¹ In 1851-2, Robert Rantoul, Jr. of Beverly held the ground that these constitutional provisions for the rendition of fugitives from justice, labor and service, were of like force and import and that none of them contained a grant of power to the Federal Government, but that all were to be construed as in the nature of a compact between States, a position, which, so far as it relates to fugitives from justice, was afterwards sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Commonwealth of Kentucky vs. Dennison*, Governor of Ohio [24 Howard, p. 66]. See *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. XXI, p. 267.

LETTER FROM NATHAN DANE TO DANIEL WEBSTER.

Beverly, March 26th, 1830.

DEAR SIR :

I have received your second speech on the motion of Mr. Foot, respecting the public lands, for which I thank you. You recollect you ascribed to me the formation of the Ordinance of the Old Congress, of July 13th, 1787. Since writing you last, I have seen Mr. Benton's speech on the subject, in the National Intelligencer, of March 6th, 1830, in which, I find, on no authority, he ascribes its formation in substance to Mr. Jefferson; that is, that Mr. Jefferson formed an ordinance in 1784, and he seems to infer from that the Ordinance of '87 was taken or copied. This inference of Benton's has not the least foundation as thus appears: Mr. Jefferson's resolve, or plan (not ordinance), of April 23d, 1784, is contained in two pages and a half; is a mere incipient plan, in no manner matured for practice, as may be seen. The Ordinance of July, 1787, contains eight pages; is in itself a complete system, and finished for practice; and, what is very material, there cannot be found in it more than twenty lines taken from Jefferson's plan, and these worded differently. In fact, his plan and this Ordinance are totally different, in size, in style, in form, and in principle. Probably not one person in a thousand knows or suspects this essential difference, of those who read, or are told, what Benton has said; nor do I see it much noticed in the debates. Ought not this difference to be made known? Mr. Benton's assertion, so groundless, extorts from me the above, and the following exposition, in defence of those who have long ascribed to me the formation.

I observe Mr. Benton and Mr. Hayne both assert you failed in your proof of the part you ascribed to me. Does

this part stand as you wish it to remain? I remember you once asked me for some account of this Ordinance, and that I gave you an account in a few words, and referred to the 7th Vol. of my "Abridgment," chap. 223. If then I had, in the least, anticipated what has taken place, I should have given you a much fuller account. As, in the endless debate, you may have an opportunity, in a note or otherwise, to use further evidence, I will state a small portion.

1. As I am the only member of Congress living who had any concern in forming or in passing this Ordinance, no living testimony is to be expected.

2. In the North American Review, of July, 1826, pages 1 to 41, is a review of my "General Abridgment," etc., of American Law. In page 40, it is said, I "was the framer of the celebrated Ordinance of Congress, of 1787." At present, it is enough to add this fact, stated in the Inaugural Discourse of Judge Story, page 58. Neither of these, it seems, Mr. Hayne has read; and he could only find me in that *aged* (and really harmless) Convention, which so unnecessarily excited fear and alarm, as history will be able to show.

Generally, when persons have asked me questions respecting the Ordinance, I have referred to the Ordinance itself, as evidently being the work of a Massachusetts lawyer on the face of it. I now make the same reference, and to its style, found in my "Abridgment," etc.

3. When I mention the formation of this Ordinance, it is proper to explain. It consists of three parts. 1st, The titles to estates, real and personal, by deed, by will, and by descent; also personal, by delivery. These titles occupy the first part of the Ordinance, not a page, evidently selected from the laws of Massachusetts, except it omits the double share of the oldest son. These titles were made to take root in the first and early settlements, in 400,000

square miles. Such titles so taking root, we well know, are, in their nature, in no small degree *permanent*; so, vastly important. I believe these were the first titles to property, completely republican, in Federal America; being in no part whatever feudal or monarchical. In my 9th Vol. chap. 223 continued, titles, etc., in the several States, may be seen the dregs of feudality, continued to this day, in a majority of our States. 2d, It consists of the *temporary* parts that ceased with the territorial condition; which, in the age of a nation, soon pass away, and hence are not *important*. These parts occupy about four pages. They designate the officers, their qualifications, appointments, duties, oaths, etc., and a temporary legislature. Neither those parts, nor the titles, were in Jefferson's plan, as you will see. The 3d part, about three pages, consists of the *six fundamental articles of compact*, expressly made *permanent, and to endure forever*; so, the most important and valuable part of the Ordinance. These, and the titles to estates, I have ever considered the parts of the Ordinance that give it its peculiar character and value; and never the *temporary* parts, of short duration. Hence, whenever I have written or spoken of its formation, I have mainly referred to these titles and articles; not to the *temporary* parts, in the forming of which, in part, in 1786, Mr. Pinckney, myself, and I think Smith, took a part. So little was done with the Report of 1786, that only a few lines of it were entered in the Journals. I think the files, if to be found, will show that Report was re-formed, and temporary parts added to it, by the Committee of '87; and that I then added the titles and six articles; five of them before the Report of 1787 was printed, and the sixth article after, as below.

4. As the *slave* article has ever principally attracted the public attention, I have, as you will see, ever been

careful to give Mr. Jefferson and Mr. King their full credit in regard to it. I find in the Missouri contest, ten years ago, the slave-owners in Congress condemned the six articles generally ; and Mr. Pinckney, one of the committee of 1786, added, they were an attempt to establish a *compact*, where none could exist, for want of proper parties. This objection, and also the one stating the Ordinance was an *usurpation*, led me to add pages 442, beginning *remarks*, to page 450, in which I labored much to prove it was no usurpation, and that the articles of compact were valid. They may be referred to, as in them may be seen the style of the ordinance, though written thirty-four years after that was. Slave-owners will not claim as Mr. Pinckney's work what he condemned. Careful to give Mr. J. and Mr. K. full credit in pages 443, 446, Vol. 7th, I noticed Mr. Jefferson's plan of '84 and gave him credit for his attempt to exclude slavery after the year 1800. I may now add, he left it to take root about seventeen years ; so his exclusion was far short of the sixth article in the Ordinance. Page 446, I noticed the motion (Mr. King's) of March 16, 1785, and admitted it to be a motion to exclude slavery, as fully as in the sixth article. I now think I admitted too much. He moved to exclude slavery only from *the States* described in the Resolve of Congress of April 23, 1784, Jefferson's Resolve, and to be added to it. It was very doubtful whether the word *States*, in that Resolve, included any more territory than the individual States ceded ; and whether the word *States* included preceding *territorial condition*. Some thought his motion meant only *future* exclusion, as did Mr. Jefferson's plan clearly : therefore, in forming the Ordinance of '87, all about States in his plan was excluded, as was nearly all his plan, as inspection will prove, and that Ordinance made, in a few plain words, to include " the territory of the United States

north-west of the river Ohio,"—all made, for the purposes of temporary government, one district; and the sixth article excludes slavery forever from "the said territory." One part of my claim to the slave article I now, for the first time, state. In April, 1820 (Missouri contest), search was made for the original manuscript of the Ordinance of '87. Daniel Bent's answer was, "that no written draft could be found;" but there was found, attached to the printed Ordinance, in my handwriting, the sixth article, as it now is,—that is, the slave article. So this article was made a part of the Ordinance solely by the care of him, who, says Mr. Benton, no more formed the Ordinance of '87 than he did. I have Bent's certificate, etc.

5. In pages 389, 390, Sect. 3, Vol. 7th, I mention the Ordinance of '87 was framed, mainly, from the laws of Massachusetts. This appears on the face of it; meaning the titles to estates, and nearly all the six articles, the *permanent* and important parts of it, and some other parts; and, in order to take the credit of it to Massachusetts, I added, "this Ordinance (formed by the author, etc.) was framed," etc. I then had no idea it was ever claimed as the draft of any other person. Mr. Jefferson I never thought of. In the Missouri contest, Mr. Grayson was mentioned as the author; but, as he never was on any committee in the case, nor wrote a word of it, the mention of him was deemed an idle affair. We say, and properly, Mr. Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence (or formed it, as you observe); yet he no more than collected the important parts, and put them together. If any lawyer will critically examine the laws and constitutions of the several States, as they were in 1787, he will find the titles, six articles, etc., were not to be found anywhere else so well as in Massachusetts, and by one who, in '87, had been engaged several years in revising her laws. See N. A.

Review, July, 1826, pages 40, 41. I have never claimed *originality*, except in regard to the clause against impairing contracts, and perhaps the *Indian* article, part of the third article, including, also, religion, morality, knowledge, schools, etc.

6. The style of the Ordinance. Since the year 1782, books and records show my writings, especially in the forms of statutes. My law-writings have been extensively published; and often, on important subjects, the first draft has been reduced half, or more. This process naturally ends in a studied, compressed style, rather hard. Had I room, I could refer to numerous parts of my writings, published, and not published, to show this style; and this is the style of the Ordinance, courteously denominated, in the discourse mentioned, "a sententious skillfulness of expression." But, in a letter already long, only a few cases can be referred to. I go back to 1785, and refer to my statement of the great land titles in Maine, published by the legislature in a pamphlet; some statutes revised on subjects of importance, from 1782 to 1801; my Rules and Cases and Notes, in the American precedents, etc.; my defence of Harvard University against the claims of West Boston Bridge, not published, but to be found, no doubt, in the files of the University; my argument in *Kilham v. Ward, et al.*, II, Vol. Mass. Reports; Introduction of my Abridgment; Summary view of executory estates, chap. 114, art. 31; State rights and sovereignty, chap. 143, especially chap. 187, and this chapter continued in the (Supplement) Vol. 9th, though written forty-two years after the Ordinance was. It is believed, in these and other cases, the style of the Ordinance can be found.

I am surprised Senators Benton and Hayne attempt to place Mr. Jefferson's fame, in any part, on his meagre, inadequate plan of '84. If his exalted reputation rests on

no better foundation than this, will it be immortal? I can account for their bold assertions, only on the supposition they had never read his plan.

Thus far I have felt it a duty to state the above facts and matters in the more durable form of writing, for several reasons : one, for the defence of my most respectable and best friends, who long have publicly ascribed to me the formation of this Ordinance ; and, especially for your defence, who have generously and ably repelled the attacks and sneers, which have mainly produced this letter. I will only add that, in the years 1784, '85, '86, and '87, the Eastern members in the Old Congress really thought they were preparing the North-Western Territory principally for New England settlers, and to them the third and sixth articles of compact more especially had reference ; therefore, when North Carolina ceded her western territory, and requested this Ordinance to be extended to it, except the *slave* article, that exception had my full assent, because slavery had taken root in it, and it was then probable it would be settled principally by slave-owners.

If Mr. Hayne had been as careful to read all the H. Convention did, as he seems to have been to spy out matter of accusation, he would, I think, have seen its liberality towards slave-owners, in proposing they yield their slave-votes, solely on the ground of *their own generosity* not on any claim of *right* whatever ; and if he and Mr. Benton had better noticed the two plans of surveys and sales of the Public Lands, they would, I think, have hid the southern one under the table,—a plan but a little better than that of Mr. Jefferson. So, had Mr. Hayne thought a little more of Congress's exercise of *unlimited* power to make new states at pleasure on any purchased territory, he never would, I believe, have reproached that Convention for proposing to restrain such *unlimited*, tremendous

power. If Mr. H. can properly advocate, as he does, such *unlimited* power, why may not others advocate power in Congress to make roads and canals, a power far less *unlimited*?

Yours sincerely,

N. DANE.¹

HON. DANIEL WEBSTER.

NATHAN DANE.

[Appendix to Dane's general abridgment of American law, note A, 1830.]

On the whole if there be any praise or any blame in this ordinance; especially in the titles to property and in the

¹Nathan Dane, whose ancestor John Dane settled at Ipswich in 1638, was born Dec. 27, 1752, in the house still well preserved and for many years the Safford homestead, but now the property of Henry Wilson, which stands near the line between Hamilton and Ipswich, just easterly of the winding avenue leading to the Appleton farm and between that and the old stage road. A good picture of the house may be found in the Memoir of Deacon Daniel Safford, who was born there in 1792, and it stood in the Ipswich Hamlet parish until the setting off of Hamilton from Ipswich in 1793, when the line of the new town was moved a little farther west than that of the Hamlet had been, leaving the old homestead in the town of Ipswich. H. C., 1778; LL.D., 1816; studied law in Salem, and taught school in Beverly until 1782, when he began practice in Beverly, and was a member of the General Court in 1782-3-4, a delegate in Congress for 1785-6-7; in the Massachusetts Senate in 1790-4-6-8; twice on committees for the revision of state laws in 1795 and 1812, and member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820. He founded the Dane Law School in 1829, and died at Beverly, Feb. 15, 1835, in a brick house still standing opposite the "Old South" meeting house. For more than fifty years, said Judge Story in his Inaugural discourse as Dane Professor of Law, Mr. Dane had daily devoted double Lord Coke's allotment of six hours to the pursuit of politics and jurisprudence. Judge Story adds, "to him belongs the glory of the formation of the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, which constitutes the fundamental law of the states, northwest of the Ohio. It is a monument of political wisdom and sententious skilfulness of expression." See Story's Inaugural Discourse, as Dane Professor (1829) pp. 55-9; Quincy's History Harvard University, Vol. II, pp. 374-8; N. E. Hist. Geneal. Reg., Vol. VIII, pp. 147-8; Stone's Hist. Beverly, pp. 135-49; American Jurist and Law Mag., Vol. XIV, pp. 62-76; Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., Vol. IV, p. 279; Memoir in Mass. Hist. Society Proceedings, Vol. II, pp. 6-10.

Mr. Dane, without any doubt, introduced the Ordinance passed in 1787. Such is the authority of Bancroft in his Eulogy of Abraham Lincoln (delivered before Congress, Feb. 12, 1866) and elsewhere. The Ordinance exists in his handwriting, on the files of Congress, and was reported by him to Congress, although he was

permanent parts, so the most important, it belongs to Massachusetts; as one of her members formed it and furnished the matter with the exceptions following. First, he was assisted in the committee of '86 in the *temporary* organization almost solely by Mr. C. Pinckney, who did so little he felt himself at liberty to condemn this ordinance in that debate. Secondly, the author took from Mr. Jefferson's resolve of '84 in substance the said six provisions in the fourth article of compact as above stated. Thirdly, he took the words of the slave article from Mr. King's

second in the list of members of the committee charged with the matter, for the apparent reason that the chairman of the committee was not in sympathy with the measure. Cutler seems to have distrusted him. His integrity needs no vindication. Mr. Dane had already made large investments in the Eastern land enterprise and was interested in and committed to the building up of the Province of Maine. Some of his relatives had gone there and domiciled themselves and several leading officers of the Revolutionary Army, such as Generals Knox and Lincoln, had acquired land there. Massachusetts sentiment was enlisted and could not brook the desertion of the Eastern enterprise for any other. The following order, now on the files of the Essex Institute, bears witness to these transactions.

Boston, June 8, 1785.

Sir: please to deliver to Rufus Putnam, Esqr, or his order, the Whale boat I bought of you—I shall be at Salem Court next (week?) when I will make payment.

Your Humble Servant,

Nathan Dane.

To Mr. Joshua Ward, Salem,
near the old Court house.

Salem, 13 June, 1785.]

Rec^d the above boat,

Rufus Putnam.

Rufus Putnam's Journal also illustrates and the history of Massachusetts supports the statement. If, under these circumstances, the cautious mind of the acute and sagacious jurist, instinctively careful to weigh both sides of every question, may have wavered at times under the impression that he might be jeopardizing his interests in Maine in behalf of a distant and doubtful Western venture, posterity will perhaps be able to speak of his vacillation a little more charitably than Dr. Cutler could. It is fair moreover to remember that Dr. Cutler was nothing if not a Federalist, and was amongst the most ardent advocates of the new Federal Constitution, while Mr. Dane had distrusted some of its concessions and had, at the period of its adoption, yielded a halting support, if not actually enrolled himself amongst the distinguished company of its opponents in Massachusetts.

The portrait of Nathan Dane, a copy of that belonging to the Dane Law School at Cambridge, is at the Essex Institute.

motion made in 1785, and extended its operation, as to time and extent of territory, as is above mentioned. As to matter, his invention furnished the provisions respecting impairing contracts and the Indian security and some other smaller matters; the residue, no doubt, he selected from existing laws, etc.

In regard to the *matter* of this note, it is a portion of American law properly and conveniently placed in this appendix. The *particular form* of this note is in answer to many requests, lately made by members of Congress and others, to be informed respecting the formation, the detail and authorship of this ordinance, which in forty years has so often restrained insolvent acts, stop-laws and other improper legislation impairing contracts.

SALMON PORTLAND CHASE.¹

[Preliminary Sketch prefixed to the Statutes of Ohio, 1832.]

The framer, and to some most important provisions the author, of this great fundamental law destined to exert a mighty and enduring influence upon the happiness and prosperity of millions, was Nathan Dane of Massachusetts. To him in an especial manner are the people of the northwestern states indebted for the restriction upon legislative interference with private contracts, which in every fluctuation of fortune has been the safeguard of public morals and of individual rights. It was adopted after

¹ Born 1808; died 1873; of the sixth generation in descent from Aquila Chase, who was settled in 1640, and whose descendants for a century remained, at the mouth of the Merrimac; made the first compilation of the Laws of Ohio; was governor of Ohio; United States Senator; Secretary of the Treasury; and Chief Justice of the United States.

discussion, without the slightest alteration and with but one dissenting voice.¹

Never probably in the history of the world did a measure of legislation so accurately fulfil and yet so mightily exceed the anticipations of the legislators. The ordinance has been well described as having been a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night in the settlement and government of the northwestern states. When the settlers went into the wilderness they found the law already there. It was impressed upon the soil itself while it yet bore up nothing but the forest.

Who can estimate the benefits which have flowed from the interdiction by that instrument, of slavery and of legislative interference with private contracts. One consequence is that the soil of Ohio bears none but freemen, another that a stern and honorable regard to private rights and public morals characterizes her legislation. The spirit of the Ordinance of 1787 pervades them all.

* * * * *

The settlement of Marietta was made before the arrival of the governor and judges within the territory. The Ohio company had secured within their boundaries not quite a million of acres. In this district two entire townships were granted for a University, and sections sixteen and twenty-nine in each township were reserved for the support of the schools and religion. The settlers exhibited great energy and perseverance in overcoming the various difficulties of their situation. Among them were men of high character and extensive influence. General Rufus Putnam, a meritorious officer of the Revolutionary Army, and Dr. Manasseh Cutler, a clergyman of strong intellect and large attainments, were leading members of

¹See Dane's General Abridgment of American Law, Vol. IX; Appendix, Note A.

the company ; Robert Oliver and Winthrop Sargent¹ also are names well known in the early history of the country.

GEORGE BAILEY LORING.²

[Address at Marietta, April 7, 1883.]

The growth of the ordinance to perfection was slow. In 1784, Jefferson, as I have already said, having on March 1st of that year, in connection with his associates, Monroe, Arthur Lee and Hardy,³ given a deed by which they ceded "to the United States all claim to the territory northwest of the Ohio," presented, as chairman of a committee, a plan for the government of this territory. In his ordinance he provided that "after the year 1800 of the Christian era there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude" in any of the new states carved out of this acquisition of empire to the Republic. This provision he hedged about with all possible constitutional protection which could bind Congress. This section of the ordinance, however, was lost. The votes of South Carolina, Maryland and Virginia were against it ; North Carolina was divided ; the four eastern states, New York and Pennsylvania were for it. The defeat was a source of great mortification and distress to Jef-

¹ Winthrop Sargent, the ancestor of a distinguished Massachusetts family, was born at Gloucester, of an old Essex County stock, May 1, 1753; H. C., 1771; a ship-master in 1771; naval agent at Gloucester, 1775-6; served honorably as captain of artillery and on staff duty with the rank of major in the Revolution. He was employed by Congress in the Northwest Territory as a government surveyor in 1786, and on the organization of it became secretary of the Ohio Company, and then secretary of the Territory, and removed thither in 1788, but resigned in ten years. He was St. Clair's Adjutant General in 1791 and was badly wounded in that disastrous Indian campaign; but served his successor, General Wayne, in 1794, in the same capacity, and was acting governor of the Territory in 1798 and 1801. He died June 3, 1820.

² Born at North Andover, Nov. 8, 1817; H. C. 1838; Member of Congress, 1877-80; United States Commissioner of Agriculture, 1881-4.

³ Representing the State of Virginia.

ferson. He never forgot it. He denounced bitterly those who voted against the proposition of freedom, and in 1786, in referring to it, he said, "the friends of human nature will in the end prevail ; heaven will not always be silent." And they did prevail. This ordinance, "shorn of its proscription of slavery," was adopted, it is true ; but it remained in force but three years, and died when the great ordinance of '87 became a law. In 1785, Timothy Pickering, whose career in the Continental Army, in Cabinet, in House, and in Senate, stands among the foremost of his time for ability, integrity and courage, induced Rufus King, then in Congress, to propose once more the exclusion of slavery from the territories. Mr. King's resolution, offered March 16, 1785, went to the Committee of the Whole and was never heard of afterward. On April 26, 1787, a committee consisting of Mr. Johnson of Connecticut, Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina, Mr. Smith of New York, Mr. Dane of Massachusetts and Mr. Henry of Maryland, reported an ordinance which was never voted on and which contained none of the sanctity of contracts, none of the sacredness of private property, none of the provisions for education, religion and morality, none of the principles of freedom to be found in the ordinance as it now stands in all its immortal glory. Meanwhile the Ohio Company had been organized in Boston. In January, 1786, Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper issued a call for a meeting of organization and the Association commenced its work. The proposition to purchase 1,500,000 acres of land at one dollar an acre was, in those days of bankruptcy and poverty, startling. That it should not have been entirely successful is not surprising. But half the sum proposed was raised and Congress from time to time passed acts relieving the embarrassed company, which secured in the end nearly a million acres of land in three patents issued to Rufus Putnam, Man-

asseh Cutler, Robert Oliver and Griffin Greene in trust for the Ohio Company.

In securing the contract for 1,500,000 acres of land in the Northwest, which was provided for by act of Congress July 27, 1787, and in the passage of the ordinance for the territory on the 13th of the same month, the controlling mind was evidently that of Manasseh Cutler. He had two objects in view : first, the settlement of the new territories of the United States, for the benefit of those men in the Eastern States who had been impoverished by the war of the Revolution ; and, second, the foundation of new states there on the best system of government known to the states already in the confederation.

He was a careful and able student of public affairs. His scholarship at Yale was high. His mind grasped the processes required and the facts revealed by scientific investigation, and the problems involved in political and theological discussion with equal facility and power. He exerted a commanding influence wherever he went. Commencing life on the high seas, he educated himself for the bar and practised for a short time in the courts of Massachusetts. Turning his attention then to the study of divinity, he took charge of a pulpit in Hamilton, Massachusetts, and enrolled his name with that long list of New England clergymen who in that early period exerted a most powerful influence in the colonies, who called around themselves the cultivated men of the times, took part in all momentous endeavors, and who sent into every walk in life sons whom they had educated in the colleges out of their narrow incomes, and who performed most valuable service as merchants, jurists, physicians, statesmen, divines. As chaplain in the Continental Army, as member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, as negotiator for the purchase of this great territory, as adviser,

pioneer, law-giver, for these opening states, he has left an example which will always be admired, an influence which will always be felt. His pulpit was but twenty miles from Boston. Is it not reasonable to suppose that he listened to the high debate on the great issues of the hour by Samuel Adams, John Quincy and John Adams; to the masterly argument of James Otis on the Writs of Assistance; to the voice of the people heard in those defiant town-meetings whose resolves foreshadowed the Declaration of Independence, and reached the ear of its immortal author? He had ridden on horseback from his home in Hamilton to meet the retreating British soldiery as they fled from Lexington and Concord, before the fire of the "embattled farmers." He heard the guns at Bunker Hill, mourned for Warren as for a friend, carried comfort and encouragement into the patriot army during the trials of the war. He was surrounded by great men, who always turned to him for advice and counsel. Timothy Pickering, the noble Roman of the War, was his neighbor. General Glover was one of his early companions. Elbridge Gerry, the young and fearless patriot, was the legal adviser of his people. The home of Nathan Dane was within a few miles of his own. Samuel Osgood, Chairman of the Board of Treasury of the United States, with whom he made the contract for the purchase of these lands, was a citizen of the county of Essex,¹ in which this distinguished group resided, and where Cutler had his home. Is it surprising that when Rufus Putnam organized his association for the settlement of

¹ Samuel Osgood was a native of Andover, where his family had flourished since 1645. Born, Feb. 14, 1748; H. C., 1770; died August 12, 1813. He was a member of the Provincial Congress for 1776-80, of the Continental Congress for 1781-4, a member of the Board of Treasury in 1785-1789, and first commissioner, and, between the organization of the present government and 1801, was the first Postmaster General of the United States. He served in the Revolutionary army as an aid to General Ward and as a commissary.

Ohio, he should have sought the aid and advice of Cutler, whose energy and capacity were well known through all the eastern colonies? Is it surprising that when he had enlisted in the work the burden should have fallen on his shoulders? At his touch the enterprise was filled with new life. The attention of Congress was at once arrested and turned to this important measure of multiplying the states in the confederacy as it was developing into a republic. The ordinance which Jefferson and King had failed to carry, and which was incomplete enough as it came from their hands, took shape at once and commended itself to Congress. With his contract in one hand and his ordinance in the other, he appealed to every sentiment of patriotism, interest and humanity as each presented itself among the legislators with whom he was forced to deal. In his proposition there was an extension of country, an absorption of colonial securities, opportunities for speculation, the increase of free territory on the value of which the ablest statesmen, north and south, agreed; and he applied each one of these motives as necessity required. Of his ability to fulfil his contract no man had a doubt. Nor could any member of Congress be surprised at the demand he would make, that the fundamental law of the territory should conform to the highest and most humane law of the land. The ordinance which satisfied him and his associates secures religious freedom to all; prohibits legislative interference with private contracts, secures the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus, trial by jury, and of common law in judicial proceedings, forbids the infliction of cruel and unnecessary punishment; declares that as religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of instruction shall ever be encouraged; provides that the territories shall remain forever a part of the United States;

makes the navigable waters free forever to all citizens of the United States ; provides for a division of the territory into States, and their admission into the Union with republican governments ; and declares that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist within the territory. Many of the provisions were drafted from the constitution of Massachusetts of 1780. That the views contained in this ordinance occupied the mind of Cutler at that time there can be no doubt. He was engaged in establishing a republican government over a vast extent of territory which he felt would one day, not very remote, form a most important and influential portion of the United States.

He was not to be satisfied with compromises ; and he knew moreover from the propositions made in the past, in regard to the ordinance, that compromises were not necessary to success. He had also ascertained the personal interest in Congress with regard to the occupation of the lands along the fertile valleys of Ohio, and he estimated the strength of his cause accordingly. Everything connected with the enterprise he was engaged in roused all his powers, his skill, his wisdom, his adroitness, his faith in republican government ; and he summoned them all in his work. In the task of framing and presenting this ordinance to Congress he had a most important and powerful ally on the committee to whom the matter was referred. Nathan Dane represented his district in Congress, was his neighbor and friend in Essex County, Massachusetts, and had been all his life under the same social and civil influences as had operated to mould his own views and develop his own character. A calm, conservative, dispassionate, able and accomplished lawyer, Nathan Dane had not given his mind to the construction of governmental policies or to the reforming of abuses. He had large experience in the Legislature of Massachusetts and afterwards a short time

in the Continental Congress. While Cutler was engaged in rousing the people to resist all acts of oppression and "rushing to the fray" at the sound of the first gun and exhorting his flock from the pulpit and surveying the heavens and exploring the earth to discover the laws of nature, considering the unoccupied lands of the West as a home for the swarms which were obliged to leave the eastern hive, and exercising his diplomacy in purchasing those lands and his wisdom in advising the emigrants, and his love of adventure by a solitary journey through the wilderness to the home of their adoption, Dane was a scholar of high reputation at Harvard College, a diligent student of law in the quiet and cultivated town of Salem, a lawyer in the elegant repose of Beverly, a good legislator, a learned expounder of the law, possessed of "great good sense and a sound judgment, faithful to all his duties," and enjoying universal confidence in his "industry, discretion and integrity." Cutler was fortunate in having such an advocate on the floor of Congress, and Dane was fortunate in having such a cause and such a client. A proposition, which in the hands of Jefferson and King had failed as an apparent abstraction, became a vital issue when presented as one of the indispensable terms of a contract between a large-minded practical philanthropist, and the government of a rising republic, called upon to decide the question of freedom at the very threshold of its existence. Dr. Cutler presented himself at the doors of Congress with the terms of purchase in one hand and the terms of settlement in the other, and both were accepted. An unsuccessful measure which on two previous occasions Dane had acquiesced in as a member of the Committees reporting it to Congress, became suddenly under Cutler's force a national necessity. And when the measure was adopted and passed into the great body of American law, Cutler won eternal

gratitude and immortal honor as the founder of free institutions in the Northwest Territory, and Dane secured the high distinction of having brought the measure to a successful consummation. Upon the great cluster of states whose proud and prosperous career was opened by these two statesmen there rest obligations to their memory which should never be forgotten. And I feel confident that you who enjoy the blessings they secured as your inheritance from a most worthy ancestry, will allow me to congratulate myself and my fellow citizens, that for our own state of Massachusetts, for our own county of Essex, for the district which I formerly had the honor to represent in Congress, Manasseh Cutler and Nathan Dane, whose deeds are our deeds and whose ashes repose in the soil we love so well, have established a noble and imperishable record in the history of our country and of mankind.

Ninety-five years have passed away since these events which I have briefly laid before you, occurred, and the first step was taken in the work of occupying the Northwest Territory. The covered wagon on whose canvas top Manasseh Cutler had inscribed "To Marietta on the Ohio," and in which he sent forward the seed whose imperial harvest now lies before us, had stood for days at the roadside in Hamilton for inspection by the curious for miles around, and had traversed the long and weary way hither with its sacred freight. The dark waters of the Muskingum, concealed from view by the heavy overhanging forests, had been divided by the keel of the Mayflower,¹ and the germ of the colony had been planted on its banks. Cutler had made his solitary journey to bless and encour-

¹ At Simrall's, Sinoul's or Sumrell's Ferry on the Ohio, thirty miles above Pittsburgh, a flat-bottomed boat had been built, which was called the "Mayflower," and in this Major White's party which arrived at the River, Jan. 23, and Gen. Putnam's which reached it Feb. 14, both embarked and made their way to the mouth of the Muskingum.

age the enterprise and had returned to his home in Hamilton. The experiment of organizing a state here had fairly begun. At that day this settlement on the Muskingum formed a part only of the widespread and scattered colonial organization out of which was to spring the American Republic.

ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY.¹

[From the *New Englander and Yale Review* for April, 1887, Art. II.]

The close of the war of the Revolution left many able-bodied men unemployed. The manufactures of New England were in their infancy, the supply of agricultural labor greatly exceeded the demand, and there were large numbers of men in early or middle life, capable of enterprise or of fruitful industry, but with no field or opportunity for the lucrative use of brain or hand. At the same time, the disbanded army had been paid in paper of a constantly depreciating value, and not unlikely to become utterly worthless, as it seemed beyond hope that the loose confederation, hardly a government, should fund its debt or take measures for its speedy payment. Meanwhile the confederation possessed a vast domain, including millions upon millions of acres of the most productive land, on or within easy reach of navigable rivers. If such lands were purchased with the paper which many regarded as irre-

¹Born at Beverly, March 19, 1811, in a house now standing on Cabot Street, nearly opposite Washington,—H. C., 1826; Tutor, Plummer professor, preacher to the University and twice acting President, 1826–81; D.D. of Harvard, 1852; pastor of the South Church at Portsmouth, N. H., 1833–60; editor of the *North American Review*, 1852–61; S.T.D.; LL.D.; A.A.S.; the Peabody family has been domiciled in Essex County since 1635.

deemable, and settled by supernumeraries of eastern industry, the consequences would be the relieving of the glut of the labor market, the furnishing of fit scope for the ambition and the vigorous enterprise of men who else would do little more than vegetate, the liquidation of a considerable portion of the public debt, and the increased market value of the remaining portion. It was with such views that, on March 1, 1786, a company was organized in Boston, called the Ohio Company, for the purchase and settlement of land in what was then known indefinitely as the Territory Northwest of the Ohio. The stock of the company was to consist of one thousand shares, each share represented by one thousand dollars in government paper and ten dollars in coin,—the coin to defray the expenses incident to the purchase and location of the land. The company consisted wholly, or chiefly, of men who had been connected with the army, prominent among whom was General, afterward Governor John Brooks. General Putnam, General, afterward Judge, Samuel Holden Parsons, and Dr. Cutler were chosen directors; Dr. Cutler was made agent for the purchase. The reasons for choosing him were perfectly obvious. It was supposed, and rightly, that very difficult and delicate negotiations would be necessary with the members of Congress, then remarkable for the careful nursing of the interests of their several States, rather than for cherishing the well-being and growth of the nation as a whole. Dr. Cutler could carry with him a reputation already established. Franklin had procured the republishing of his botanical paper in the *Columbian Magazine* of Philadelphia; and it may be doubted whether, in the then infancy of advanced liberal culture in this country, there was any American, Franklin alone excepted, who had more than Dr. Cutler of the prestige of superior learning and science, which is never with-

out influence among intelligent men. He had also had larger and more varied experience of life than any other man who could have gone from Massachusetts, belonging as he did to agriculture, commerce, maritime enterprise, the army, and all three of the (so-called) learned professions. He was remarkable, too, for personal presence, address and manners, so that he appeared in society of every type with blended dignity and grace, and had in his conversational power an ease, fluency, and affluence, corresponding to the diversity of his pursuits and attainments.

The memorial of the company had been sent to Congress shortly after its formation, and Congress had at intervals made languid attempts to frame an ordinance for the government of the almost mythical region which it was proposed to colonize. On the 5th of July, 1787, Dr. Cutler drove into New York, where Congress was assembled. It may illustrate the difference between that time and this to say that he accomplished his journey with commendable dispatch, being only twelve days on the road, and that he travelled in his own sulky, — a vehicle probably unknown by name to some of my younger readers, — a two-wheeled one-horse chaise, wide enough only for a single person, — in my boyhood much used by physicians and ministers on their professional rounds. Dr. Cutler carried no less than forty-two letters of introduction, from the Governor of Massachusetts, the President of Harvard College, and other distinguished men. He was received most cordially, and his stay in New York was a round of hospitalities and attentions from members of Congress, officers of the government and leading citizens. He seems to have had an instinctive knowledge, and to the best possible purpose, of the art, which, if always plied with equal unselfishness and honesty, would not have been stigmatized under the

name of lobbying. He wisely sought first the acquaintance and furtherance of the Virginia delegates, who were likely to favor the settlement of a region in part contiguous with their own territory, on a frontier open to incursions from Indian tribes. On the other hand, he did not anticipate sympathy with his enterprise from the Massachusetts delegation, as Massachusetts owned in Maine a vast area of land, improvable, as it has shown itself to be, but then less inviting to emigrants than the West, were the alternative left to their free choice; while these Maine lands and the possibility that the Ohio company might transmute itself into a Maine Company were skilfully employed by Dr. Cutler to facilitate and expedite his negotiations with southern members.

On the 9th of July the Ordinance for the Government of the Northwest Territory, which had been dragging on for many months, without taking shape, was referred to a new committee for a new draft. The chairman of that committee was Carrington of Virginia, whose acquaintance Dr. Cutler had sought and made on the morning after his arrival, and who was unceasingly assiduous in introducing him to men of authority and influence. Another member of the committee was Mr. Dane of Beverly, Massachusetts, who was born in Dr. Cutler's parish, was his intimate and life-long friend, and by ten years his junior. A draft was reported without containing a word with reference to slavery. After its first reading it was submitted to Dr. Cutler by the committee, and returned by him on the afternoon of July 10. His friend Dane, on the 12th, proposed the clause prohibiting slavery forever in the territory. That Mr. Dane favored this policy with his whole heart and soul, no one who knew him could doubt. He was the man to adopt such a suggestion and to make it genuinely his own. But that he originated it he never

claimed. His relation to Dr. Cutler renders it intrinsically probable that his action in this behalf was the result of conference with his pastor, senior, and friend. It was distinctly understood in Dr. Cutler's family that this anti-slavery provision was due to his influence as was also a declaration of principle which proved fruitful of enduring benefit,—"Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." There is, indeed, at this moment, in the hands of Dr. Cutler's descendants a printed copy of the ordinance of 1787, with a memorandum in the margin, stating that Mr. Dane asked Dr. Cutler to suggest such provisions as he deemed advisable, and that at his instance was inserted what relates to religion, education, and slavery. Dr. Cutler's son Ephraim, who was brought up by his grandparents and never lived with his father, and who himself prepared the portion of the constitution of Ohio which contained the anti-slavery clause of the Ordinance of 1787, gives in a letter the time and place when and where his father told him that he was the author of that clause. The ordinance was passed on the 13th of July by the unanimous vote of the eight States then represented, and by the affirmative vote of seventeen out of eighteen members present, Mr. Yates of New York, who was often in a minority of one, casting the only negative vote.

It must be remembered that under the terms of the Confederation each State cast a single vote, and a majority of the States, seven out of thirteen, was necessary for the passage of any measure. Legislation was sometimes delayed by the lack of representation from a sufficient number of States to secure a needed majority.

At the time of the passage of this Ordinance the States represented were Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey,

Delaware, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. At that time Virginia and Delaware were virtually anti-slavery States, had State anti-slavery societies, and continued to be opposed to slavery till the stimulus given to the cultivation of cotton by the invention of the cotton-gin opened for them a lucrative market for the slaves raised, but not needed, on their own soil. As for the Carolinas and Georgia, they had at their command at the South such immense areas of unoccupied territory, that it was their policy to limit rather than to extend the scope of emigration for their own citizens.

But the anti-slavery provision was passed at the latest possible moment. The Confederation was expiring. The Constitutional Convention was already in session in Philadelphia. In that Convention the interests of slavery, present and prospective, were jealously watched, and in the new Constitution carefully guarded. The time was not far distant when slavery would have encroached on the Northwestern Territory. There is no geographical reason why Ohio, Illinois and Indiana might not have been slave states as well as Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi. As I cannot but read our history, Manasseh Cutler was the providential man who set impassable metes and bounds to the slave power. But for him, American history would have taken its course in widely different channels. The free states would have made hardly a show of counterpoise to the slave states. A paltry northeastern fragment of the country might have remained, or rather become, free soil; but, if so, it would have been sloughed off into a petty and moribund republic, or else would have been retained as a legitimate and desirable hunting ground for such fugitives as could not escape through it to Canada.

The purchase was yet to be made. A law for the survey and sale of lands, in 1785, provided that one section in

every township should be reserved for the support of schools. Dr. Cutler demanded for his proposed purchase the additional reservation of one section in every township for an educated ministry, and of two entire townships for the establishment and maintenance of a university. These terms were not readily agreed to; but he strenuously insisted on them, repeatedly threatened to go home without completing the purchase, and was as often detained by the importunity of friends who were laboring in his behalf in Congress, and who gradually won over all the recalcitrant members but one, thus producing a unanimous vote of the States in favor of the sale on his terms. He was largely aided in this result by the confidence in the resources of the Ohio region and in the success of settlements there which he inspired from his thorough knowledge of everything that could be known in the premises without exploration in his own person. Those interested in a private speculation, who afterward took the name of the Scioto Company, joined him in the purchase, and the two companies together bought five millions of acres, of which Dr. Cutler for the Ohio Company took a million and a half, at two-thirds of a dollar per acre, in government paper, which was then worth not more than twelve per cent, as currency, so that the land was procured for about eight cents per acre in its cost to the purchasers, yet in obligations which two or three years afterward, when the Constitution of the United States was adopted and established, were worth nearly their face, and to the government were worth their full face in the amount of debt which they cancelled in advance. This was a masterly achievement and, so far as Dr. Cutler knew at the time, on the part of Congress the result of foreseeing patriotism; and yet it subsequently appeared to have savored overmuch of that charity which begins at home, which has never since failed of large representation

in our public counsels. The agent of the Scioto Company, as it was subsequently called, was Winthrop Sargent, who alone appeared with Dr. Cutler in the purchase. He had been in the preceding year appointed surveyor of the Northwest Territory, and he had an indisputable right to purchase the land which he had surveyed and explored. But it afterward appeared that three of the eighteen members of Congress were interested in the purchase, namely, Duer of New York and Lee of Virginia, who did more than any other men to promote and facilitate the sale, and General St. Clair, of Pennsylvania, who was then President of Congress, and afterward Governor of the new territory.¹ I can see no reason to doubt that the sale to both the Ohio and the Scioto company was in itself eminently wise,—that it hastened the settlement of the territory, invited settlers of a superior type, and secured benefits of inestimable and enduring worth to the states embraced in the Northwest Territory. The sale ought to have been made; but none of the sellers ought to have been among the buyers.

While the ordinance for the government of the territory was pending, Dr. Cutler, after returning the draft to the committee with his amendments, went to Philadelphia, and spent a week there in pleasant intercourse with scientific friends between whom and himself there had been such communication as the slow and costly mail service of that day would permit, but no face-to-face converse. A special interest was given to his visit by the Constitutional Con-

¹ Arthur St. Clair was a Scotchman, and came to America in 1758 with the Sixtieth Regiment of Foot in which he was an ensign. Earned a commission at Louisburg and Quebec, and married a niece of Governor Bowdoin of Massachusetts. Settled in Pennsylvania and held civil and military offices until the Revolution when he became distinguished and reached the rank of Major General. He was present at Trenton and at Princeton. Elected to Congress in 1785 and its president in 1787. Governor of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1802. He died poor in 1818. He gave its name to the city of Cincinnati. Upon his controversies and difficulties, political, financial and military it is not necessary to enter here.

vention, which held, indeed, its sessions with closed doors, but which, when not in session, added very largely to the best society of the city. Dr. Cutler took tea and spent the evening with Dr. Franklin, and his description of Franklin's appearance, library, tea-table, and household in his old age, is the most vivid and truthlike home-and-life-picture of the sage that we can find in his entire biography.¹ To his great delight, Franklin spent two hours with him in examining the huge volume, too heavy to be lifted without difficulty, of Linnæus's great botanical work, with colored plates, in which he says that three months' study would have been too little for him. He visited Bartram's botanical garden, inherited, as I suppose, by his son. Dr. Rush informed him that he was the only person named for the charge of a botanical garden about to be established in Philadelphia, and for a lectureship or professorship of botany in the University, and, but for his love of his sacred calling, he undoubtedly would have easily suffered himself to be transplanted into what for a scientific man was then by far the most congenial soil on this side of the Atlantic.

Arrangements were at once made for colonizing the Ohio Company's purchase under the superintendence of General Putnam, and the first party, forty-seven in number, reached its destination in April of the following year (1788). Meanwhile, Dr. Cutler's next work was to prepare a pamphlet designed to encourage emigration, which was printed at Salem in the latter part of 1787, and was shortly afterward translated into French to stimulate French immigration into our western territory.² I cannot find an English copy of this pamphlet; but I have on my table, as I write, a copy

¹ Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler, Vol. II, p. 363.

² The pamphlet is given in full in the Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler, Vol. II, Appendix C, pp. 393-406.

of the translation, printed in Paris. It has the unqualified endorsement of Thomas Hutchins, the official geographer of the United States, who says: "The statements correspond perfectly to my own observations during ten years' residence in that country." The pamphlet is entitled, "Description of the Soil, Productions, etc., of that portion of the United States lying between Pennsylvania, the rivers Ohio and Scioto, and Lake Erie." The description is remarkable for its geographical accuracy and precision, and its literally authentic and unexaggerated statement of the capacity of the soil and of the advantages offered for access to markets. There is but one word of promise in the pamphlet, which has not been more than fulfilled, and that one word, I am inclined to think, was substituted by the French translator for another more sober and reasonable. It is said: "It will not be *twenty* years before there will be more inhabitants about the western than about the eastern rivers of the United States." I find this statement repeatedly quoted with the word *fifty* instead of *twenty*. It is added: "The government will undoubtedly sooner or later reserve or purchase a place suitable for a national capital, which will be in the centre of population."

Dr. Cutler published, also, in the same year a ten-page pamphlet entitled "Explanation of the map which delineates that part of the Federal Lands, comprised between Pennsylvania westline, the rivers Ohio and Scioto, and Lake Erie." In this occurred the prophetic words, as strange as true, bearing concurrent date with the first pre-Fulton experiments of Fitch and Rumsey, which were generally regarded as chimerical and of no hopeful issue:¹ "It is worthy of observation that in all probability steamboats will be found to do infinite service in all our extensive

¹ See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. XXIV, pp. 259-271.

river navigation." In 1788 Dr. Cutler went out with a second party of emigrants.¹ He started in his sulky, and somewhere on the eastern acclivity of the Alleghanies, finding the road too rough and steep for wheels, took to the saddle, and rode till he came to the Ohio, about eighteen miles above Wheeling. The rest of the way was by water, and Dr. Cutler having had a hint of the possibility of substituting a screw for oars, though I can find no evidence that the experiment had ever been made, ordered and superintended, during his halt on the banks of the Ohio, the construction, as he says, of a "screw, with short blades, placed in the stern of a boat, which we turned with a crank," the first screw propeller ever made. He adds: "It succeeded to admiration, and I think it a very useful discovery." He and his companions landed at the site where the previous party had erected their log-huts, and gave to the embryo city the name of Marietta. This was the earliest settlement in what is now the State of Ohio. The name was in honor of Marie Antoinette, and though I find no documentary evidence to the point, putting together this name and the translation into French of Dr. Cutler's pamphlet, I am disposed to think that the name was designed as an additional attraction to French immigrants.

To close the narrative of Dr. Cutler's connection with Ohio, though in advance of chronological order, I would say that Ohio University, in Athens, Ohio, the oldest college in the northwest, was founded in 1804, on the endowment of two townships, then valuable property, for which, with a view to this destination, Dr. Cutler had stipulated in his purchase. Dr. Cutler drew up the act of incorporation for this university, arranged its curricu-

¹ See *Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler*, Vol. I, p. 408, Vol. II, p. 53.

lum, and nominated its professors. His stipulation, too, undoubtedly led to similar endowments for colleges in all the northwestern States. In 1795 Washington appointed Dr. Cutler Judge of the Supreme Court of the already populous Northwestern Territory ; but judicial honors were of no more avail than scientific position in withdrawing him from the profession which was his preferred work and chief joy. Three of his sons were prominent citizens of Ohio. His eldest son, Ephraim, was a member of the Territorial and of the State Legislature, and of the convention that framed the Constitution of Ohio, and a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas ; and he also bore the chief part in organizing the judiciary department and the common-school system of the State. His second son, Jervis, wrote an elaborate Topographical Description of the States and Territories on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, illustrated with engravings by his own hand. His grandson, William, the son of Ephraim, was a member of Congress from Ohio. In 1791 Dr. Cutler received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Yale College. In 1800 he was chosen Representative to Congress from Essex County, and served in two successive Congresses. I find but one speech of his on record, and that is on a then pending Judiciary Bill, which, as was doubtless intended on one side as well as apprehended on the other, would impair the independence of the judiciary, by making it in some measure subservient to the legislative department. I have read that speech with admiration. Not only does it seem to me pertinent and eminently wise, but with slight verbal alterations it might serve at the present day as a plea for an independent judiciary with a tenure of office contingent only on life or good behavior. It is the argument of a statesman rather than of a politician, addressed to reason and not to prejudice, and adapted not to persuade, but to convince.

No reader of it would suspect, except from his disclaimer of experience in public affairs, that he was not an adept in their management, of long self-training and abundant practice.

At different periods of his life in his rural parish, Dr. Cutler was elected to membership of the Philadelphia and of the New England Linnæan Societies, of the American Antiquarian Society, and of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, while, in recognition of his professional standing, he was made President of the Bible Society of Salem and its vicinity, which preceded the formation of the American Bible Society, held a very conspicuous place among the religious charities of its time, and notably introduced to the knowledge of the great world the late Dr. Wayland, who delivered at one of its anniversaries and published under its auspices his world-famous sermon on the Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise.

In his favorite department of botany I doubt whether Dr. Cutler's name has a permanent place. In a scientific exploration of Mount Washington in company with Professor Peck, he discovered, among other previously unclassified plants, a *Salix* which had provisionally, but, so far as I can find, did not retain, the name of *Salix cutleri*, and there was a genus that bore his name, but I can find no vestige of it in the present nomenclature.

In the intervals and after the close of his public life, Dr. Cutler received pupils as boarders in his house,—boys fitting for college, young men preparing themselves in mathematics or the science of navigation for mercantile or maritime life, and sometimes students in theology; and such was his reputation as a teacher that pupils from France and from the West Indies were not unfrequently consigned to his care.¹

¹ See Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler, Vol. I, pp. 88-91, Vol. II, pp. 364-7, n.

At the same time his professional duties were faithfully and lovingly discharged, and he exercised a large and generous hospitality. His parish was small, and imposed less than the amount of parochial service that fell to many of his brethren; but he maintained an intimate, affectionate and beneficent intercourse with all the families of his little flock, and his labor in their behalf was crowned by several seasons of special religious awakening with considerable accessions to the church. His sermons were well written, and impressively delivered, and he was heard with interest in all the pulpits of his neighborhood. In the latter part of his life he was afflicted with asthma, lightly at first—but very severely toward the close. For the last year or two he could not reach the church nor ascend the pulpit without assistance, nor stand to perform the service. But he continued to preach in an arm-chair until within a few months of his death. He died in 1823, at the age of eighty-one, and in the fifty-second year of his pastorate.

In political opinion and action Dr. Cutler was a loyal member of the Federalist party, and had the inflexibility which was at once its merit and its ruin.

In theology he belonged to the Trinitarian portion of the Congregational body, and this undoubtedly from strong conviction, as he survived for several years the division of that body, and left in the more liberal wing almost all his most intimate friends, Dr. Dane, Dr. Fisher, Dr. Bowditch, Rev. Dr. Prince of Salem, more eminent in science than in theology, and Rev. Dr. Abbot of Beverly, with whom he had been specially associated in the interchange of hospitality and of clerical offices. I was in my early boyhood when he died, but I well remember how universally he was honored and revered and how general was the feeling that in the region round about his home he had left no superior, hardly an equal.

GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR.¹

[Oration delivered at the Centennial Celebration at Marietta, April 7, 1888.]

THE necessity was felt for an early provision for a survey and sale of the territory and for the government of the political bodies to be established there. These two subjects were in the main kept distinct. Various plans were reported from time to time. Ten committees were appointed on the frame of government and three on the schemes for survey and sale. Fourteen different reports were made at different times; but from September 6, 1780, when the resolution passed asking the states to cede their lands, until July 6, 1787, when Manasseh Cutler, the envoy of the Ohio Company, came to the door, every plan adopted and every plan proposed, except a motion of Rufus King, which he himself abandoned, we now see would have been fraught with mischief, if it had become and continued law.

March 1, 1784, the day Virginia's deed of cession was delivered, Jefferson reported from a committee of which he was chairman an ordinance which divided the territory into ten states, each to be admitted into the Union when its population equaled that of the smallest existing state. He thought, as he declared to Monroe, that if great states were established beyond the mountains, they would separate themselves from the Confederacy and become its enemies. His ordinance, when reported, contained a provision excluding slavery after 1800. This was stricken out by the Congress. It is manifest, from subsequent events, that, under it, the territory would have been occupied

¹Born in Concord, Mass., Aug. 29, 1826; H. C., 1846; State Legislature, 1852-7; Representative in Congress, 1869-77; U. S. Senator since 1877; President of the American Antiquarian Society and LL.D. of Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, and Amherst. His maternal grandmother was a Prescott of Salem.

by settlers from the South, with their slaves. It would have been impossible to exclude the institution of slavery if it had once got footing. With or without his proviso, the scheme of Mr. Jefferson would have resulted in dividing the territory into ten small slave-holding states. They would have come into the Union with their twenty votes in the Senate. Their weight would have inclined the scale irresistibly. The American Union would have been a great slave-holding empire. This proposal, so amended, became law April 23, 1784, and continued in force until repealed by the Ordinance of 1787. It contained no republican security, except a provision that the government of the states should be republican.

March 16, 1785, Rufus King, at the suggestion of Timothy Pickering, offered a resolve that there should be no slavery in any of the states described in the resolve of 1784. This was sent to a committee of which he was the chairman. He reported it back, so amended as to conform to Jefferson's plan for postponing the prohibition of slavery until after 1800, and with a clause providing for the surrender of fugitive slaves; but it was never acted on.

May 7, 1784, Jefferson reported an ordinance for ascertaining the mode of locating and disposing of the public lands. This was recommitted, amended and finally adopted. Congress rejected the proposition to reserve lands for religious purposes, but retained a provision for schools. It contained also a clause that the lands should pass in descent and dower, according to the custom of gavel-kind until the temporary government was established.

In 1786, a new committee was raised to report a new plan for the government of the territory. This Committee made a report, which provided that no state should be admitted from the Western territory, until it had a population equal to one-thirteenth of the population of the original

states at the preceding census. This would have kept out Ohio till 1820, Indiana till 1850, Illinois till 1860, Michigan till 1880 and Wisconsin till after 1890. The Seventh Congress expired while this report was pending. It was revived in the Eighth. The clause which would have so long postponed the admission of the states was probably stricken out, though this is not quite certain. But there was little of value in the whole scheme. It contained no barrier against slavery.

This was the state of things when Manasseh Cutler came into the chamber on the morning of July 6, 1787, bearing with him the fate of the Northwest. He had left Boston on the evening of June 25, where, on that day, he records in his diary—'I conversed with General Putnam, and settled the principles on which I am to contract with Congress for lands on account of the Ohio Company.'

He was probably the fittest man on the continent, except Franklin, for a mission of delicate diplomacy. It was said just now that Putnam was a man after Washington's pattern, and after Washington's own heart. Cutler was a man after Franklin's pattern and after Franklin's own heart. He was the most learned naturalist in America, as Franklin was the greatest master in physical science. He was a man of consummate prudence in speech and conduct; of courtly manners; a favorite in the drawing-room and in the camp; with a wide circle of friends and correspondents among the most famous men of his time. During his brief service in Congress, he made a speech on the judicial system, in 1803, which shows his profound mastery of constitutional principles.

It now fell to his lot to conduct a negotiation second only in importance in the history of his country to that which Franklin conducted with France in 1778. Never was

ambassador crowned with success more rapid or more complete. On the 9th of July, the pending ordinance was committed to a new committee, Edward Carrington of Virginia; Nathan Dane of Massachusetts; Richard Henry Lee of Virginia; John Kean of South Carolina; Melancthon Smith of New York. They sent a copy of the ordinance, which had come over from the last Congress, to Dr. Cutler, that he might make remarks and prepare amendments. He returned the ordinance, with his remarks and amendments, on the 10th. The ordinance was newly modeled and all Cutler's amendments inserted, except one relating to taxation, 'and that,' he says, 'was better qualified.' It was reported to Congress on the 11th. The clause prohibiting slavery, which had not been included because Mr. Dane 'had no idea the States would agree to it,' was, on Dane's motion, inserted as an amendment, and on the 13th the greatest and most important legislative act in American history passed unanimously, save a single vote. But one day intervened between the day of the appointment of the committee and that of their report. Cutler returned the copy of the old ordinance with his proposed amendments on one day. The next, the committee reported the finished plan. But two days more elapsed before its final passage.

The measure providing for the terms of sale to the Ohio Company was passed on the 27th of the same July. Cutler was master of the situation during the whole negotiation. When some of his conditions were rejected he 'paid his respects to all the members of Congress in the city, and informed them of his intention to depart that day, and if his terms were not acceded to, to turn his attention to some other part of the country.' They urged him 'to tarry till the next day and they would put by all other business to

complete the contract.' He records in his diary that Congress 'came to the terms stated in our letter without the least variation.'

From this narrative I think it must be clear that the plan which Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler settled in Boston was the substance of the Ordinance of 1787. I do not mean to imply that the detail or the language of the great statute was theirs. But I cannot doubt that they demanded a constitution with its unassailable guaranties for civil liberty, such as Massachusetts had enjoyed since 1780, and such as Virginia had enjoyed since 1776, instead of the meagre provision for a government to be changed at the will of Congress or of temporary popular majorities, which was all Congress had hitherto proposed, and this constitution secured by an irrevocable compact, and that this demand was an inflexible condition of their dealing with Congress at all. Cutler, with consummate wisdom, addressed himself on his arrival, to the representatives of Virginia. Jefferson had gone to France in July, 1784, but the weight of his great influence remained. King was in Philadelphia, where the Constitutional Convention was sitting. It was Carrington, of Virginia, who brought Cutler on to the floor. Richard Henry Lee had voted against King's motion to commit his anti-slavery proviso, but the first mover of the Declaration of Independence needed little converting to cause him to favor anything that made for freedom. William Grayson, of Virginia, early and late, earnestly supported the prohibition of slavery, and, when broken in health, he attended the Virginia Legislature in 1788, to secure her consent to the departure from the condition of her deed of cession which the Ordinance of 1787 effected. Some of the amendments upon the original ordinance now preserved are in his hand-writing. To Nathan Dane belongs the immortal honor of having

been the draftsman of the statute and the mover of the anti-slavery amendment. His monument has been erected, in imperishable granite, by the greatest of American architects, among the massive columns of the great argument in reply to Hayne. But the legislative leadership was Virginia's. From her came the great weight of Washington, in whose heart the scheme of Rufus Putnam for the colonization of the West occupied a place second only to that of the Union itself. Hers was the great influence of Jefferson, burning with the desire that his country, in her first great act of national legislation, should make the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence a reality. From her came Carrington, chairman of the Committee ; Lee, its foremost member ; and Grayson, then in the chair of the Congress, who, Mr. Bancroft says, "gave, more than any other man in Congress, efficient attention to the territorial question, and whose record against slavery is clearer than that of any other southern man who was present in 1787."

A RECORD OF INTERMENTS IN THE OLD OR WESTERN BURYING GROUND IN LYNN, MASS.

MADE BY BENJAMIN H. JACOB.

[Copied from the original record by JOHN T. MOULTON, Lynn, 1855.]

1827.	May	28.	Solomon Moulton	20 yrs
	June	7.	Child of Israel Perkins	4½ mos
	"	26.	Child of Timothy Munroe	Infant
	"	27.	Martha Newhall	79 yrs
	July	2.	Mrs. Eliz. Attwill wife of Zachariah Attwill	69 yrs
	"	5.	Child of Henry A. Breed	10 mos
	"	10.	Mrs. Felton, widow of Nathaniel Felton	
	"	"	Child of Mrs. Bisbee	10 mos
	"	19.	Eliz. Segur	
	Aug.	5.	Child of Henry Atkins	
	"	14.	Ebenezer Tarbox	69 yrs
	"	25.	Lois Smith	75 yrs
	Sept.	3.	Child of John L. Alley	17 mos
	"	16.	Child of Andrew Mansfield	
	"	17.	Child of Benj. Oliver	10 mos
	"	"	Child of ———	Infant
	"	22.	Child of Jas. Bacheller, Jr.	
	"	"	Child of John Shaw of Saugus	
	"	28.	Child of Aaron Bacheller	
	"	30.	Peter Clian, a German	about 39 yrs
	Oct.	10.	Mrs. Homan, wife of Joseph Homan	
	"	16.	Child of Aaron Bacheller	
	"	27.	Female child of Caleb Walden	6 yrs
	"	30.	Child of John Stimpson	Infant
	Nov.	5.	Child of Elijah Holt	18 mos
	"	9.	D. Lindsey	
	Dec.	15.	John Bowler	
	"	21.	Child of Richard Ham	2 yrs
1828.	Jan.	22.	Child of Wm. Skinner	Infant
	"	26.	Widow Mary Lindsey	81 yrs

1828.	Jan. 27.	Child of Mrs. Parton, female	20 mos
	" 31.	Mrs. Lydia Tarbox, wife of William Tarbox	70 yrs
	Feb. 5.	Mrs. Alley	Very old
	"	Child of Allen Breed	Infant
	Mch. 3.	Child of Joseph A. Lloyd	
	" 22.	Wife of Moses	
	" "	Wife and child of Benj. H. Newhall	
	Apl. 1.	Child of True Moody (black)	
	" 5.	Ebenezer Winship	25 yrs
	" 12.	David Wheeler	68 yrs
	" "	Emily Bulfinch	28 yrs
	" 21.	Child of Benjamin Homan	5 mos
	" 27.	Child of Nath'l Newhall	10 mos
	" "	Child of James Pool	10 days
	" 30.	Child of Lewis Alley	20 mos
	May 5.	Child of Samuel Blake	Infant
	" 7.	Child of Alonzo Lewis	14 mos
	June 1.	Child of Samuel Bacheller, Jr.	7 mos
	" 14.	Miss Sealand	25 yrs
	" "	Child of Isaac Story	Infant
	" 29.	Mrs. Parrott	87 yrs
	" 30.	Child of Lewis Alley	3 yrs
	July 2.	Lewis Bruce	66 yrs
	" 4.	Mrs. Sarah Payne, wife of Ebenezer Payne	32 yrs
	" 16.	Mrs. Lois Vans	37 yrs
	Aug. 11.	Child of John Coats	Infant
	" 12.	Son of Moses Annis (Wm.)	16 yrs
	" 13.	Ebenezer Wyman	50 yrs
	" 20.	Mrs. Damer	23 yrs
	Sept. 3.	Child of Moses Allen	15 mos
	" 7.	Child of Timothy Munroe, Jr.	2 mos
	" 12.	Widow Mary Meek	52 yrs
	" 14.	Child of Benj. Newhall	14 mos
	" 17.	Child of Isaiah Hacker	5 mos
	" "	Child of Carey Libbey	14 mos
	" 22.	Child of Benj. Oliver	
	Oct. 6.	Daniel Townsend	64 yrs
	" 27.	Son of Edmund Mansfield	
	Nov. 3.	Child of John Skinner	Infant
	" 8.	——— Newhall	74 yrs
	" 20.	Wife of Peter Tucker	22 yrs
	Dec. 2.	Child of Mrs. Tufts	
	" 10.	Child of Benj. B. Johnson	
	" 23.	Child of John Townsend	

1828.	Dec. 26.	Abigail Cheever	63 yrs
1829.	Feb. 7.	Sally Frank	supposed to be 45 yrs
	" 10.	Mrs. Lydia Mansfield	88 yrs
	" "	Enoch Merrick	
	" 15.	Wife of Matthew Breed	
	" 17.	Samuel Tarbox	34 yrs
	" 25.	Child of B. Cox	14 days
Mch.	13.	Widow Hitchings	87 yrs
	" 14.	Child of Ebenezer Stocker	
	" 16.	James Pratt	69 yrs
	" 24.	George, son of John Newhall	20 yrs
Apl.	17.	Child of Ezra Mudge	5 weeks
	" 18.	Miss Grant	21 yrs
	" 29.	Burrage Newhall	25 yrs
May	1.	James	
	" 17.	Child of Peter Tucker	15 mos
	" 24.	Child of Capt. Felton	20 mos
June	24.	Wife of Benj. Homan	
	" 25.	Child of Sally Tarbox	
	" 29.	Harry Alley	
July	8.	Wife of James Ramsdell	
	" 15.	Child of Enoch Soule	2 yrs
	" 18.	Mary, dau. of Nehemiah Foster	4 yrs
Aug.	5.	Child of Samuel Newhall	1 yr
	" 13.	Samuel Newhall	32 yrs
Sept.	1.	Miss Lydia Chadwell	19 yrs. 10 mos
	" 2.	Bethiah, wife of James Rhodes	54 yrs
	" 3.	Child of Paul Newhall	Infant
	" 4.	Child of Mrs. Tuttle	Infant
Oct.	25.	Child of Josiah Breed	2 yrs. 3 mos
	" 27.	John Lindsey	
Nov.	3.	— Ames	63 yrs
	" 9.	Joseph Fuller	81 yrs
	" 19.	Carey Libbey's child	Infant
	" 21.	Hannah, wife of Benj. Cook	23 yrs
	" 23.	John L. Johnson	63 yrs
	" 30.	Ezra Hitchings	64 yrs
Dec.	8.	John H. Burrill	54 yrs
	" 19.	Wife of Nehemiah Johnson	39 yrs
	" 22.	Widow Barry	83 yrs
	" 25.	Child of George Oliver	1 week
1830.	Feb. 20.	Child of Andrews Breed	7 mos
	" 22.	Ellis Newhall	37 yrs
	" 23.	Wife of Josiah Newhall	39 yrs

1830.	Feb.	27.	Wife of Timothy Johnson	60 yrs
	Mch.	1.	Ephraim Sweetser	53 yrs
	"	"	Child of Zechariah Graves	2 weeks
	"	6.	Widow Clifford	69 yrs
	"	8.	Benjamin Aborn	28 yrs
	"	11.	Child of John Lye	Infant
	"	13.	Child of John Skinner	3 mos
	"	"	Twin children of Hiram K. Bryant	Infants
	"	22.	Deborah Bailey	63 yrs
	"	27.	Child of John Coats	Infant
	Apl.	5.	Child of William Bancroft	
	"	19.	William G. Newhall	36 yrs
	"	22.	Eliza L. Ramsdell	15 yrs. 5 mos
	"	"	Child of Moses Yell	20 mos
	"	23.	Child of James Hudson	Infant
	"	28.	Oliver M. son of Jesse Rhodes	3 yrs
	May	1.	Child of David Harwood	Infant
	"	5.	Wife of James Hudson	37 yrs
	"	6.	Widow Stocker	
	"	9.	Child of Jacob Alley	Infant
	"	11.	Jesse L. Bacheller	32 yrs
	"	28.	Widow Lydia Merrick	50 yrs
	June	3.	William Rhodes	42 yrs
	"	4.	Daughter of George Johnson	5 yrs
	"	7.	Child of Henry Newhall	7 mos
	"	"	Hannah Ramsdell	37 yrs
	"	12.	Francis Beckford	33 yrs
	"	19.	Child of Warren Rogers	
	July	5.	John Farrington	80 yrs
	"	17.	Wife of Francis Spinney	
	"	18.	Wife of John I. Emerton	25 yrs
	"	22.	Child of Robert Rogers	Infant
	"	23.	Child of Samuel P. Page	1 yr
	"	"	Child of John Barry	Infant
	Aug.	4.	Child of William Stanwood	1 week
	"	10.	Miss Nancy Moulton	
	"	16.	Child of William Babb	4 yrs
	"	21.	Child of Samuel T. Huse	
	"	26.	Child of Ebenezer Stocker	2 weeks
	"	27.	Child of Jedediah Newhall	8 weeks
	"	28.	Jason, son of Joseph Atkinson	20 yrs
	Sept.	2.	David Crane	80 yrs
	"	3.	Amos Tapley	47 yrs
	"	7.	Child of Daniel Felton	11½ mos

1830.	Sept. 12.	Wife of Nehemiah Breed	
	" 13.	Child of Griffith Jones	5 mos
	" 21.	Child of Levi Robinson	1 yr. 7 mos
	" 29.	Child of Charles P. Barry	9 mos
	Oct. 5.	Child of Francis Spinney	3 mos
	" "	Child of Amasa Paul	2 yrs 3 mos
	" 11.	Child of William Tuttle	18 mos
	" 12.	Blaney Walton	30 yrs
	" 15.	Burrill Lye	33 yrs
	" 23.	Joanna, wife of Benj. Alley	73 yrs
	" "	Henry Bacheller	55 yrs
	Nov. 11.	Samuel Sargent	54 yrs
	Dec. 7.	Sally Tarbox	33 yrs
	" 11.	Micajah Newhall	74 yrs
	" 24.	Harriet	31 yrs
	" 29.	Child of Carey Libbey	Infant
1831.	Jan. 5.	Aaron Lummus	74 yrs
	" "	Child of George Oliver	3 mos
	" 16.	Child of Benjamin F. Newhall	16 mos
	" "	William E. Ramsdell	34 yrs
	Feb. 21.	Wife of Calley Newhall	73 yrs
	" 23.	Benj. H. Newhall	26 yrs
	Mch. 6.	Samuel Bacheller	74 yrs
	" 17.	Griffith Jones	
	" "	Sarah N. wife of Wm. Chadwell	
	" 31.	James, son of Jesse Rhodes	22 mos
	" "	John Humphreys, son of George Brackett	3 yrs 9 mos
	May 31.	Isaac Organ	70 yrs
	June 2.	Joseph Brown	70 yrs
	" 6.	Child of John Collins	Infant
	" 9.	Sophia D. daughter of David Ellis	6 yrs 2 mos
	" 15.	T. Lynch	
	" 21.	Child of Moses Yell	15 mos
	July 2.	Rev. John E. Weston	
	" 10.	Legaré Johnson	
	" 14.	Jonathan Bond	37 yrs
	" 16.	Charles Alley	29 yrs
	" 23.	Betsey, wife of John Alley	65 yrs
	Aug. 2.	Daughter of Timothy Munroe, Jr.	10 mos
	" 8.	Child of Samuel Blake	Infant
	" 12.	Child of Hugh Davis	3 yrs
	" 22.	Child of Moses Alley	1 mo
	" 30.	Child of Thomas Frothingham	4 weeks
	Sept. 23.	Mary, wife of D. L. Mudge	36 yrs

240 INTERMENTS, WESTERN BURYING GROUND, LYNN, MASS.

1831.	Oct.	6.	Wife of John Farrington	80 yrs
	"	8.	Child of H. A. Breed	6 mos
	"	28.	Child of H. A. Breed	2 yrs. 2 mos
	Nov.	6.	Child of David Worthing	10 mos
	"	"	Child of Nehemiah I. Pratt	5 mos
	"	8.	Child of Mrs. Perkins	Infant
	"	9.	Child of Henry Williams	Infant
	"	11.	Child of Mrs. Fowler	Infant
	"	14.	Child of Benj. Johnson	9 mos
	Dec.	13.	Benj. Massey	45 yrs
	"	14.	Wife of Joseph Rhodes	70 yrs
	"	"	Nathaniel Tarbox	78 yrs
	"	15.	Rebecca Chessman	79 yrs
	"	"	Child of James Bacheller, Jr	Infant
	"	28.	Abraham D. Phillips	
	"	29.	James Gardner	69 yrs
1832.	Jan.	10.	Ebenezer Richardson	85 yrs
1833.	Jan.	22.	Derby Atkinson	
	"	"	Child of James Atkinson	
	"	25.	Child of Jacob I. Johnson	
	Feb.	9.	Harris Chadwell	
	"	"	Child of Luke W. Dow	
	"	"	Child of John Lye	
	"	26.	Wife of James Collins	
	Mch.	3.	Wife of Samuel Mulliken	
	"	4.	Child of Mrs. Fenn	
	"	5.	Holt Breed's mother	
	"	27.	Child of William Stone	
	"	"	Child of Richard Valpey	
	"	31.	Child of Robt. W. Trevett	
	"	"	Child of Nathaniel Peck	
	Apl.	4.	Jesse Rhodes	
	"	14.	Son of Ebenezer Hall	
	"	15.	Child of Enos Breed	
	"	19.	John Lindsey's mother	
	"	"	John B. Newhall	
	"	"	Child of Jacob I. Johnson	
	"	22.	Child of Levi Robinson	
	"	24.	Child of John Caldwell	
	"	26.	Child of Henry Atkinson	
	"	27.	John Mudge's mother	

[To be continued.]

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

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SEMI-HISTORICAL RAMBLES AMONG THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PLACES ALONG SAUGUS RIVER.

BY NATHAN M. HAWKES.

THERE is not a nook-shotten locality in Old Essex which has changed less in a hundred years than this charming river-valley where these sedate places complacently hold their own, heedless of innovations about them.

The writer loves every tree, rock, hillside, brook, woodland path and recollection associated with them. The writing of these slight hints concerning them has been a pleasure which will be heightened if the reading shall interest others.

THE TARBELL PLACE.

It is well to gather up and preserve bits of local history before they become dim traditions by oral transmission. There is an old homestead and farm in the southwestern corner of Lynnfield which deserves a passing glance from its associations.

Upon its eastern boundary flows the placid Hawkes Brook ; its southern boundary is the dividing line between Saugus and Lynnfield ; its western boundary is the Saugus

River, which is also the line between two towns, Lynnfield and Wakefield, and between two counties, Middlesex and Essex; its northern boundary was the farm of George L. Hawkes, which came to him through a long line of worthy ancestors.

It is now absorbed in his great estate. As he has no use for the buildings, it may be that ere another generation they will be no more. Indeed, the barns and the connecting lean-to have already disappeared in smoke and fire. Few, save old natives, could find this place.

The big, homely old house is in a secluded, yet sunny spot, far from the road. Back of it towers a great boulder that timid strangers were afraid to drive by. Wooded hills on the north and east keep off the chill east winds of our rugged climate. From its southern windows the eye looks upon as pretty an intervale, bordered by as sparkling a river and framed by as verdant hills, as old Essex can show.

This for a century has been known as the Tarbell Place. Here after the Revolutionary war came Jonathan Tarbell from the South Parish of Danvers, now Peabody; with him came his wife Elizabeth (Cook) Tarbell. His father, Jonathan Tarbell,¹ came here and died in this house. After these two there likewise lived and died in this house and was buried in the family tomb, upon the estate, a third Jonathan Tarbell. Of what interest is it at this time when the name is extinct in this locality?

Let me briefly relate the story. On the nineteenth of April, 1775, some two hundred brave young men marched from the village green in the South Parish of Danvers, to

¹Jonathan Tarbell, Sr., was the grandson of John Tarbell of Salem Village, whose name will be ever noted as the master spirit in the ecclesiastical contest with that arch-conspirator of the witchcraft delusion, Rev. Samuel Parris, which finally ejected Mr. Parris in disgrace from the county, and vindicated the Christian name of Mr. Tarbell's wife's mother, Rebecca Nurse, the victim of superstition, in 1692

Lexington, twenty miles away. A tragedy there took place. Every school-boy the world over feels his pulse beat more quickly as he reads the tale of the first blood shed in the war of American Independence. Seven Danvers men gave their lives, that liberty might live.

The Lexington monument in Peabody, fittingly standing on the spot whence the start was made on the fateful morning, commemorates the names of the heroes who fell. The first on the list is "Samuel Cook, æt. 33." By his side, when the British bullet struck his heart, stood his brother-in-law, Jonathan Tarbell. On the twentieth he tenderly carried his dead home to Danvers. Both were members of the company commanded by their relative, Capt. Samuel Epps.

Service at Lexington was a patent of American nobility. These men of Danvers were the farthest from the scene of action of any who reached the battlefield. Let it be remembered that the fatalities of Danvers were larger than any other town, save only Lexington itself. The name Tarbell as a surname is lost in this locality.

To be exact, the conveyance was from Joseph Jeffery and his wife Priscilla to the senior Jonathan Tarbell. The consideration was five hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence. The acres numbered one hundred and sixty. The witnesses were Jonathan Tarbell, jr., the militiaman, Nathaniel Peaslee Sargent and Asa Newhall. The latter married the sister of the grantee, and his family has kept the name in prominence in state affairs to this day. The deed is dated April 12, 1775, a few days before Lexington, and was recorded April 21, 1775, a few days after the battle. The magistrate was Timothy Pickering, jr. Save for the new road from North Saugus to the Andrew Mansfield place, not a line nor a wall has been changed from that day to this. The white

oak tree mentioned in the incorporation of the district of Lynnfield, July 3, 1782, as follows, "Beginning at Saugus River near a white oak tree in Jonathan Tarbell's lower field," may have gone with the family. Everything else remains unchanged.

The excuse of the writer for this little sketch is the fact that, by one of his genealogical lines, he is descended from Jonathan Tarbell, the soldier of Lexington, and was born in the old house.

AN ANCIENT HOUSE IN NORTH SAUGUS.

Old houses and old homesteads have always had a fascination for a certain intelligent class in every community. The attraction is not due to the elegance of the place, nor to the greatness or wealth of the founder. With our English-descended race it is an ingrained reverence for our fathers and a continuing hunger to know something of our kin. The individual man passes on, but often leaves behind him some material objects which seem to defy time and endure for after generations, some members of which are intuitively made to feel the touch of the prior user, or builder, or enjoyer.

For example, the writer has an old oaken armchair which has been in daily use for at least five generations. It is one of his most valued possessions, not on account of its having any money value, but simply because it brings him very near to a man who sat in it to a good, old age. This man died more than sixty years ago. His chair is more than a hundred years old and his house is much older. His sword,—for his Revolutionary title as appears by the parish records was lieutenant,—happily unstained by blood, is in the same room, and is now only a terror to children and old people.

Having been frequently asked if there were any ancient

houses in the old Lynn which is now Saugus, the writer presumes to recall this one, partly because of his connection with it and also by virtue of the fact that the water system of Lynn bids fair to largely change the old landmarks of our rural retreat. One mile southeast, as the bee flies, from the Tarbell place, over the line into Saugus by way of an ancient native American trail, almost under the shadow of Indian Rock, which was a guide and trysting-place for the red man, stands a venerable house. It closely hugs the earth, as though its builder foresaw the centuries during which bitter winds and pitiless storms would blow over it, and so rooted it down to the soil. As if to still further anchor it to the spot, it had a great chimney, which, when removed forty years ago, gave space for a fair-sized sleeping-room.

The house was built about 1725, by Moses Hawkes, son of Moses, to whom the land came under the will of the first settler. In 1708, the first Moses, a young man with a family of minor children, found it expedient to call upon his neighbor, the celebrated speaker, John Burrill, to write his will. He gave one-half of his farm to his eldest son Moses, with the option of taking either the home part or what was called the Neck, and then he died. When the son Moses reached his majority in 1725, he put on record in the Registry of Deeds, at Salem, his election to take the Neck and commended his "Honored Mother, Margaret" (Cogswell) and his "Honored uncle Ebenezer" the executors of his father's will, for their management of the estate during his minority. Then he married Susannah Townsend, kinswoman of Daniel Townsend, who was immortalized by heroic death in the next generation at Lexington.

The house stands on the north side of the road from North Saugus to Wakefield, a few rods west of the school-

house, which is upon land taken from the farm. Of course it faces due south. No true Yankee farmer ever violated this rule of common sense. The custom was to select the most eligible spot on the farm—with the tillage and grazing land in front—let the roads conform to the house—not the other way.

To Moses and his wife Susannah was born a large family. Moses was active in forming the Third or West Parish (Saugus). Upon his son Nathan, born in this house in 1745, fell his mantle in church and civil affairs.

Nathan was united in marriage with Sarah Hitchings, Sept. 3, 1769, by the noted Parson Roby. He was parish clerk during a period of Mr. Roby's pastorate. The friendship of pastor and clerk was very close. The son of one married the granddaughter of the other. In death they were not separated, as their graves are side by side in the old Saugus churchyard. This man who was born, who lived and died in the same house, has the distinction of being the last, if not the only, selectman that Saugus furnished Lynn before the separation. He was one of the board in 1805-1806-1807. During his service the final divorcement of town and church took place in Lynn. The contention between the first church and town was solved by the town meeting being held in 1806 in the Methodist church. In 1811, James Gardiner and Nathan Hawkes were a committee of the town to build the road so long known as the Downing road. It was so named because the contractor whom the committee employed was Caleb Downing.

Recently the fields back of the house have been disfigured by the abortive ditch to Howlett's pond, which the future will style Lynn's water folly. To the east, the natural union of the Hawkes and Penny brooks has been stimulated by the same municipal authority. On the south, beyond the green meadows and beyond the plain at the

point of the Neck, the two brooks mingle with the waters of Saugus river and swell the power that works the looms below. In the little square house, with the four-sided roof meeting at a point, east of the brook and south of the present schoolhouse, the Rev. Edward Taylor, afterwards founder of the Seamen's Bethel in Boston, first shouted Methodism. In this house he received the rudiments of education, and under its roof he was entertained during his itinerancy.

Before the building of the first schoolhouse, the first detached school of the Third Parish was established in an apartment of this house. In David N. Johnson's Sketches of Lynn is found the first school report made to the town of Lynn. The outlying districts were Nahant, North Saugus and Swampscott, thus mentioned. "Your committee also visited Nahant; found nine present. Also the school at Nathan Hawkes'; present twelve. Also John Phillips; number fifteen subjects. All the schools visited were in good order." This school report is dated April 14, 1812.

Although Nathan continued his interest in school matters through life, his crowning and important achievement was the establishment by the Legislature of the town of Saugus. He was the principal petitioner for this act, and for the contest, his ripe experience in town affairs, and the recognition by the people of both parts of the town of his ability and fairness, amply qualified him to win the Legislative battle which added Saugus to the list of Massachusetts towns in 1815.

Allusion has been made to a way of the by-gone days, which few living now recall, though easily tracked. The two houses are connected by an incident which the young, at least, can appreciate. The red men silently trod this trail in whatsavants call the "Stone Age," traces of which are found on all the brooksides in this region. In youth,

the writer wondered who had enjoyed these secluded paths since that time. He now knows that one man who was born a subject of King George in 1775, and lived on to the midst of our war of the Rebellion in 1862, enjoyed the tramp through these solitudes from North Saugus to Lynnfield. He hunted different game, however, in the glen. His hunt was crowned with success. He did not live in the Stone Age, for the Lynnfield Parish records relate the marriage by good, old Parson Joseph Mottey, of Nathan Hawkes, son of Nathan of the West Parish, to Elizabeth Tarbell, Jan. 22, 1805.

This place illustrates the difference our flexible land laws make between us and our old home. The first white man in North Saugus was Adam Hawkes. Like a true Englishman, he loved the soil he tilled. He brought with him English notions of primogeniture. When he began to set his house in order for the great change, he attempted to provide for his eldest grandchild by a clause of his will which is copied in the spelling of 1671.

"John Hawks is to deliver and sett out unto Moses Hawks, his sonn, which he had by rebeckah Hawks, daughter of Mr. Moses Mavericke and his heirs for ever one haulf of that fearme which the said Hawks lived and died upon, boath upland and medow and houseing being in Lyn, only for the houseing the said Hawks is to paye the value thereof if he please, all of which is to be don when the aforesaid Moses coms to twenty and one years of age and if it please god the said Moses dye before the age of one and twenty years, the said estate is to goe unto his father John Hawks, and his children forever, this aforesaid guift is the legacy of Mr. Adam Hawks to his grandchild Moses Hawks."

The scheme was not a perfect success, for little more than two hundred years have elapsed, and this old house and the close about it only remain to the kin of Moses;

while the patrimony of his younger brethren is still held by their descendants in unbroken line. The cause is not hard to find. The boys to till the soil were too few—or they took to themselves wives and went their way.

In earlier years the apple-trees bloomed about this hospitable mansion. The garden was fragrant with the scent of old-time shrubs and flowers. Alas ! landlord absenteeism is as blighting in New England as in old Ireland, and the place is not as it was when some of its builders' kin occupied it.

NOTED NAMES UPON A REVOLUTIONARY COMMISSION.



Colony of the }
Massachusetts-Bay. }

The Major Part of the COUNCIL of the *Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England,*

To *Nathan Hawkes, Gentleman,* Greeting.

YOU being appointed *first Lieutenant of the Second Company, whereof John Pool is Captain of the first Regiment of Militia in the County of Essex, whereof Timothy Pickering, Jr., Esq. is Colonel.*

By Virtue of the Power vested in us, WE do by these Presents, (reposing special Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage, and good Conduct,) Commission you accordingly.—You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of a *first Lieut.* in leading, ordering and exercising said *Company* in Arms, both Inferior Officers and Soldiers; and to keep them in good Order and Discipline :—And they are hereby commanded to obey you as their *first Lieut.* and you are yourself, to observe and follow such Orders and Instructions as you shall from Time

to Time receive from *the major part of the Council or your superior Officers.*

GIVEN under our Hands and the Seal of the said Colony, at Watertown, the Twenty Sixth Day of April —In the year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven hundred and Seventy Six.

By the Command of the }
Major Part of the Council }

Perez Morton,

D Secry.

J. Bowdoin,
James Otis,
W. Spooner,
Caleb Cushing,
J. Winthrop,
B. Chadburn,
T. Cushing,

John Whetcomb,
James Prescott,
Eldad Taylor,
J. Palmer,
S. Holten,
Moses Gill,
Michael Farley,

Jed'h. Foster.

The student of American History will pardon the introduction of a time-stained, yet well-preserved document, which bears the autographs of a noted band of leaders of Massachusetts thought.

The first on the list is James Bowdoin, member of the first Continental Congress, and second Governor under the Constitution. The last, Jedediah Foster, was a Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature. Thomas Cushing was eight years Lieut. Governor under Hancock and Bowdoin, and as Mr. Drake says, "friend and co-worker in the patriot cause with Adams, Otis and Warren." Moses Gill was six years Lieutenant and Acting Governor. He was also a member of the two Electoral Colleges which elected George Washington President.

John Winthrop and Caleb Cushing were the Revolution-

any representatives of names preëminent in our early and late history.

The modest name, S. Holten, stands for Dr. Samuel Holten, an Essex County man, a sketch of whose active and versatile life is given in Mr. White's charming history of Danvers. He is there described as, "all things considered, the most remarkable man the town has ever produced." Michael Farley, of Ipswich, was another Essex man. His native town gladly bestowed all its offices upon him, and he was also a member of the Provincial Congress, High Sheriff and Major-General of Militia. The Historian of Ipswich says that "he excelled in State-craft."

Every name of the fifteen was the signature of a patriot and man of mark. James Otis, however, towers above all as one of the most brilliant luminaries that any revolutionary epoch of the human race ever produced. He dedicated Faneuil Hall as the "Cradle of Liberty," and it was he "whose electric eloquence was like the ethereal flash that quenched its fire."

These men were denounced by King George as traitors. His army of occupation drove them from Boston. They took the blank papers of the Royal Governor and went out to Watertown, where they set up a rebel government. They carefully erased all reference to "His Majesty, George the Third, by the Grace of God," etc., and then, upon forms which plainly show in the water-mark the Crown, the British Arms and G. R., they boldly issued commissions to their fellow subjects to make war upon the stuffy old king:—to defend American liberties and to maintain the priceless heritage of freedom, which their fathers had left home for, a hundred and fifty years before.

This commission was one of those issued by "The Major Part of the Council" upon its own responsibility, before the General Court passed the Act of May 1, 1776, abolishing

the regal style. The signatures in the original are upon the left hand as in modern papers. The types compel them to be placed under the body of the writing, instead of in the margin. This famous "Major Part of the Council" continued to be the Executive Authority in the Massachusetts Bay Colony till the adoption of the Constitution in 1780.

NOTES ON AND ABOUT A SAUGUS POND.

The olden-time oracles—the autocrats of our ubiquitous shoemakers' shops—are vanishing figures, soon to be seen no more. The noise and confusion of modern machinery has robbed us of the picturesque and contemplative figures of other days. A few of these unique philosophers still linger upon our borders beyond the smoke of city factories. One such, an old Lynner, the bearer of one of our oldest names, to which he does no discredit, has much interested the writer. He is not a hermit, nor a recluse, though he lives alone. He weekly comes to Lynn to bring in his set of hand-made shoes. His abode is one of the ancient shops somewhat larger than the common type. It serves him for a dormitory, dining-hall, work-room, museum of curiosities and reception-room. Under his white hair is a wealth of knowledge of past and present. He is specially strong on Lynn pedigrees. His abode is pleasantly situated upon the headwaters of Pranker's pond, and is reached by as romantic a walk from Saugus Centre as youthful lovers or plodding seniors can find in a day's journey. Up this pine-embowered, rock-shadowed, water-bounded path many a town father and village worthy wend their way as far as this wayside reminder of other days.

Though scarcely a house is in the range of vision save the dwelling on the same place where some of his kin reside, at no season can this be a lonesome place, for in summer the disciples of Izaak Walton resort to the lily-padded

pond in the vain search for the venerable pickerel that tradition says is to be found in some deep recess. In winter the same persevering anglers cast their lines through the ice, and occasionally a snow trotting park is to be seen. Nature in summer is full of sound of bird, of bee, of insect, of sighing pines, of murmuring brooks and of voices innumerable. In winter there is oftentimes an almost uncanny stillness. Yet upon this pond in this deathly silence, on the glassy track, under the winter's dull sky, there will come a crash—not the down-pouring of heaven's artillery, not like the rattle of musketry, but rather the sullen opening of a cannonade. The hills on the east catch the sound, and the echo rebounds against the rocky wall across the pond. The Saugus river is raising the ice, air-holes are formed, and the north wind, aided by water, ice, air and sound, is playing its tricks with Nature hitherto so pale and motionless.

This devious path is well worth the attention of the few who are not the slaves of fashion and vanity. Why is it that a vast majority of our people can see nothing in life, save a sordid grasping for dollars and a silly display of the fact that they have succeeded in the scramble? What do they enjoy? A pair of docked-tail horses, a lolling woman, clad in purple and fine linen, a pug dog and a funeral procession round the stereotyped, society-dictated drive through Swampscott. Yonder is a beetled cliff upon which Helen MacGregor might have appeared and checked our advance with:—"Stand and tell me what ye seek in MacGregor's country." Down these glades to the music of the bagpipes the plaided followers of Rob Roy might have marched. The scenery at your very doors, good people of Lynn, is as romantic and attractive as that of bonny Scotland. It only needs the touch of some Wizard of the North—some Walter Scott—to people it with creations that will live forever.

The people who first used this way after the white settlement were utilitarians, however. To them the woods were full of demons rather than fairies. Hard-headed practical yeomen, they builded better than they knew, for they unwittingly, as early as 1706, created parks for the benefit of the people forever. It was in this wise. The town divided the common lands in "Seven Divisions." The first division began on the west side of Saugus River, including what was then and is now called the "Six Hundred Acres," which were then in Lynn. This tract of land has exactly the same appearance it had when the old Puritan first looked upon it. Once in a generation the woodman's ax despoils it and lays bare the masses of primeval porphyry. But in a few brief years Nature hides the rude scars and the hills are covered with hardy New England trees. This is the vote of that remote day which kept the forest intact and unvexed by walls or enclosures :—"The towne considering the great difficulty of laying out highways on the common lands, by reason of the swamps, hills, and rockenes of the land, theirfore voated, that after said common lands shall be divided, every person interested therein, shall have free liberty at all times, to pass and repass over each others' lotts of lands, to fetch their wood and such other things as shall be upon their lands, in any place or places, and for no other ends, provided they do not cut downe any sort of tree or trees in their so passing over."

Lott Edmands, through his wife, the daughter of one John Burrill, was the owner for the larger part of the present century of this estate, which was known as the Burrill Place. Mr. Edmands was one of the characters of Saugus of the past, and it was the ambition of the late celebrated Joseph Ames, the artist, to paint his typical Yankee head. The old man, however, was fonder of relating his prowess in litigation than in posing for posterity, and so the picture

was lost. Something stronger than accident must have drawn Mr. Edmands to this locality. The very air hereabout is redolent of disputations. This apparently calm and innocent pond has been the promoter of lawsuits innumerable from the earliest days.

Adam Hawkes, the first settler, harried the Iron Works' proprietors for flowing his lands in North Saugus, down to his death in 1671. Then the Iron Works were worked out, and a hundred years later in 1770, just above the old site, Ebenezer Hawkes, the descendant of the former flooded land owner, became himself the flower by building a dam and a grist-mill and saw-mill where the present Pranker's dam stands. Down from generation to generation the lawsuits and contentions went on till in the fullness of time Lott Edmands came upon the scene to revel through life with the mill owners in a series of forensic sparring matches. Here to a green old age he lived, and his greatest pleasure was to fight his battles over again as he looked out upon his land which he had contested with the water from below.

This was not the residence of the law-loving Mr. Edmands. His home was the house occupied by Daniel Hitchings in the Revolutionary period, a quarter of a mile to the north, still on the west bank of the serpentine Saugus. The old house upon this place is an oddity in the country. In the seaport towns it was common to build houses three stories in height, or rather two stories with a demi-story above. Salem, Newburyport and Portsmouth are full of such. This one is *sui generis*. There is nothing like it in prosaic life. In romance it may remind the admirers of Miss Woolson's "Anne" of Jeanne Armande's half-house. Its secluded location and concurring circumstances gave occasion for the suspicion not so many years ago that it was occupied by tenants, who in the unfrequented wilds of the

South are called "Moonshiners." To-day, however, the honest yeoman's waving corn is in no danger of passing through the illicit still.

The half house obstructs somewhat the northern view from our point of vantage. Still we can see beyond the Newburyport Turnpike—beyond the pleasant western intervale of Oaklandvale, with its perennial silver stream, Crystal Brook—up into this grand old forest, behind which the sun sets—up that imposing promontory, Castle Hill, which marks the line between Middlesex and Essex and is the highest landmark in southern Essex.

A QUAKER HOME ON THE DOWNING ROAD.

WHEN an old house has been dormant for a generation or two, and has awakened to the tread of young feet of the same race, is it well to depict the past for the use of the future? Why not? Long holding seems to be evidence of something worth holding—something capable of enduring beyond one simple life. Be that as it may, there is an ancient mansion in North Saugus, the soil about which has never known a change from the direct line of family ownership since the first Englishman paddled his canoe up the Saugus River, and spied out the possibilities of husbandry.

And there are three other houses within sight of the smoke of each other's chimneys of which the same tale can be told in this dear old Sleepy Hollow hamlet. The house, never imposing, but always respectable, is on the east side of Walnut street, just before that street crosses the Newburyport Turnpike. It is within a stone's throw of the spot where the Puritan pioneer, Adam Hawkes, built his cabin in the wilderness. Between it and the road stood a line of sturdy buttonwood trees, and, clearer description still, there is planted forever the "corn-barn rock" upon

which, not many years since, the deserted corn-barn stood betwixt the trees and the house.

Query! How many people about here know what a corn-barn was? The corn-barn set high on posts, with abundant ventilation, filled, heaped up with golden Indian corn! How it delighted the thrifty farmers' eyes! What suggestions of huskings and pudding and milk! Even a look at it made the young blood tingle, and the memory almost brings up the vanished past. There are still living a few good souls who will smile and pleasantly recall this old house when we call it by its then designation, the home of the Quaker old maids.

It was a praiseworthy custom with *Friends* when a stranger minister came to Lynn to spread among the scattered members, notice of the arrival. Eben Stocker,¹ still living at an advanced age, as a boy lived with the Breed family at Breed's End. When the warning reached Breed's it was their duty to pass the word to the Hawkes family—the remote outpost of the Friends—at North Saugus. It was Eben's delight to be ordered to mount the old horse and post up the Downing road. The ride was in itself pleasant, and at the end of it were interesting old ladies, berries, shagbark nuts and doughnuts. What more could youth and health ask for? The old ladies have gone to their reward, the berries have been crowded out by trees and cows. The rough exterior that hides the good heart of the shagbark draws boys yet, and here, still good for the future as the past, is the old house.

In his early days the writer was a frequent visitor, but our people in New England country towns have such a

¹ Ebenezer Stocker died at Lynn, Oct. 19, 1888, aged eighty-seven years and eight months. His father was an officer in the Revolutionary War from Lynn. The son is believed to have been the last survivor of the sons of Revolutionary soldiers resident in Lynn.

habit of using the side door that he did not know till a generation had gone that the house had the orthodox front door on the south.

What a place that open attic, stored with trophies of the chase, with disused implements of olden industries such as spinning wheels, was for boys to sleep in! What matter was it that two boys awoke one morning and found that through some crevice the fleecy snow had blown in upon their bed? Life was young then and they were all the warmer. And one of those boys was the most loyal and affectionate brother a boy ever had and lost.

The very boards in the floor of the *best* room show the trees our virgin forests grew. There have not been sawed within this century boards so wide, so clear as these that have been trod by the feet of prattling children, of sturdy manhood, and of old age, as is the law of nature, whereby children are born, reach maturity, decay, pass away and then are re-created to travel over the same old course. Our race ought to improve if each generation saves something from the one which goes before.

This room boasted a rarity for a little country hamlet. It was the pride of a thrifty housekeeper's heart — a *beaufet*. It must have been jolly to have sat about the fireplace of a winter's evening and to have watched the lights and shades play through the room and among the shining treasures displayed on the beaufet.

The demands of modern luxury and labor-saving civilization have hidden our fires in the walls, have banished the reverie provoking back-log, the bright andirons, and buried the china and silver *Penates* behind dark and locked doors. Is there not in all this some loss, some sacrifice of the old Saxon idea of home?

In this home was born a child, who in manhood became an active agent in the separation of Lynn and Saugus.

Ahijah Hawkes was chairman of the Board of Selectmen of Saugus for the first three years of its corporate existence from 1815 to 1818. His colleagues were Jonathan Makepeace and Richard Mansfield.

And this house saw the last of the mild black slavery that lingered in Massachusetts till the adoption of the Constitution in 1780 gave the boon of freedom to Ebenezer Hawkes' Phebe. The house was built by Ebenezer Hawkes in 1765 on land which he purchased of his father, Samuel Hawkes, and erected coincident with a ceremony, the record of which is copied from the original in the manner and spelling of the colonial days :—

"Whereas Ebenezer Hawkes, of Lynn in the county of Essex, in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, Black Smith, Son of Samuel Hawkes, of Lynn, aforesaid, AND Rebecca Alley, Daughter of Samuel Alley, of said Lynn, House Right, HAVING Declared their Intentions of taking each other in marriage before several public meetings of the people called Quakers at Lynn and Salem according to the Good Order used among them, whose proceedings therein after deliberate consideration thereof with regard unto the Righteous Law of God and Example of his people Recorded in the Scriptures of truth in that case and having consent of parents and others concerned they appearing clear of all others were approved by said meetings NOW these are to certifie, all whome it may concern, that for the full accomplishing of their said Intentions this Seventeenth Day of the Fourth Month, called April, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred sixty-five, the said Ebenezer Hawkes and Rebecca Alley appeared in a public assembly of the afore-Said people and others met together in their public meeting place, in Lynn, and in a solemn manner, he the said Ebenezer Hawkes, taking the said Rebecca Alley by the

hand, Did openly declare that he took her to be his wife, promising through the Lord's assistance to be unto her a loving and faithfull Husband untill Death should them separate AND Then AND There in the said assembly, the said Rebecca Alley, did in like manner declare that she took the said Ebenezer Hawkes to be her husband, in like manner promising to be unto him a faithful and loving wife till death should separate them And MOREOVER, the said Ebenezer Hawkes and Rebecca Alley, she according to the custom of marriage assuming the name of her husband as a further confirmation thereof, Did then and there to these presents set their hands, and we whose names are hereunto Subscribed being present among others at the solemnising of their said marriage and subscription in manner aforesaid as WITNESSES hereunto have subscribed our names the Day and Year above WRITTEN

Nathan Breed
 John Basset
 Ruth Estes
 Anna Estes
 Desire Breed
 Elizabeth Graves
 Martha Estes
 Lois Collins
 Sarah Alley
 Elizabeth Collins jr.
 Lydia Breed
 Enoch Collins
 Daniel Newhall
 Samuel Collins
 Ebenezer Breed
 Isac Basset
 Joseph Striker
 Benjamin B. Burchsted
 Zaccheus Collins

Ebenezer Hawkes
 Rebeckah Hawkes

 Samuel Alley
 Hugh Alley
 Nehemiah Breed
 Matthew Hawkes
 Sarah Alley
 Philadelphia Hawkes
 Sarah Hawkes
 Hannah Estes
 Deborah Alley

 James Purinton
 Jabez Breed
 Isaiah Breed
 Abijah Newhall
 Hannah Breed

In the certificate of marriage which is given in this paper the groom is described as a blacksmith. This was a peculiarly appropriate designation, as the iron ore used

in the first iron works in America was taken from this farm. And there were iron workers in each generation to his time. When they outgrew the old homestead they went to Salem and Marblehead and became makers of anchors and chains and whatever in that line appertained to the fitting of the growing industry of the maritime towns.

Zaccheus Collins, the last signer, was the noted penman of Lynn in his time, and the diarist for forty-four years, who is much quoted by Lewis, in his History of Lynn. Being a Quaker, his diary is not as piquant as that of his English (nearly) contemporary, Samuel Pepys, but perhaps fully as reliable.

Many of the other signers of this instrument will be remembered by their descendants. Capt. Hugh Alley, who ran the first packet from Lynn to Boston, was among them.

Nehemiah Breed, who signed early as an elder or relative, was the son of Samuel Breed, who—Nahant being then without an inhabitant—bought the land and built the house, in 1717, where Whitney's Hotel now stands. There, when he signed this paper, Nehemiah lived, and he and Ebenezer were the north and south poles of Lynn Quakerism—the extreme points of Nahant and Saugus.

The English turnstile guarded the little by-path that led to the house through the avenue of nut-trees. On the north was the village smithy and beyond it was the close. To the east, where myriads of wild pigeons flew, were the great meadows, through which flowed from the dark forests of Lynn the limpid waters of the stream now called Penny Brook. The only apparent occupation the babbling stream has had to perform for many years has been to shield from frost the red acres of bright cranberries that Mr. Samuel Hawkes has so zealously cultivated. Few of the world's people have seen this hidden intervale, with its border of pines and willows, and great boulders that might

have been thrown into the meadow in some monster upheaval of Nature. But now all is to be changed. The stream which since creation has meandered on till it mingled with old ocean in common with the other feeders of the Saugus, is to be diverted into the omnivorous throat of the city of Lynn. And then, farewell! glen of quiet — welcome, pond of sweet water! May the people of Lynn who shall enjoy the blessings of its store not forget those who guarded it for many generations till the law of eminent domain claimed it at their hands for the public good.

Above all other races of men our English stock, emerging from the forests of Germany, leaping the North Sea into Britain, worshipped Nature, and, like Robin Hood's outlaws, executed justice in her temples. One more giant stride planted the virile seed in the wilderness of New England. The denizens of the hot-house life of cities know not how men grow and broaden as they watch noble trees stretch out their protecting arms as they did over their fathers, and as they will over their children after them. Such training may not fit men for the fopperies of life, but it makes reflective, reasoning human beings, who see something beyond the polish on a man's boots or the style of his hat. There is a vigorous oak tree upon one of the farms of this ancient estate under which some years since several persons stood. One queried, "How old is this tree?" The answer told the story of reverence and attachment that was an augury of future as well of past possession,— "It is a hundred and fifty years old."

A HOMESTEAD BY GRACE OF THE INDIANS ¹

On the 13th of November, 1675, by order of the General Court, fifteen men were drawn from Lynn for service in

¹Since the above was written, a Legislative Act has given the Revere Water Company privileges in the Valley of Crystal Brook, the exercise of which will mar the surroundings of this long unvexed manse.

the celebrated King Philip's War, in addition to those previously detached. Among these was Daniel Hitchings. This is the first time his name appears in the printed Annals of Lynn. That he lived through the struggle and came home a thrifty planter, as cunning as the wily savages he had fought, is manifest by the fact that before the town had secured a release of the Indian titles, it is recorded that on the 28th of July, 1686, "James Quonopohit and David Kunkshamooshaw, descendants of Nanapashemet, sold a lot of land on the west side of the Iron works' pond to Daniel Hitchings." The Indians, who gave this deed, were the last of the race of the Sagamores who had ruled over the land before the pale-face came. They had retreated before the invasion as far inland as Mistick and Chelmsford. They still had a shadowy claim upon the soil. Their pedigrees and their autographs may be seen in the elaborate account in the History of Lynn. Sir Edmund Andros came over as the Royal Governor in the year these deeds were given, and it is not strange that when he saw these signatures he said they reminded him of the scratches of a bear's claw. Later in the same year, the authorities of Lynn secured from these same Indians a sort of blanket release of all the lands of Lynn and Reading.

The present sketch does not reach to generals, but only has to do with the land of Daniel Hitchings. He was nearer the Indians than most of his neighbors in Lynn, and consequently more anxious to be at peace with the redskins than they. It is to be borne in mind that in the time of the Iron Works the dam was several feet higher than it is at present. The late Lott Edmands, who was an authority upon the subject, used to say that in those days the water must have flowed as high as the sill of his, then, residence. This would have carried the water up the valley of Crystal Brook for perhaps a quarter of a mile. The

boundaries and descriptions of those days were ofttime vague, but this one admits of no doubt. East of the "Iron Works' pond" was an unbroken wilderness, untouched to-day. North of it was the domain of Adam Hawkes, or of his son John. At the west was an arable tract of land, which, from generation to generation — through the ups and downs of life — we find in the possession of the successors of Daniel Hutchins, or Hitchins, or Hitchings.

In this Indian deed it is called the Plough plain, and it embraced all that sweep of intervale from the Saugus River, where the Newburyport Turnpike now bounds it on the east, through to the present Melrose. The deed may be seen in the Essex Registry of Deeds, Book 7, page 88. Where naturally would have been planted the home buildings of such an estate, stand to-day venerable farm buildings. The dwelling house upon the "plough plain" must have stood just where is the house now owned and occupied by Elizabeth and Hannah Hawkes, whose grandmother was Sarah (Hitchings) Hawkes, the daughter of Daniel Hitchings.

This Daniel Hitchings, who, during the Revolutionary War lived in the house next east of this one, since known as the Lott Edmands place, was the descendant of the first Daniel Hitchings; so that this old house is still in the possession of the lineal descendants of the white settler who first took it — Englishman like — by squatter sovereignty; and then quieted title by buying off the poor Indian. Only a fragment of the original grant attaches to the house under consideration. The boundaries of the thirty acres about this place are the same they were many more than a hundred years ago. The outlying wood lots, and salt marsh too, have followed the ownership of the house — the characteristic stone wall of the fathers still marks it from the common lands on the north, and the town

way runs around it south and east, and the only names mentioned in the deeds as abutters on the west in this period, are the two successive owners, Elkanah and Nathan Hawkes.

This house has the antique cased beams of oak, showing in the ceiling of the lower rooms—and bracing the upper floors. There was a time when it was the ambition of the writer to grow tall enough to grasp these beams. Now when he enters the low, sunny rooms he takes his hat off lest it hit the beam. It still retains the peculiar, long, sloping back roof, once so common, which is the only roof ever devised to get the best of Boreas in these northern climes. The writer has been informed by the press that there has been a revival of the andiron and beaufet period. He is aware of a bastard imitation of the old. He is cognizant of the craze to frequent auction rooms, where old clocks made to order, at a week's notice, are to be had. He is familiar with the fashion of placing the chimney on the outside of the house in imitation of negro quarters in the south, and calling it a Queen Anne cottage, but all sensible persons know that the fathers were wise when they put their chimneys in the centre of the house in this bleak climate. Under these sloping roofs, opening from the second story, lighted by little windows on the east and west, is a queer recess, accessible only to the high priestess of the household. It is triangular, in mathematical parlance. The floor is the base, the partition of the rooms in front is the perpendicular, and the roof is the hypothenuse. The garret is free to favored children, but this inner temple contains sacred emblems which only the most exalted degrees entitle one to look upon. Can these things be duplicated in the house built to-day by contract? No. In spite of the profane sneer, there is some sentiment in most men stronger than even the glitter of gold in their eyes.

There was no lapse in the Hitchings name and occupation till May 6, 1765, when Joseph Hitchings conveyed to young Adam Hawkes, then just of age and married to Hannah Newhall. Adam was the son of John and the grandson of Moses. When Adam took possession, besides the house now standing, there was an old house upon the premises which has since disappeared. Adam died while still a young man. His kinsman, Thomas Hawkes, administered upon the estate, and after its sale his widow and children removed to what is now Wakefield, where his descendants yet remain. Joseph Hitchings, the grantor, was the son of Elkanah, who was the son of Daniel.

In 1785, the buildings upon this place were identical in form and fact as they are seen to-day. Fortunately, the frenzy for modernizing, or so-called improving, has not affected the various tenants. The books teach the law of holding lands in fee simple, but no individual has yet been able to secure more than a life-tenancy in any real estate, save his little plot in the churchyard.

June 5, 1785, Thomas Hawkes, administrator of the estate of Adam Hawkes, conveyed the estate to Samuel Sweitser, jr. This was not an alienation, for the wife of Samuel was Lydia, daughter of John Hawkes. Samuel kept the place till March 26, 1807, when, having in the meanwhile adopted the present spelling of the name Sweetser, he gave it back to the original owner's name in the person of Daniel Hitchings. It happened in this case that the grantee's wife was Eunice, the daughter of Elkanah Hawkes. The next change passed it into the possession of Ebenezer Hawkes, whose wife was the daughter of Daniel Hitchings. Then came Cornelius C. Felton and Caroline Plummer of Salem and James Draper.

The Draper family owned and occupied this house from 1827 till its conveyance to Nathan Hawkes in 1848. Here

lived and died Ira Draper, an ingenious mechanic, from whom his sons Eben and George inherited the inventive talent that created the lively town of Hopedale.

Forty years ago, Nathan Hawkes, son of Nathan Hawkes of the Third Parish, retired to this little farm to spend the declining years of a serene old age. Here he died in 1862 at the age of eighty-seven years. His boy companion in many delightful rural drives through the by-ways of the border-land of Essex and Middlesex, unconsciously absorbed the impressions that seek expression in these papers.

Dr. Edward A. Kittredge, the eccentric physician and humorous writer, who ought to be remembered as "Noggs," lived for a time in a cottage under the pines west of this place. In a lecture at Wakefield he said that it was a truism that there were exceptions to all general laws, but that the only exception to the rule that water would not run up hill had been illustrated by his neighbor, Nathan Hawkes. In one of his experiments for draining his low lands he had turned the water, so that it apparently ran up hill. The doctor and the veteran guider of the rill of water died many years since, but the water still runs in the channel cut for it, and if the doctor was right it still runs up hill. It yet travels the same way, for the boy who saw the channel dug has watched it every season since—when the buds were swelling, when the snow was blowing, when the crows were feasting upon the young corn, and when the pumpkins were ripening in the autumn sun.

The northern line abuts upon the common woods—The Six Hundred Acres. Through its centre from Oaklandvale and Melrose flows the calm and even-tempered Crystal Brook, till within sight of the house on the east, beyond the turnpike, it joins the Saugus, under the shadow of a hillside colored with foliage that no painter dare imi-

tate. The road to this place, zigzagging in a generally northern course from the Oaklandvale schoolhouse, is arched by the interlacing tree-tops and is styled in the ancient records, "the town way from Lynn to Reading." Since it ceased to be a town way of Lynn, to become one in Saugus, it has been left to work out its own salvation, which is the usual course in a country town when its road surveyors or commissioners do not chance to live in the vicinity. It must be remembered that town officials are apt to slight such matters because they are not taught nor paid for æsthetics.

The way by the house to the north looks like a no-thoroughfare. Many a traveler as he scans the disused road repents and turns about, yet there is an old road that leads out by Howlett's mill, a mile beyond. It is a picturesque scene that meets the eye of the bold stroller who ventures up this region, which may be haunted by the shade of "old Bill Edmands." There are rocks and rills well worth seeing. There are abandoned apple-orchards, vainly struggling with native trees for possession. Not a vestige of the buildings where the pugnacious Mr. Edmands lived can be seen. The cellar where he stored his potatoes and horsed his barrels of cider, the New England farmer's beverage, can scarcely be distinguished from a last year's woodchuck's hole. There is a grim record on the books of the town of Saugus relative to this road. It was not meant as satire, but it sounds like it. Mr. Edmands had a petition before the town meeting for some improvement. The clerk gravely records that the vote was against the prayer, "William Edmands only, voting yes." Like his brother Lott, William loved a lawsuit better than his dinner. He won and lost, and at the end was like Esop's litigant: he had the shell of the oyster only. But this is a digression, simply introduced to show the wayfarer that

he was not obliged to turn around and retrace his steps when he reached this vale of serenity—this restful abode bounded by mossy walls of past ages.

REV. JOSEPH ROBY AND HIS TIMES.

“‘Tis greatly wise to talk with our past hours
And ask them what report they gave to Heaven.”

To even wander in thought along the Saugus River of the past, and not to largely mention Parson Roby, would be as absurd as is the trite saying in reference to playing the story of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark,—for he was the spiritual guide of the people of the West Parish of Lynn for more than fifty years.

When Mr. Roby came to Saugus, the strictness, though not the influence, of Puritanism had relaxed. He was better fitted to the new than to the old. He was born in Boston in 1724, graduated in 1742, and ordained minister of the Third Parish in 1752. He served this parish fifty-one years.

He was an excellent scholar and was highly esteemed for his social virtues. He was not disputative nor combative like many of his creed. He was the benevolent father rather than the austere teacher of his people. We find two published Fast Day sermons of his, one in 1781, the other in 1794. His first wife was Rachel Proctor, of Boston, and they had seven children.

Parson Roby's tombstone is in the old churchyard just by the spot where the meeting-house stood. It is by the roadside in the centre of a group that is a touching reminder of the closeness of our ancestors' family relations. The inscription of the stone at Mr. Roby's grave reads as follows :

“Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Joseph Roby, who departed this life January 31st, 1803, in the 80th year of his age and 53d of his ministry in this parish.

"Through life a lover of learning and virtue, a sincere friend, a kind and affectionate husband and parent, and a devoted Christian.

"By a constant practice of the Christian and social virtues, he rendered himself beloved and respected in the various walks of domestic life. Reader, wouldst thou be honored in life and lamented in death, go and do likewise.

"No pain, no grief, no anxious fear
Invade thy bounds; no mortal woes
Can reach the peaceful sleeper here
While angels watch his soft repose.
So Jesus slept: God's dying Son,
Passed thro' the grave, and blest the bed;
Then rest, dear saint, till from His throne
The morning break and pierce the shade."

By his side is seen the name Rachel Roby: next are the marble records of Nathan and Sarah Hawkes. Beyond may be seen the names Daniel and Rachel Hawkes, and between all, white and pure and spotless, is the stone that tells of young life taken away on the threshold of promise,—Rachel Hawkes. These three couples, after walking side by side the allotted span of man, have beside them this fair flower of youth and innocence, this beautiful Rachel, great-granddaughter, granddaughter and daughter.

The Parson Roby house yet stands where it was built, but it is now upon the "Main" street of Saugus. When he lived there it was a mere lane. The Parson visited his scattered parishioners on horseback. All other traveling, except on foot, was done with clumsy ox-teams, which crawled creaking along the uncertain way. The driver of an ox-cart had abundant leisure for contemplation and need of patience.

This was the time that saw the becoming knee-breeches, black silk stockings, and bright buckles, go out of fashion and the ugly long trousers come into vogue. Gallant horseback-riding was the rule and not the exception.

The Puritan Sabbath, maligned though it is, despite of long sermons, was the weekly day of rest when the whole community came together to exchange gossip, wit and information. It was a rural meet, where right living, rather than the tawdry display of modern churches, was considered a mark of superiority.

Conditions and needs change. An electric railway or a German Sunday may meet a craving of to-day, but the fathers enjoyed their way and by it they grew rich in grace, having founded the ideal civilization of the world. They reared strong sons and daughters, fit to combat error in all its forms. Was not this enough of pleasure for a rugged race of men, who saw something beyond the mere day,—eating and drinking—and to-morrow—gone?

It is the fashion nowadays to lash the Puritan and bewail the strictness of his rules for life and conduct. No man of the times who was worthy of or desired in such a community ever found fault with the regulations which themselves originated. It was only the evil onlookers among their contemporaries who protested, and the scoffers of later days who cry out against them. Suppose they did not have certain amusements of to-day. One man or one generation has no right to sit in judgment upon another.

People talk glibly of the austerity of our fathers. Read this from the Parish Records of 1781, March 25 :—"Parish met according to adjournment: excused Ezra Coates from being Parish Clerk and chose Major David Parker; adjourned to meet at Jacob Newhall's Innholder, the 8th day of April." This is the first vote of the kind on the records, though such are frequent afterwards, there being a desire to make the meetings a little more genial, cider and flip not being prohibited. After this the warrants called the meetings at the Meeting House, but the adjourned meetings were uniformly to be had at "Landlord" Newhall's.

Mr. Roby was an exemplar in many ways of the compact force of organized Puritanism. He made himself a part of the people to whom he dedicated his life-work. With the early teachers there was no drifting about from parish to parish. When his calling was assured it was to live and die and be buried with his own. Such men as he identified themselves with the air, the soil, the traditions of the locality, becoming as it were a part of all.

Let it be understood that Mr. Roby, in spite of his amiability, was a true member of the Puritan church militant. The Puritan was to the backbone a fighting Christian. Those who staid at home cut off the head of King Charles, and later, drove his ignoble son into servile retirement under the protection of the King of France. Those who came to these shores were about to enter into a gigantic struggle with the arbitrary power of the Crown, which resulted in the dismemberment of the British Empire and the foundation of the Great Republic.

Four days after the battle of Lexington, on the 23rd of April, 1775, the people of Lynn chose a committee to consult measures of safety. This committee consisted of Rev. John Treadwell, minister of the first parish, Rev. Joseph Roby, minister of the third parish, and Deacon Daniel Mansfield. On the next Sunday, by recommendation of the Provincial Congress, all men who lived within twenty miles of the seacoast went to church armed. The Parson carried under one arm his cartridge-box, his sermon under the other, and went into the pulpit with his musket loaded. Bunker Hill came, and then war with its horrid mien passed away from Massachusetts Bay.

Mr. Roby's Christian name calls attention to a marked characteristic of the Puritan. Down to the Revolution few children were baptized in New England, who did not bear a Hebrew name. England had been Anglo-Saxon, Roman,

Danish, Norse and Norman. Other races and creeds had heroes and saints, but the Puritan had one book—the Hebrew Scriptures. From it he took his faith and his children's names.

The village green, where stood the House of God in which Parson Roby preached and practised for so many years the unadulterated doctrines of pure Puritanism, still remains to please the eye and to recall an age which was kinder and less intolerant than modern historians are prone to picture.

"Happy are the people whose annals are blank." There is a mine of wisdom concealed in this sentence. A quotation from Gibbon in English, or from Voltaire in French, may tend to illustrate the meaning. "History, which is, indeed, little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind."

These people lived long and affluent lives and impressed their personalities upon the community and upon following generations, because and by virtue of the absence of tumult, excitement and controversy. While the great outer world was convulsed, Saugus minded its own affairs, reared its children, tended its sick, buried its dead, and flourished by the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. There was no history here, but much that tended to develop and equip the stock for the contest—for the possession of a continent.

Puritanism has dominated New England for two hundred and fifty years. It has stamped its virtues upon the great belt of States from Plymouth Rock by the Atlantic to the Golden Gate of the Pacific. It may be that here at home, under changed conditions, it will not be able, hereafter, to hold this supremacy. Let us, therefore, while the past is vivid, while its traditions are in such bold relief, gather and guard memorials of a sturdy race.

INSCRIPTIONS

FROM THE OLD BURYING GROUND AT SAUGUS CENTRE.

COPIED BY JOHN T. MOULTON.

(Continued from page 76.)

In memory of Mr. Joseph Raddin, who died June 28, 1818, Aet. 38.

In memory of Mr. Joseph Raddin, who died July 22, 1831, Aet. 25 years.

Beneath this humble stone is deposited the remains of Mrs. Betsy Radin & child, consort of Mr. Robert Radin. Obt. Aug. 6, 1802, aged 25.

My days of trial Oh how few,
I die to find the gospel true :
Be wise my friends, your souls to save,
Attend the warning from the grave.

Erected in memory of Emily Radin, daughter of Mr. Robert and Mrs. Betsey Radin, Obt. June 18, 1802, Aet. 9 mos.

Happy the babe who privileged by fate
To shorter labor and a lighter weight,
Receiv'd but yesterday the gift of breath,
Ordered to-morrow to return to death.

In memory of Jerusha Raddin, daughter of Mr. Thomas and Mrs. Sally Raddin, who died, Nov. 22, 1795, aged 10 mos.

Honored parents, fare you well
My Jesus doth me call :
I leave you here with God until
I meet you once for all.

Here lies buried the body of Mrs. Elizabeth Ramsdell who departed this life July 20th 1768. Aged 73 years.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Nancy, wife of Mr. Joseph Rowe, who died April 25, 1841, aged 29 years.

Farewell dear wife, thou art gone to rest,
Gone to be an heavenly guest;
To shout and sing redeeming love
With all the heavenly host above.

Sacred to the memory of the Rev.^d Joseph Roby who departed this life Jany. 31st 1803, in the 80th year of his Age and 51st of his ministry in this Parish.

Through life a lover of learning and virtue, a sincere friend, a kind and affectionate husband and parent, and a devoted Christian.

By a constant practice of the christian and social virtues, he rendered himself greatly beloved and respected in the various walks of domestic life. Reader, would's thou be honored in life and lamented at death, go and do likewise.

No pain, no grief, no anxious fear
Invade these bounds. No mortal woes
Can reach the peaceful sleeper here,
Whilst angels watch his soft repose.
So Jesus sleeps, God's dying son
Past thro' the grave and blest the bed:
Then rest dear Saint, till from his throne
The morning break and pierce the shade.

Sacred to the memory of M^{rs} Rachel Roby, late Consort of the Rev.^d Joseph Roby who died March 8, 1792. Aet. 66.

The memory of the just is blessed.

In memory of Mrs. Zeruah Roby, Relict of the late Rev. Joseph Roby of Lynn.

She died Jan. 12, 1820. Æ. 80.

Piety, virtue and benevolence
Adorned her life and supported her at death.
Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.

In memory of Miss Sarah Roby daughter of the late
Rev. Joseph Roby, who died March 12, 1818, Æ. 47.

Sweet soul, we leave thee to thy rest
Enjoy thy Jesus and thy God :
Till we from bands of Clay released
Spring out and Climb the shining Road.

In memory of Deacon Ephraim Rhodes, obt. Dec. 29,
1788. Aged 73.

The sweet remembrance of the just,
Shall flourish when they sleep in dust.

In memory of Deacon Asa Rhodes, who died April 18,
1842. Aged 92 yrs.

Also his wives—

Sarah, died Aug. 12, 1800, aged 44 yrs.

Elizabeth, died May 1812, aged 60 yrs.

Mary, died Dec. 26, 1833, aged 79 yrs.

The memory of the just is blessed.

Samuel Rhodes, son of Mr. Hezekiah and Abigail Rhodes,
died Aug. 14, 1741, in ye 7th year of his age.

Mary Rhodes, daughter of Mr. Hezekiah & Abigail
Rhodes, died Aug. 25, 1741, in her 4th, year.

Abigail Rhodes, daughter of Mr Hezekiah and Mrs.
Abigail Rhoades, died Sept. 4, 1741, in her 2^d year.

Mary Rhodes, daughter of Josiah and Hepzibah Rhodes,
died Dec. 16, 1743, in her 7th year.

In memory of Mr. William Sweetser, who died March 19, 1811. Æt. 87 years.

“Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.”

In memory of Mrs. Lydia Sweetser wife of Mr. Wm. Sweetser, who died Oct. 24, 1818. Æt. 83 years.

The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.

In memory of Mr. Samuel Sweetser, who died Aug. 8, 1815. Æt. 57.

Beneath the clods in silent dust
I sleep, where all the living must:
When Jesus calls the saints arise,
With joy ascend the lofty skies.

In memory of Lydia Sweetser, who died July 22, 1843. Æt. 83 years.

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Benjamin Sweetser who departed this life, May 8, 1819. Æt. 58 years.

My life, my all sufficient good
My portion and my choice:—
In thee my vast desires
And all my powers rejoice.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Dorothy, wife of Mr. Benjamin Sweetser, who died June 18, 1839.

Give glory to Jesus our head
With all that incompass his throne:
A widow, a widow indeed
A mother in Israel is gone.

In memory of Harriet wife of Henry Sprague, who died, Aug. 24, 1839 in the 24th year of her age.

She is gone and oh! why should we murmur or weep
For the few that in Jesus have fallen asleep;
She has gone to a world to partake of that bliss
And to share in those joys that she knew not in this.

Julia Ann M., daughter of Mr. Stephen and Mrs. Angelina Smith, who died Jan. 1, 1829, aged 1 yr., 7 days.

In memory of Sarah Elizabeth daughter of William and Polly Stocker, died January 21, 1833, aged 4 months.

Sleep on sweet babe and take thy rest
God called thee home, he said 'twas best :
Rest in the bosom of his love,
Soon we shall come thy joys to prove.

In memory of Lucy B. Stocker, who died May 6, 1843.
Aged 27.

Oh, wipe away that gathering tear
No cause of grief is witnessed here :
There's naught but dust beneath this sod
The soul, we trust, is with its God.

—H. S. 1801—

In memory of Mr. Holmes Sargent, son to Mr Samuel & Mrs. Anna Sargeant, who died Nov. 27th, 1801. Aged 19 years.

'Tis done, nor let one sigh your bosom heave,
With much submission still your God adore :
Cease, my fond parents, cease, nor rashly grieve,
Soon shall we meet in heaven, to part no more.

Here lyes Buried the Body of Mr. William Taylor :
Who departed this Life Janry the 23^d, 1769. Aged 72 years.

In memory of Edward K. Tuttle, who died Nov. 17, 1842, ag. 21 yrs., & 4 months.

Also, Orin Tuttle, who died Oct. 24, 1840, ag. 2 yrs. & 9 months.

Children of Thomas and Nancy Tuttle.

Sleep, sleep, thou dear departed children,
 Thy parents tears shall wet thy sod :
 Early flowers shall deck thy grave
 While angels bear thee home to God.

In memory of Thomas Tuttle, who died July 17, 1852,
 ag. 53 yrs. & 6 mos.

Farewell my wife and children too
 I can no longer stay with you :
 My portion in heaven I wish to share,
 Prepare for death and meet me there.

My family dear this place draw near
 And here my grave to see ;
 Not long ago, I was with you
 And soon you'll be with me.

(*Monument.*)

Samuel Tuttle, died Jan. 8, 1858. Æt. 54 yrs. 4 mos.

Benj. F. Tuttle, died April 23, 1866. Æt. 30 yrs.
 & 5 mos.

Mary Tuttle, died May 5, 1867. Æ. 64 yrs. 10 mos.

David, died May 15, 1840. Æt. 9 years.

Charles W., died May 24, 1840. Aged 4 years.

Horace, died May 26, 1840. Æ. 2 yrs.

Thomas, died April 16, 1843. Æ. 19 yrs.

George H., died Feby. 17, 1844. Æ. 18 yrs.

Samuel L., died March 26, 1848. Æ. 3 yrs.

John A., died Sept. 19, 1849. Æ. 27 yrs.

Children of Samuel and Mary Tuttle.

These ties of life and kindred love
 Which Death's cold hand so soon can sever,
 Shall reunited be above
 In one unbroken band forever.

In memory of Mr. Benjamin Wilson, who died Aug.
 19, 1843. Æt. 75.

In memory of Mr. Benjamin Williams, died Aug. 27, 1841: Aged 63 years.

Also, Mrs. Ruth, his wife died Nov. 4, 1841: Aged 59 years.

Low in the dust our parents lie,
And no attentive ear is nigh
But God to mark our way:
No hand to wipe away our tears,
No gentle voice to hush our fears,
But Christ the Orphan's friend.

Here lyes y^e Body of M^{rs} Abigail Wait, wife to M^r Jonathan Wait who departed this life April 4th 1763 in y^e 75 year of her age.

(*Monument.*)

In memory of Rachel wife of David W. Wyman died May 14, 1840, Æt. 30.

Also, their child Elizabeth Ann died May 10, 1840. Æt. 5 yrs. & 3 mos.

Let no ungrateful tear be given
Or murmur linger where we lie,
The weary spirit has but flown
To brighter lands and milder sky,
We calmly rest on Heaven's own word,
Tho' ties so dear are rent in twain:
Flowers cut thus down in early morn
Transplanted there shall bloom again.

MATERIALS FOR A GENEALOGY OF THE SPARHAWK FAMILY IN NEW ENGLAND.

(Continued from page 136.)

126 Nathaniel Sparhawk, the son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk, whose first wife and children are entered under 114, married, second (in 1780), Miss Elizabeth Bartlett, the daughter of Hon. Enoch and Katharine (Dummer) Bartlett of Haverhill, Mass., and a great-great granddaughter, through her mother, of President John Cutts of Portsmouth, N. H.

The only child by this marriage was:

321 Mary Pepperrell, b. in Kittery, Maine, June, 1781; m. Hon. William Jarvis, March, 1808; d. 1811.

Mrs. Elizabeth Bartlett Sparhawk died in June, 1782, and was buried in Haverhill, Mass. In 1786, Nathaniel Sparhawk married, third, Miss Deborah Adams of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

They separated after a short life together, and she remained at home while he went to London. He returned after a long absence and took up his abode with his sister, Mrs. Dr. Charles Jarvis, in the old family mansion at Kittery, Maine. There he died in 1815, and his sister passed away during the same year. Mrs. D. A. Sparhawk married Dr. Abiel Pearson in 1816, who died in 1827.

127 William Pepperrell Sparhawk, son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk, married Elizabeth Royall, daughter of Hon. Isaac and Mary McIntosh Royall of Medford, Mass., Oct. 24, 1767.

- 322 Elizabeth Royall, b. April 17, 1769; m. Rev. Henry Hutton.
323 Mary Hirst McIntosh, b. Nov. 2, 1771; m. Wm. Congreve, Esq., s. p.
324 Harriot, b. Dec. 17, 1773; m. Charles Thomas Hudson (Lord Palmer), July 14, 1802.
325 William Royall, b. July 5, 1775; d., unmarried, Sept. 27, 1798.

William Pepperrell Sparhawk became chief heir of his grandfather (Sir William Pepperrell), on condition that at twenty-one years of age he should drop the name Sparhawk and be known as Sir William Pepperrell.

His grandfather's wishes were respected, and eight years after his grandfather's decease (1767), he assumed the title.¹ He has been known as Sir William 2d, and also in the family as "Young Sir William." He graduated from Harvard College in 1766, and was later a Councillor, and Mandamus Councillor. A royalist, he fled to England with his wife and children, also his wife's parents and kindred in 1775. His wife died on the voyage and was buried at Halifax, N. S., October 8th. Her four children were born in Kittery, Maine. Of her character, we can judge somewhat, by a letter written by her brother-in-law, Samuel Hirst Sparhawk to his father, of which we will transcribe a part further on.

"Young Sir William" received a great deal of attention in England, and was painted by West in a large group, which represented him as he was when he presented his brother tories of America to the King, craving the King's most gracious favor.² He led a remarkably useful life, was distinguished by a love of patriotism and charity toward all men. He died in 1816, one year after his brother Nathaniel, who had sojourned awhile in England after "young Sir William," became a permanent resident there. The most complete account of his life, which we cannot transcribe in

¹Parsons' "Life of Sir William Pepperrell."

²Sabine's "American Loyalists," vol. 2, p. 169.

our limited space, is to be found in Sabine's "Loyalists of the American Revolution" to which we have already referred our readers.

129 Andrew Pepperrell Sparhawk, the fifth son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk, married Miss Turner, the daughter of an army officer in Boston, Sept. 5, 1775. He went to England with his brother William, and died there, without children, in 1783. His portrait, painted by Copley, is in existence in England. It is owned by a lineal descendant of his niece, Lady Palmer, Sir Archdale Palmer of Wanlip Hall, Leicestershire, England.

130 Samuel Hirst Sparhawk, the sixth and youngest son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk, went to England sometime later than his brothers William and Andrew and was married there. His portrait by Copley is in the possession of Sir Archdale Palmer.

His daughter was :

326 Harriet Hirst, b. 1781; d., unmarried, at Portsmouth, N. H., Aug. 29, 1872.

Before leaving for England, which step was the result of his being an ardent Loyalist, he wrote to his father the following letter, the original of which is now in the possession of the writer.

Hon^o. and dear Sir :

I have not til now had an opportunity of writing you for some time past, owing to the communication betwixt us and the country being cut off; and am now obliged to confine myself to a few particulars as letters undergo an inspection of committees, etc., etc.

Since my last you have undoubtedly been made ac-

quainted with the melancholy event of Lady Pepperrell's death, which has been a most trying, piercing trouble to us all, but especially to my poor broken hearted brother Sir William who is day and night weeping for his dear departed Object; and can any one who knew her wonder? Surely no: for she deserved the esteem of every one: her sweetness of disposition and obliging behaviour added to every amiable quality won the regard and attention of all around her, and I must say as far as I have ever been able to discover if there have been any exceptions to this, it must have been owing to themselves and not to her; she often did kindnesses, but she injured no one: she was too harmless and innocent, and I cou'd not love anybody who I tho't didn't love her, but upon the principle enjoined by a perfect character, to "love our enemies." She was a worthy charming woman indeed! who can think of her and not be distressed. I'm sure I mourn my loss most sincerely and its universal among all who were acquainted with her character. I trust she is now made happy in heaven thro' the great atonement for sin by Jesus Christ.

.

With duty and Love I am y^r affectio^{te} Son

S. Hirst Sparhawk.

P. S. remember my duty and love to my dear Mama and Lady P. I want to see them exceedingly, but this cant be very soon, tho' it may be in a twelve month

To

The Hon^{ble}. Nath^l Sparhawk, Esq., in Kittery.

132 Hannah Frost, the daughter of Edmund and Hannah (Cooper) Frost, married Samuel Bowman of Cambridge, Mar. 20, 1745-6.

327 Samuel, jr., bapt. April 26, 1747.

328 Edmund, bapt. Feb. 12, 1748-9.

329 Hannah, bapt. Feb. 17, 1750-1.

Samuel Bowman, sr., died in June, 1783. Mrs. Hannah (Frost) Bowman probably died April 25, 1794.

134 Edmund Frost, jr., son of Edmund and Hannah (Cooper) Frost, married Sarah Rand, Aug. 9, 1750.

330 Sarah, b. May 24, 1751.

331 Edmund, b. July 24, 1753.

332 Stephen, b. Sept. 13, 1755.

333 Jonathan, b. Dec. 12, 1757; d. Aug. 7, 1800.

334 Hannah, b. May 13, 1760; m. Joseph Wilson, Apr. 13, 1780.

335 Nehemiah, b. Oct. 6, 1762.

336 Abigail, b. Nov. 23, 1763.

337 Phoebe, b. June 4, 1766; d. unmarried.

338 Samuel, b. Mar. 16, 1770; m. Dorcas Hill (?), Oct. 15, 1789.

Edmund Frost, sr., resided on a part of the homestead and probably died about 1777. Mrs. Sarah (Rand) Frost died Oct. 28, 1801, aged 71 years.

137 Gideon Frost, son of Edmund and Hannah (Cooper) Frost, married Sarah Ireland, Jan. 18, 1753.

339 Sarah, b. Mar. 1, 1754; d., unmarried, July 29, 1821.

340 Gideon, jr., b. Oct. 14, 1755; physician in Uxbridge, Mass.

341 John, b. Mar. 4, 1758; d. young.

342 Elizabeth, b. Nov. 15, 1760; m. Thomas Frothingham, Sept. 24, 1785.

343 Walter, b. Aug. 29, 1766; m. Martha Tufts, June 21, 1792; d. April 20, 1819.

344 Martha, b. June 29, 1769; m. Thomas Austin, Mar. 22, 1807; d. April 17, 1838.

345 William, b. April 23, 1774; m., 1st, Lucy Adams; 2nd, Mary Teele.

Gideon Frost, sr., was a deacon of the church for twenty years. He resided in the homestead on Kirkland street first and afterwards (1763) on the easterly side of North avenue, nearly opposite Linnæan street. He died June 30, 1803. Mrs. Sarah (Ireland) Frost died in July, 1805, aged 76.

142 Hannah Gove, daughter of Jonathan and Lydia (Cooper) Gove, married Thomas Goddard, Jan. 3, 1738-9.

346 Kezia, bapt. Nov. 25, 1739; probably d. in infancy.

347 Hannah, bapt. April 11, 1742; m. Jonas Prentice, Dec. 1, 1785.

348 Benjamin, bapt. Aug. 12, 1744; d., unmarried, July, 1828.

349 Thomas, } twins; b. July 12, 1747; { m. H. Prentice, Dec. 11,
350 Nathaniel, } 1777; d. March, 1830.

m. — — —, s. p.; d.
Jan., 1830.

Thomas Goddard, sr., died in 1768. Mrs. Hannah (Gove) Goddard died March 18, 1799.

146 Ephraim Frost, son of Ephraim and Sarah (Cooper) Frost, married Mary Cutter, daughter of Deacon John and Lydia (Harrington) Cutter, published Mar. 16, 1739.

351 Anna, b. Oct. 22, 1740; d. Nov. 20, 1740.

352 Ephraim, b. Sept. 29, 1742; m. Lydia Perry, June 6, 1765; d. Apr. 4, 1833.

353 Jonathan, b. Dec. 15, 1744; Harvard College, 1767; d. April 25, 1771.

354 Stephen, b. June 18, 1747; m. Susanna Brown, Dec. 22, 1772; d. Oct. 31, 1810.

355 Ruhamah, b. Nov. 4, 1749; m. Jno. Russell, Aug. 31, 1769.

356 Mary, b. Mar. 4, 1752; m. Jon. Locke, Jan. 3, 1775; d. Jan. 6, 1805.

357 Anna, b. Oct. 3, 1754.

358 Lydia, b. Oct. 21, 1756; d. Oct. 23, 1766.

359 John, b. Sept. 9, 1760; m. Susanna Hill, Nov. 21, 1780; d. 1812.

360 Amos, b. Aug. 17, 1763; m. Lydia Bemis; d. Feb. 25, 1850.

Edhraim Frost, sr., died Mar. 5, 1799, æ. 84. Mrs. Mary (Cutter) Frost died Oct. 20, 1805, aged 89.

147 Samuel Frost, son of Ephraim and Sarah (Cooper) Frost, married Abigail, daughter of Deacon John and Lydia (Harrington) Cutter, Feb. 19, 1741.

361 Samuel, b. Dec. 7, 1741; d. young.

62 Samuel, b. Aug. 2, 1743; d. April 24, 1790.

363 Abigail, b. Jan. 24, 1744-45; d. unmarried.

364 Rebecca, b. Dec. 28, 1746; m. Sol. Prentice, April 13, 1775; d. Nov. 12, 1798.

365 John, b. June 29, 1748; d. Aug. 9, 1749.

366 Martha, b. May 12, 1750; m. Isaac Tufts, Apr. 16, 1769.

367 Sarah, b. June 10, 1752; m. Jno. Hutchinson, May 28, 1772; d. Oct. 19, 1790.

368 John, b. June 23, 1754; m. Lydia ———; d. Oct., 1818.

369 Hannah, b. ———, 1758; m. Joseph Wilson, April 13, 1780.

370 Seth, b. Mar. 20, 1760; m. Sarah Hill, Nov. 20, 1781; d. Jan. 23, 1814.

371 William, b. ———, 1762; d. Sept. 28, 1791.

372 Cooper, b. Mar. 20, 1764; m. ———; d. Sept. 30, 1813.

373 Lydia Harrington, b. Nov. 16, 1766; m. Simeon Crosby, May 7, 1787; d. Aug. 3, 1813.

Samuel Frost, sr., died Sept. 30, 1798; Abigail (Cutter) Frost, died Mar. 7, 1796.

150 Martha Frost, daughter of Ephraim and Sarah (Cooper) Frost, married Joseph Adams, jr., Jan. 10, 1739-40.

374 Anna, b. Dec. 14, 1740; m. T. Tufts, May 7, 1761; d. Oct. 8, 1825.

375 Joseph, b. Nov. 29, 1743; m. Lucy Kent, Sept. 6, 1770.

376 Martha, b. Sept. 25, 1746; m. Samuel Locke, jr., May 16, 1771.

Mrs. Martha (Frost) Adams died Dec. 23, 1749. Her husband, Joseph Adams, jr., married, second, Hannah Hall, Sept. 11, 1750, by whom he had eleven children.

Joseph Adams was selectman four years and died May 3, 1794, aged 79.

164 Jonathan Cooper, son of Jonathan and Sarah (Prentice) Cooper, married Mercy Prentice, 1755-6, daughter of Jonas and Mercy (Pierce) Prentice.

377 Mercy, bapt. April 18, 1756.

378 Jonathan, bapt. Oct. 1, 1758; d. Sept. 17, 1760.

379 Anna, bapt. Feb. 6, 1763.

380 Marah, bapt. May 12, 1765; m. Joshua Palmer, May 23, 1791.

Jonathan Cooper died April 26, 1765.

176 Benjamin Francis, son of Nathaniel and Ann (—) Francis, married Lydia Convers, April 7, 1757.

381 Benjamin, b. Sept. 6, 1759; d. in Baltimore.

382 James.

383 William, lived in Newburyport.

384 Convers, b. July 14, 1766; m. Susanna Rand, May 11, 1788.

Mrs. Lydia (Convers) Francis died in January, 1768.

Benjamin Francis married, second, Sarah Hall, Oct. 20, 1768.

385 Sarah, m. Ephraim Bound of Middletown, Conn.

386 Simon.

387 Nathaniel, drowned in British Channel.

388 Lydia, m. Job Wyeth, Jan. 31, 1804.

389 Ebenezer.

390 Stephen.

Mrs. Sarah (Hall) Francis, died June 5, 1798.

185 John Dana, son of Benjamin and Anna (Francis) Dana, married Abigail Smith, 1748.

391 Abigail, b. May 8, 1749.

392 Lydia, b. Sept. 7, 1750.

393 Benjamin, b. Feb. 24, 1751-2.

394 Elizabeth, b. ———, 1754.

395 John, b. May 26, 1756.

192 Stephen Dana, son of Benjamin and Anna (Francis) Dana, married Eleanor Brown, Sept. 16, 1762.

They left no children, but Mr. Dana was much engaged in public life. He was colonel of the militia, justice of the peace, selectman seventeen years (1776-1794), representative from Cambridge fourteen years (1778-1792) and representative from Brighton in 1806 and 1808. His epitaph describes him as "a prudent, pleasant friend, the father, legislator, judge and peacemaker of Brighton, extensively useful and greatly beloved by all who knew him."

196 Susanna Francis, daughter of Ebenezer and Rachel (Tufts) Francis, married Samuel Cutter, April 28, 1757.

- 396 Samuel, b. ———, 1758; m. Rebecca Hill, Sept. 29, 1780.
- 397 William, b. ———, 1759; m. Hannah Cutter, April 29, 1783.
- 398 Susanna, b. ———, 1761; m. Thomas Whittemore, Nov. 16, 1783.
- 399 Francis, b. April 17, 1763; m. Susanna Whittemore, Dec. 29, 1782.
- 400 Ezekiel, b. Dec. 24, 1764.
- 401 Ebenezer, b. Dec. 31, 1766; m. Abigail B. Bowman, Dec. 6, 1789.
- 402 Abigail, b. Jan. 19, 1769; m. Samuel Cutter, Jan. 21, 1787.
- 403 Anne, b. June 25, 1771; m. Wm. Whittemore, Feb. 2, 1796.
- 404 Adam, b. April 13, 1773.
- 405 Edward, b. June 9, 1775; d. Aug. 2, 1778.
- 406 Washington, b. June 18, 1777; m. Elizabeth Robins, Mar. 16, 1800.

Samuel Cutter died April 7, 1791. Mrs. Susanna (Francis) Cutter died Dec. 19, 1817.

198 Lucy Francis married Edward Wilson, Nov. 23, 1758.

- 407 Joseph, b. Oct. 9, 1759; m. Elizabeth Caldwell, Mar. 6, 1785.
- 408 Lucy, b. Jan. 21, 1761.
- 409 Edward, b. ———, 1762.
- 410 Ebenezer, b. ———, 1763.
- 411 Rachel, b. ———, 1765.
- 412 Samuel, b. ———, 1766.
- 413 Nathaniel, b. ———, 1768.
- 414 William, b. ———, 1769.
- 415 Aaron, b. ———, 1771.
- 416 Francis, b. ———, 1774.
- 417 Andrew, b. ———, 1777.
- 418 Thomas, b. ———, 1778.

200 Ebenezer Francis, son of Ebenezer and Rachel (Tufts) Francis, married Judith Wood, 1766. They had four daughters and one son.

- 419 Ebenezer, treasurer of Harvard College, d. Sept. 20, 1858.

Ebenezer Francis, sr., was a colonel in the Revolutionary army and distinguished for his bravery and good conduct. He was slain in battle at Hubbardton, Vt., July 7, 1777.

203 Aaron Francis married ———.

420 Ebenezer, b. Oct. 18, 1790.

Aaron Francis lived in Beverly, where he died in 1825. He was the grandfather of Rev. Eben Francis.

205 Charles Russell, M.D., married Elizabeth, only child of Col. Henry and Penelope (Royal) Vassall, Feb. 15, 1768.

421 Penelope, b. Mar., 1769; m. Hon. Theodore Sedgwick, 1808, *s. p.*; d. May 18, 1827.

422 Elizabeth Vassall, b. Jan. 21, 1770; d. young.

423 Elizabeth, b. Jan. 10, 1771; m. Charles F. Degen, June 12, 1797.

424 Catherine Graves, b. Jan. 9, 1772; d., unmarried, Sept. 5, 1847.

425 Rebecca, b. Feb. 20, 1773; m., 1st, David Pearce, 1793; m., 2nd, Joseph Ruggles, 1813.

Charles Russell, M.D., was a graduate of Harvard College in 1757 and died at Antigua, May 27, 1780.

Mrs. Elizabeth (Vassall) Russell died Feb. 23, 1802, in the sixtieth year of her age.

206 Thomas Russell married Elizabeth Henley, daughter of Samuel Henley of Charlestown, Mass., May 2, 1765.

426 Thomas Graves, b. Jan. 27, 1767; d. April 15, 1790.

427 John Miller, b. ———, 1768; d. Sept. 16, 1840.

428 Daniel, b. ———, 1769; d. 1804.

429 James, b. ———, 1770; d. young.

430 Elizabeth, b. 1772; m. Jno. Langdon Sullivan, Oct. 12, 1797.

Mrs. E. H. Russell died in May, 1781.

Thomas Russell married, second, Sarah Sever, daughter of William Sever, Aug. 12, 1784.

431 Sarah, b. Dec. 1, 1786; m. Richard Sullivan, May, 1804; d. 1831.

Mrs. Sarah S. Russell died in November, 1787.

Thomas Russell married, third, Elizabeth Watson, Nov. 12, 1788.

207 Katherine Russell married Samuel Henley Oct. 4, 1762.

432 Katherine, b. Dec. 17, 1763; d. Aug., 1807.

433 James, b. Aug. 24, 1766.

434 Sybil, b. ———, 1768.

435 Charles, b. ———, 1769; d. young.

436 Richard, b. Jan. 5, 1772.

437 Rebecca Tyng, b. ———, 1773; d. young.

438 Rebecca Tyng, b. July 10, 1774; m. Jno. Soley, Nov., 1804.

439 Charles, b. Aug. 28, 1777.

210 Rebecca Russell married John Lowell, January, 1778.

440 Rebecca Russell, b. May 17, 1779; m. S. P. Gardiner, Sept. 17, 1797; d. May 11, 1853.

441 Charles, b. Aug. 15, 1782; m. Harriet B. Spence, Oct. 2, 1806; d. Jan. 10, 1861.

442 Elizabeth Cutts, b. Dec., 1783; m. Warren Dutton, June 3, 1806.

443 Mary, b. ———; d. young.

Judge John Lowell married Rebecca Russell (who was his third wife) after his removal to Boston. He was a lineal descendant of Percival Lowell, who came to America in 1639.¹ His father was the Rev. John Lowell, who married, first, Sarah Champney (Judge Lowell's mother) and second, Mrs. Elizabeth (Cutts) Whipple, the widow of Rev. Jos. Whipple, and daughter of Robert and Dorcas (Hammond) Cutts of Kittery, Maine. Judge Lowell was born in Newbury, June 17, 1743, and took his first degree in Harvard College in 1760. He was admitted to practice

¹ "Memoir of Rev. Charles Lowell, D. D.," by Mrs. Mary Lowell Putnam.

law in 1763. He held many distinguished positions and was honored alike by young and old. A very valuable account of his life, and of that of his son Charles, has been written by his granddaughter, Mrs. Mary (Lowell) Putnam. To this we have already referred, and we will not attempt to do more than advise our readers to read that at their earliest leisure. Judge Lowell died May 6, 1802.

211 James Russell married Mary Lechmere at St. Peter's Church, Bristol, England, Sept. 22, 1780.

444a Lechmere Coore Graves, b. Dec. 25, 1786; m. Harriet E. Woodhouse; d. Apr. 28, 1851.

445b Charles James, b. ———; of the Royal Navy; d. unmarried.

446c Mary Ann, b. ———; died unmarried.

447d Elizabeth Penelope, b. ———; died unmarried.

448e Lechmere, b. ———; died in infancy.

449f Katherine Sarah, b. ———; m. Major Wm. Miller.

450g Lucy Margaret, b. ———; m. Rev. Robert Casse Wolfe; d. 1870.

Mrs. Mary (Lechmere) Russell was a daughter of Richard Lechmere, and granddaughter of Thomas and Anne (Winthrop) Lechmere. Her grandmother was a daughter of Governor Winthrop of Connecticut. Her husband left New England for England at the time of the Revolution and established himself at Bristol, England, where he died in 1832.

215 Margaret Russell married John Codman, July 15, 1781.

451 John (Rev. D.D.), b. Aug. 3, 1782; m. Mary Wheelwright, Jan. 19, 1813.

452 Chas. Russell, b. Dec. 19, 1784; m. 1st, Anne McMaster; 2nd, Sarah Ogden.

Mrs. M. R. Codman died March 12, 1789. Her husband, John Codman, died May 17, 1803.

216 Samuel Cary married Sarah Gray, daughter of Reverend Ellis Gray, Nov. 5, 1772.

- 453 Samuel, b. at Chelsea, Mass., Oct. 17, 1773; d. unmarried at sea.
- 454 Margaret, b. at Grenada, W. I.; d. at Chelsea; unmarried.
- 455 Charles Spooner, b. in Grenada; d. at Chelsea; unmarried.
- 456 Lucius, b. at Grenada, W. I.; d. in England; unmarried.
- 457 Sarah, b. at Grenada; m. Rev. Joseph Tuckerman.
- 458 Henry, b. at Grenada, 1785; m., 1st, Margaret Pine; m., 2nd, Elizabeth Lowis; d. at Florence, Italy, 1857.
- 459 Ann Montagu, b. in Grenada, 1787; d. in Chelsea, Mass., 1882; unmarried.
- 460 Edward, b. in Grenada, 1789; d. in England, 1808.
- 461 Harriet, b. Grenada, 1790; d. Chelsea, 1873; unmarried.
- 462 Thos. Graves, b. Chelsea, 1791; m. Mary Cushing Perkins; d. 1859.
- 463 Geo. Blankern, b. Chelsea, 1792; m. Helen Paine; d. 1880.
- 464 Robert Howard, b. Chelsea, 1794; m. ———; d. Chelsea, 1867.
- 465 Wm. Ferdinand, b. Chelsea, 1795; m. Nancy Perkins; d. 1881.

Samuel Cary, senior, was a planter in Grenada, West Indies. He died at Chelsea, August 1, 1812. Mrs. Sarah Gray Cary died at Chelsea, in 1825, aged 72 years. Her mother was Sarah Tyler, daughter of John Tyler and granddaughter of Thomas and Miriam (Simpkins) Tyler, the ancestors of the Boston family of that name.¹ Her father, Rev. Ellis Gray, was son of Edward and Hannah (Ellis) Gray, and colleague pastor of the Second Church in Boston. He was very nearly related to Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, and many other distinguished Bostonians.

217 Reverend Thomas Cary, the brother of Samuel Cary, was graduated at Harvard College in 1761. He married May 25, 1775, Esther Carter of Newburyport, Mass., a daughter of Nathaniel and Abigail (Beck) Carter. She died May 28, 1779, and he died Nov. 24, 1808.

Reverend Thomas Cary was married twice and had one son, by his first marriage, who died unmarried in early manhood. His name was Thomas Graves Cary. The name of his second wife we have thus far failed to find. His wife

¹ See "Memorials of the Dead in Boston. King's Chapel Burial Ground," pp. 289-91.

Esther was a sister of Mrs. Edward Cutts, of Portsmouth, N. H., and there are, through that source, in the possession of the writer, a number of his printed sermons and a quaint portrait of Rev. Thos. Cary, executed, evidently, by an amateur. Also a mourning ring in memory of Mrs. Esther Cary, died in 1779.

221 Margaret Wigglesworth married Rev. John Andrews, Sept. 8, 1788.

466 Edward Wigglesworth, b. Aug., 1790; H.C. 1809 (Rev.); d. unm., Nov., 1825.

467 Margaret, b. ———; d. unm.

468 John, b. ———; d. unm.

469 Hannah Richmond, b. ———; d. unm.

470 Mary Jane, b. ———; d. unm.

Rev. John Andrews died at Newburyport in 1845.

225 Thomas Wigglesworth married Jane Norton, April 28, 1803.

471 Edward, b. 1804; H.C. 1822, LL.B. 1825; m. Miss Goddard.

472 Jane, b. July 4, 1805.

473 Mary, b. July 28, 1807.

474 Anne, b. Feb. 10, 1810.

475 Samuel, b. Dec. 16, 1811; H.C. 1831, M.D.; d. 1847.

476 Thos., jr., b. July 1, 1814; H.C. 1833.

229 Richard Gardner married Hannah Goldthwaite.

477 John, b.

478 Joanna, b.

479 Martha, b.

480 Hannah, b. ———; m. Dr. Jas. P. Chaplin, Dec. 10, 1807.

481 Susan, b.

482 Sarah, b.

231 Thomas Gardner married Hannah Gardner.

483 Hannah, b. Feb. 12, 1791; m. Aaron Rice, Oct. 21, 1810; d. July 7, 1853.

484 Thomas.

485 Susannah.

486 Mary Sparhawk.

487 Harriet E.

488 Thomas Sparhawk.

[To be continued.]

MINING AND QUARRYING, AND SMELTING OF ORES, IN BOXFORD.

By SIDNEY PERLEY.

IRON-WORKS OF 1668-1680.

THERE is a deep cut through the hills near the house of Mr. Andrew Frame in Boxford, probably made that water might flow from Crooked pond into Fish brook at the Frame's mill. The sides of the cut are quite high in some places, and the banks have been covered with a growth of hemlock trees for a hundred years. Through this cut a stream of water still flows down. In that part of the ravine where the sides rise the highest are supposed remains of a giant dam. Parallel with this cut is another small one, and between the two are sites of buildings, apparently. No one knows anything about its history ; and its mystery renders the remains more interesting.

Some have thought that this place might have been the site of the old iron-works, but that is not correct. The site of the iron-works was a few rods northwest of the Frame's Mill. To-day, there remains of this interesting place of business a large part of the original dam, sites of the buildings associated with the works and of the dwelling-house, and a spring in which a barrel was found a few years since, but in such a decayed condition that the once hard white oak staves upon coming to the air fell to pieces by their own weight.

Henry and James Leonard, the first American founders, came from England about 1640, and began the smelting

of iron in Plymouth County. They were brothers, and together were engaged in making the first iron castings ever made in the United States. Henry Leonard came from Lynn, where he had been for several years engaged in iron smelting, and established the business in Boxford in 1668 or 1669. In 1670, his foundry was called "the works newly erected in Rowley Village."

When the iron-works were established here their site belonged to John Gould, sen., of Topsfield, but the dwelling house that used to stand at the works, and in which probably the workmen lived, was undoubtedly built by the company owning the works. Daniel Black, a Scotchman, who was fined five pounds, in 1660, "for making love to Edmund Bridges' daughter" (Faith, whom he afterwards married) without her parents' consent, was one of these workmen.

Dec. 25, 1670, Mr. Gould quitclaimed to "Simond Bradstreete of Andover, gent, John Ruck of Salem, merchant, Thomas Baker of Topsfield, yeoman, and the rest of the part owners of the Iron works in Rowley Village, of whom the grantor is one, . . . all that my p^cel of upland & arable ground . . . in Rowley village, containing . . . eighty acres, . . . on pt whereof the said iron workes now standeth, bounded by a walnutt tree growing by the brook, commonly caled the fishing brook, soe up to a bastion tree bounded with y^e land of Samuel Simonds on the south east, & from y^e bastion tree upon a straite line to a poplar tree, standing west or to the northward of the west, bounded with the land of y^e sd John Gould, & from the poplar tree upon a straite line to a poplar stake & heape of stones by it, east or to the norward of the east bounded with y^e land of y^e sd John Gould & John Newmarsh, & soe downe as the pond goeth to the walnut tree againe." The consideration for this land was £22, 10s.

Mr. Leonard, however, was not the actual mover of the enterprise, he being the lessee of the works, and owning one-sixteenth only of them. The works were owned by a company, whose capital stock amounted to about one thousand pounds. Many deeds of shares in the iron works are found recorded in the registry of deeds, and the following are some of them. John Wildes of Topsfield to Thomas Baker of Topsfield one-thirty-second, March 15, 1670; John Gould of Topsfield to Major-general Daniel Denison of Ipswich, one-sixteenth, May 1, 1671; Thomas Pearly of Rowley to Mr. John Ruck of Salem, one-sixteenth, Dec. 7, 1671; John Gould of Topsfield to John Ruck of Salem, one-sixteenth, Oct. 22, 1672; Henry Leonard of Rowley Village to Mr. Simon Bradstreet of Andover, mortgage, one-sixteenth, June 16, 1673; Joseph Bixby, sen., of Rowley Village to Mr. Jonathan Wade of Ipswich, one-sixteenth, Oct. 29, 1673; Thomas Baker of Topsfield to John Ruck of Salem, one-thirty-second, Nov. 24, 1674; John Gould of Topsfield to John Ruck of Salem, one-eighth, Nov. 25, 1674; Thomas Baker of Topsfield, "or neer unto Topsfield," to John Ruck of Salem, one-sixteenth, Sept. 4, 1676; John Safford of Ipswich to Ens. John Gould of Topsfield, one-sixteenth, Dec. 26, 1679; Daniel Denison, Esq., of Ipswich to John Ruck, sen., of Salem, one-sixteenth, Feb. 17, 1681. Mr. Ruck finally became the owner of about a one-half interest in the works. Thomas Baker was clerk of the company in 1673.

Masses of slag may still be found here. The bog-ore used was dug from meadows in Danvers, Ipswich, Boxford, Middleton, Topsfield and Saugus. Four shillings and six pence was the price paid per ox-cart load.

Mr. Leonard was not making his business a success. In September, 1673, he was sued by Daniel Black, one

of his workmen, and judgment for about five pounds was recovered. Mr. Leonard could not meet the pecuniary demands made upon him, and he disappeared leaving the bloomary to take care of itself the following winter. March 31, 1674, the proprietors met, and voted to recover possession of the premises by making an entry on them. The entry was made April 6, following, in the presence of Edmond Bridges, John Bridges and Daniel Black. The following is a copy of the certificate of this vote and entry:—

"Att a meeting of the owners of the Iron works in Rowley Village 31th 1th '74.

"Upon considderation that Henry Leonard the leasee, is behind of payeing a great pt of the last years rent, and little or no stock provided, and that the sayd Leonard hath left the sd works, and is fled for debt and hath left them in great danger to be burnt & lost there being no care taken to prevent danger of fire, by reason of the defects of the chimneyes &c. and of the dam by breaches &c. It is therfore agreed and concluded, That forthwith there be a reentry made of the houses and works, with all the appertenances there unto belonging, and to take y^m into possession of the sayd owners. And m^r Bradstreet maior Gn^{rl} Denison m^r Rucke, En^s John Gould, and corp^{ll} Putnam or any two of them are desired, and heerby empowered to make a reentry thereof in the name, & for the use of the rest of the owners and to proceed acording to law with any that may oppose the same which wee will approve and justifie as wittnes our hands this 31 : 1 : '74.

"Also it is referd to

"Simon Bradstreete

the above sd part owners

Daniell Denison

or any 2 or 3 of them

John Rucke

to let out the sd works, or

John Gould

to take care for the improveing

Nathaniell Putnam

of them by procureing coale

John Putnam

& myne & hireing workmen	John Safford
to make Iron by the tun	John Wilde
and to do what elce they	Thomas Andrews
judg nessesary, for the good	
& advantage of the sd owners,	
and what is nescesary to be	
disbursed about the same	
every owner is to pay & beare	
& beare his pportionable pt of	
charges & disbursments	

"Memorandum that this 6 of Aprill 1674 the owners of the above sd Iron works had lawfull & quiett possession resigned & delivered to them of the house works & all appertanances therunto belonging, and did acordingly make there reentry, and tooke what then was in being or to be found into there possession, as in formar times & had the lease formerly made to Henry Leonard delivered up by his wife to the sd owners in the presence of

"Edmond Bridges

John Bridges Daniell Black

& a marke

"Vera Copia as attest

"Robert Lord, Cler"

Mr. Leonard, it appears, went to Taunton, and afterward to New Jersey, where he established the same kind of business. On the day of the above entry, Apr. 6, 1674, the proprietors contracted with Samuel, Nathaniel and Thomas, Mr. Leonard's three sons, to carry on the iron-works. This they did for a short time and then followed their father to New Jersey. The Leonards were among the leading iron-manufacturers of England as well as of America. The family is quite ancient and is thought to have descended from the twelfth Lord Dacre. Many descendants of Henry Leonard now live in New Jersey.

The next manager of the iron-works was undoubtedly

John Vinton. The terrible massacre of Saint Bartholomew, urged on by Charles I, who, in his hatred to the Protestants, stood at a front window of his palace, crying to the massacring Catholics, "Kill them! kill them!" and saw the blood of the innocents running down the streets of Paris, caused the Vinton family to leave their fair fatherland and seek an asylum on the eastern shores of England. Huguenots indeed they were, and a grandson, John Vinton, came to Boxford. The Vinton and other family historians have sought in vain the whereabouts of this John, but seem never to have discovered his home in Rowley Village. John Ramsdell was a relative of John Vinton, and he, too, was a citizen of the Village and connected with the iron business. Thomas Leonard was supposed to have burned the coal house at the iron works, and was complained of in 1675. He was sentenced to be whipped if found within seven miles of the works. But he had already gone to New Jersey.

Rev. William Hubbard, the historian of New England, writing in or about 1680, mentions the business here. He says: "As the country had hitherto begun to flourish in most English manufactures, so liberty was this year (1645) granted to make iron; for which purpose a work was set up at Lynn, upon a very commodious stream, which was very much promoted, and strenuously carried on for some considerable time; but at length, instead of drawing out bars of iron for the country's use, there was nothing but contentions and law suits, which was but a bad return for the undertaking. However, it gave occasion to others to acquaint themselves with that skill, to the great advantage of the colonies, who have since that time found out many convenient places where very good iron, not much inferior to that of Bilboa, may be produced; as at this day is seen in a village near Topsfield."

Mr. Hubbard referred to Rowley Village in this manner,

because it was difficult to determine precisely under whose jurisdiction the people were. They then belonged territorially to Rowley, but they trained in the militia company at Topsfield, attended, and belonged to, the church at Topsfield and were chosen into office there.

The business was prosecuted but a short time after 1680. The history of its termination is not known. The washing away of a large portion of the dam in a great freshet, which occurred at about that time, may have been the cause. Old deeds of this, and adjoining land, mention the old Fishing Brook and the new Fishing Brook. Both are still running side by side, only a short distance apart. The old one is that on which the iron-works were situated. The original dam ran across the brook to the high land on the opposite shore and when the freshet washed away the eastern end of the dam, the water flowed down, and formed a new channel, on which the saw mill now stands. And in that way the new Fish or Fishing Brook came into existence.

The town of Boxford was incorporated in 1685, about five years after the iron business was discontinued. But the works continued to be a landmark and for several years they are mentioned in the town records. In 1686 :—

“The town voted to lay out a high way from Andover bounds to Topsfield along by Joseph Bixbes hows, and also a nother waye from Zacheus Cortices hous to this a bove said high waye or road way a long by the Works threw Abel Langlyes farm, also from the Workes a long by the South sied of the plain and so to John Stielses and so in to this a bove said waye,” etc.—*Boxford Town Records, Vol. I, p. 2.*

The roads thus voted to be laid out were, first, that leading by the Deacon Palmer place, past Hotel Redington, to Topsfield; the second, that leading from Mr. John

C. McLaughlin's house to Mr. Andrew Frame's house, from which, passing between his house and new barn, it crossed Fish brook near the schoolhouse and came into the present road at Mr. George W. Twitchell's house, from thence it led into the first road, thus going to Topsfield; and the third, commencing near the iron-works (at the second road, probably) passed by Mr. John Sawyer's house and came into the first road at Mr. Samuel Frye's house. It cannot be known with any degree of accuracy where these roads were meant to be, as nothing more was done probably than the spotting of trees. These roads were laid out by the committee, Nov. 23, 1686. The following is their report:—

"23 of novembr, '86. the Commety a bove Chosen to lay out high waies in order to thair work layed out a hy waye from mapel medow by John pebodyes hous and so a long to Topsfeld Comman land in Bear hill plaien doing as letal damag as may bee and it doth lye a long in the ould path to John Andruses Slow and so as near the hilly ground on the left hand as Can Conveniently bee layed to the nex Slow and then Stil by the hilles to Thomas andruses bearn and so to Crean broock along the ould path waye to Topsfeld land this way is to bee the open hy waye as is aboue mensioned.

"The Commety aboue said layed out a way from goodman boswels therew goodman Radingtons pastuer to John Stiles barn and so a long to the workes on the South Sied of the plaien and so along to zecheus Cortises bearn al so the Commety did also a gree to lay out a way therew Abel Langlyes farm by the works to the maien Road way as a bove: as letal to the damig of the farm as may bee yelding to thair Convenency as much as possible."—*Boxford Town Records, Vol. I, p. 2.*

The land on which the iron-works were situated be-

longed to Zaccheus Gould, the immigrant, and quite early became the property of his son John. John was the notorious Captain Gould, the patriot (or rebel as you may be pleased to call him) of 1688. It must be remembered that the Revolution of a hundred years ago is not the only one that we have had. There was another though bloodless one in 1688 and 1689. King James II was an arbitrary, tyrannical and cruel sovereign. In 1686 he took away the charters of the American colonies and instead of permitting his subjects here to exercise their rights of free-men and elect their governors, they were appointed by him. Over the Massachusetts, and other of the New England colonies, he appointed Sir Edmund Andros, who, says Smith, the historian of New York, knew no law but the will of his master, and Kirk and Jeffries were not fitter instruments than he to execute the despotic projects of James II.

Captain Gould then commanded the Topsfield militia company, in which the Boxford men trained, and he opposed, in language at least, the government of Andros to a very offensive degree. When it became known to the Governor, Captain Gould was arrested and imprisoned in the Boston jail. The treasonable words which he was arraigned for uttering are named in the indictment, in two counts as follows, viz. :—

“If the country were of his mind, they would keep Salem Court with the former magistrates, and if the country would go the rounds, he would make the first, and would go and keep Salem Court, and would have his company down to do it.

“That he was under another government and had sworn to another government, and did not know this government.”

But tradition says that Captain Gould's speech was as follows, viz. :—

"If you were all of my mind, you would go and mob the governor out of Boston."

While Gould was lying in jail the king completed his reign by abdicating the throne and fleeing to France, where he lived in obscurity in the little town of St. Germain. As soon as the news reached America, Governor Andros and fifty of his assistants were seized and incarcerated in the same jail in which Gould lay confined. Gould was liberated, and Andros with his assistants was sent to the mother country and advised to stay there. This last step in the Revolution was taken in April, 1689. The old government, with Bradstreet at the head, was resumed; and the town of Boxford in giving instructions to its representative who was sent to the first session of the General Court after the Revolution commenced as follows, viz. :—

"We, the freeholders and inhabitants of Boxford, being very sensible of, and thankful to God for, his great mercies to us in delivering us from the tyranny and oppression of these ill men under whose injustice and cruelty we have so long groaned," etc.

The property, including the land, buildings and apparatus, of the iron company finally came wholly into the possession and ownership of the brave old patriot Captain Gould, who sold the house and land to his son Samuel in 1695. Captain Gould never lived here, probably; but Samuel made it his residence. In 1714, the house was destroyed by fire. Mr. Gould erected a new one and continued to reside here. He died in 1724, and his son, Samuel, jun., settled on the homestead, living here until 1746, when he sold to Samuel Fisk of Boxford, and removed to Brookfield. Mr. Fisk lived here but two years, and in 1748 sold to Ebenezer Curtis of Boxford. Mr. Curtis lived here until 1790 when he sold out to Stephen Perley of Topsfield. The next year, Cornelius Gould bought the

place, on which he resided until 1797, when he sold to Jacob Andrews and removed to Danvers. The house was standing in 1797, and Mr. Andrews took it down before 1805.

MINE-PIT PASTURE.

About one-fourth of a mile below the Boxford depot by the west side of the railroad track, near a ledge now in the pasture belonging to Mr. Eben N. Price of Salem, iron shale has been found. Iron, as some think, and have some reason to believe, was smelted here. In an old deed, bearing the date of 1770, this tract of land is called the "Mine-pit pasture." It would seem from this name that ore was taken out here; and Mr. Edward Howe's grandfather Howe had an iron bar, the material of which came from this pasture.

KIMBALL'S FORGE.

If you will look at the map of the State, which was made in 1795, you will see that at the site of the match factory was "Kimball's Forge or Iron Works." These works were established by Joshua Rea about 1770. Mr. Rea lived across the road from Mr. William Atherton's, and had come from Beverly, five years before. Mr. Rea sold out the iron-works about 1780 to Samuel Bodwell of Methuen and Thomas Newman, then a resident of Boxford, but who was probably from Ipswich. Mr. Bodwell and Mr. Newman, for £27 10s., sold to David and Samuel Kimball, uncle and father respectively of the late Captain Samuel Kimball, June 28, 1782, land in Boxford "with one half of the privilege of the stream of the Fishing Brook, so called, and the dam built thereon, butted and bounded as follows: beginning at a white ash by the Fishing Brook aforesaid, thence north eight poles to the town

road, then turning west eleven poles to a stake and stones, thence turning south fourteen poles to the middle of the Fishing Brook to some little stones on a great stone, thence easterly down said brook to the first mentioned bound."

April 3, 1783, Mr. Newman sold one-fourth of the works to Timothy Stiles, who lived near the Joe Foster place; and July 8, 1783, Mr. Bodwell sold the remaining one-fourth to Samuel Kimball for £60. Mr. Stiles probably afterward sold his interest to the Kimballs.

"The Gazetteer of the American Continent," published in 1797, mentions the extensive business carried on at this bloomery. The large hinges upon which swung the great door of the barn of the late venerable Daniel Wood of West Boxford, were made here from the ore.

About 1804, the Kimballs sold to Justus Coburn, who built and carried on a fulling mill in the place of the iron works. Owing notes as follows,—to Ebenezer Peabody, \$300; Phineas Foster, \$100; David Cummings, \$400; Andrew Peabody, \$200; David Kimball, \$100; and Moses Hale, \$184—Mr. Coburn mortgaged the mill and house, etc., to the two latter creditors, David Kimball of Boxford and Moses Hale of Chelmsford, Oct. 1, 1805, to secure the payment of the said notes. The mortgage was assigned to Enoch Foster of Boxford, in July, 1807, and for \$1300, April 28, 1809, he sold the mill, dwelling house, barn, etc. (probably having foreclosed the mortgage) to Capt. Solomon Towne. Mr. Coburn probably built the house when he settled here. Only one acre of land went with the mill.

Captain Towne was an uncle of Mr. Henry A. Towne, and had been a sea-captain. He turned the fulling into a grist mill, and employed his brothers Asa and John as millers. About 1820, two brothers by the name of Redington introduced the business of turning wooden trays,

bowls, hubs, etc., into another part of the mill building. They carried on the business for some years.

In 1829, Captain Towne and others who were interested in a mortgage upon it, conveyed the mill to Henry Gray, a merchant of Roxbury. The mortgage, of \$1000, was held by the trustees of Phillips' Academy, Andover. The place then passed into the hands of Charles McIntier, a broker of Boston, who sold it, in 1831, to George Blackburn, a Boston merchant.

Mr. Blackburn let out the factory to various parties. Some of these were Hiram Atherton, from Newburyport, Peres Foster, from Norton, and John Bentley, from Yorkshire, England. These men manufactured cotton batting, wicking, wick yarn, twine, etc. Straw hats, which brought a large price, were also made here. Mr. Bentley hired a score or more of workmen.

Mr. Blackburn owned the factory thirty-five years. In 1866, he sold the whole property to Byam, Carlton & Co., match manufacturers, of Boston. Since September of the following year, matches have continued to be manufactured here.

LIMESTONE QUARRY.

A hundred years ago might have been seen near the site of the ice houses at Stevens' pond a lime kiln. This had been built many years before by Aaron Wood, the old senator, who lived on the opposite corner of the roads. An indentation in the ground near the willow tree on the hill a few rods south of the pond was once supposed to be the site of the kiln; but the writer has since discovered that the hollow place is a part of an old cellar over which stood in 1770, a house owned and occupied by Hannah Wood, and which a few years later was the home of a Hessian family. The kiln, we have since learned, was situated near the edge of the pond.

The quarry from which the lime was taken is situated about one-third of a mile east of the pond on the northwest side of the road leading to South Georgetown, near the old Killam cellar. The excavation is quite large, and many tons of limestone were taken from it and burned in the kiln. Since 'Squire Wood's death, in 1791, the quarry has probably not been worked.

An anecdote has come down to us from ante-revolutionary times, as follows. A great quantity of lime had been burned and was waiting to be sold and carried away. Some boys, thinking only of the fun, dumped the whole of it down the steep hill into the pond at its foot. In a moment that section of the pond was a boiling cauldron.

Dea. Josiah Kimball, who afterward lived on the Stevens' place and owned the quarry, is said to have found gold in the limestone, and to have carried the precious metal to a jeweller in Boston, who made it into a piece of jewelry. It might have been gold, but we doubt it.

STONE QUARRIES.

Two stone quarries might be noticed. One of these is situated west of Herrick's mill pond in the East Parish, from which came the rock for the first story of Mr. John Hale's hotel. The other is in Nason's grove on the southern shore of Mitchell's pond in the West Parish. The residence of Mr. James H. Nason was built by Benjamin Robinson, in 1845, of rock excavated at the latter place.

MINERAL PAINT.

There is so much iron in Boxford that paint mines are not uncommon. There are the yellow, brown and red colors, and several shades of each, some of them being quite bright. There is also some very fine white clay.

MARL DEPOSITS.

It may, or may not, be proper to speak of the "marl" beds that are found at the site of the Kimball peg-factory, as they consist of the crystallized remains of a family of silicious animalcules, generally known as diatoms, of which scientists are just beginning to learn something.

In 1881, Mr. Henry M. Cross of Newburyport, started the business here of manufacturing this marl, by burning and grinding, into a polish for silver ware, and a material for crucibles and furnaces, it being capable of resisting a great degree of heat, surpassing in this respect much of the marl of England.

PEAT DEPOSITS.

In the extensive tracts of peat lands, is the first formation of coal beds, which will probably at some time yield a good supply of this fuel. Much of the peat when cured is very hard and burns like coal, giving forth similar gases and burning as slowly.

MINING FEVER OF 1875-6.

The Newbury mining fever struck Boxford in the summer of 1875. Mr. Nathan K. Fowler sunk a shaft in the West Parish near his residence to the depth of some thirty-five feet, it being some ten feet square. He also tunnelled from the road, to a distance of some fifty feet passing by the shaft about half way down. He spent considerable money here, and was rewarded with some *fine* specimens of galena and antimony. His operations covered some six months of time.

The next and last attempt at mining for metals was made by the late D. Frank Harriman of West Boxford. In September, 1875, the writer's brother and himself discovered

a good specimen of lead in a quartz vein in the pasture situated in the East Parish, belonging to Misses Sarah P. and Lucy A. Perley. Mr. Harriman bonded this pasture of the owners, and began blasting. He secured the services of an interested foreigner, a Swede, John Blomgren by name, whose knowledge about minerals, we are sure, was not equal to his knowledge of men. The shining yellow pyrites were gold to him, and mica oftentimes silver. Some specimens of galena and indications of silver were brought to the surface and duly rejoiced over. Mr. Harriman erected a small building for his workmen to live in, and another over the shaft. In December, he had gone down some twenty feet. The vein, which was about one-third of an inch in thickness at the surface, now measured about three inches, and was indicative of good mineral farther down. The water now came in constantly, and as it was not easy to pump it out by hand, nor to raise the *débris* from the blasts, an engine for hoisting and pumping was introduced, and the shaft sunk deeper daily. As the winter drew to a close, they had gone down forty-five feet, through the hard rock all the way. At the bottom, the shaft was enlarged into a room about twenty feet square. The vein ran about northeast and southwest, and the shaft was begun on the northwest of the vein, but in going down the vein had been crossed (on account of its slant), and at the bottom of the shaft it was on the northwest side.

In the early spring, Professor Blomgren, having sold his interest in the business to Mr. Harriman for a sum of money, was now gone, and another professor, a lame man, who knew all about the smelting of silver ore, had taken his place. He induced Mr. Harriman to build a furnace near his residence. It contained twelve compartments or single furnaces. Another engine was purchased, and used in this business in propelling the fan-blower. The smelt-

ing works continued in operation long enough to run out one or two "silver bricks." Since then the building has been utilized as a blacksmith's shop by Mr. J. Horace Nason. Mr. Harriman was only one of many who lost money by the mining fever of '75 and '6; but he proved that there were valuable ores here. The quantity is so limited, and the depth at which it perhaps exists in paying quantities so great that it is probable mining will never be successfully carried on here.

A STRANGE EPISTLE OF A CENTURY AGO.

Cayenne, April 23, 1789.

Honour'd Parent : I take this Opportunity to write Unto you to let you know of a very bad accident that Happen'd on our late passage from Cape Mount, On the Coast of Africa, bound to Cayenne. we sail'd From Cape Mount the 13th of March with 35 Slaves On bord, the 26th day of March the Slaves Rised upon us, At half past seven, my Sir and all hands being Forehead Except the Man at helm and my self, three of the Slaves took Possession of the Caben, and two upon the quarter Deck, them in the Caben took Possession of the fier Arms, and them on the quarter Deck with the Ax and Cutlash and other Weapons, them in the Caben, handed up Pistels to them on the quarter Deck. One of them fired and killed my honoured Sir, and still we strove for to subdue them, and then We got on the quarter Deck and killed two of them. One that was in the Caben was Comeing out at the Caben Windows in order to get on Deck, & we Discovered him & Knock'd him overbord, two being in the Cabin we confined the Caben Doors, so that they should not kill us, then three

men went forhead and got the three that was down their and brought them aft And their being a Doctor on bord Passenger that Could speak the tongue he sent one of the boys down & Brought up some of the fier arms and Powder And then we Cal'd them up and one Came up, and he Cal'd the other and he Came up. We put them In Irons and Chained them and then the Doctor Dres^d the Peoples Wounds they being Slightly Wounded. Then it was one o'clock they buried my honoured Parent, he was buried as decent as he could be at Sea the 16 of this month I scalt myself with hot Chocolate but now I am abel to walk about again. So I remain in good health and hope to find you the same and all my Sisters & Brothers and all that Inquires after me. We have sold part of the Slaves and I hope to be home soon

So I Remain your Most Dutiful Son

Will^m Fairfield

This letter is addressed to

Mrs Rebecca Fairfield

Salem.

New England.

INDEX OF NAMES.

- Abbot, 228.
 Aborn, 238.
 Adams, 4, 7, 9, 10, 18, 19,
 20, 31, 33, 39, 42, 121, 170,
 194, 210, 250, 281, 285, 287.
 Alcock, 144.
 Alden, 61, 62.
 Allen, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49,
 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56,
 57, 58, 59, 61, 97, 108, 236.
 Alley, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239,
 259, 260, 261.
 Ames, 28, 237, 254.
 Anderson, 78.
 Andrew, 36, 122.
 Andrews, 58, 126, 155, 294,
 299, 305.
 Andros, 263, 303, 304.
 Andrus, 302.
 Annable, 46.
 Annis, 236.
 Appleton, 30, 32, 41, 134,
 136, 153, 203.
 Archibald, 55.
 Armande, 255.
 Ashby, 57.
 Aspinwall, 39, 128.
 Atherton, 65, 305, 307.
 Atkins, 2, 235.
 Atkinson, 41, 134, 135, 136,
 238, 240.
 Attwill, 235.
 Austin, 285.
 Avery, 32, 33, 37, 40, 124,
 125.
 Ayres, 45.

 Babb, 238.
 Babbage, 79.
 Babson, 162.
 Bacheller, 235, 236, 238, 239,
 240.
 Bachiler, 187.
 Bacon, 127.
 Bailey, 238.
 Bainbridge, 94.
 Baker, 45, 46, 49, 54, 296,
 297.
 Balch, 161.
 Ballard, 62.
 Bancroft, 167, 203, 234, 238.
 Barlow, 184.
 Barrett, 32.
 Barry, 237, 238, 239.
 Bartlet, 4.
 Bartlett, 2, 3, 16, 42, 281.
 Bartram, 223.
 Basset, 260.
 Batchelder, 187.

 Bayning, 30.
 Beck, 293.
 Becket, 84, 93.
 Beckford, 238.
 Belknap, 184.
 Bemis, 286.
 Bent, 200.
 Bentley, 90, 106, 115, 117,
 158, 161, 307.
 Benton, 167, 196, 200, 201,
 202.
 Bianchi, 114.
 Bisbee, 235.
 Bishop, 151, 164.
 Bixbe, 301.
 Bixby, 297.
 Black, 296, 297, 298, 299.
 Blackburn, 12, 307.
 Blackler, 170.
 Blaisdell, 136.
 Blake, 40, 129, 130, 236, 239.
 Blanchard, 123.
 Blomgren, 310.
 Bloomfield, 107.
 Blunt, 108, 123.
 Boardman, 3, 6, 16, 62, 63.
 Bodwell, 305.
 Boles, 108.
 Bonaparte, 104, 107.
 Bond, 131, 239.
 Boone, 189.
 Bordman, 32, 36, 63, 122.
 Borghese, 104.
 Boswel, 302.
 Bound, 288.
 Bowditch, 92, 102, 103, 113,
 114, 228.
 Bowdoin, 9, 10, 222, 250.
 Bowen, 126.
 Bowler, 235.
 Bowles, 126.
 Bowman, 120, 284, 285, 289.
 Brackett, 62, 146, 239.
 Bradford, 149.
 Bradstreet, 297, 298, 304.
 Bradstreete, 296, 298.
 Breed, 92, 235, 236, 237, 239,
 240, 257, 260, 261.
 Breitley, 63, 64.
 Brewster, 41.
 Bridden, 63.
 Bridges, 296, 298, 299.
 Briggs, 92.
 Brintnall, 130.
 Brooks, 44, 216.
 Brown, 4, 11, 16, 34, 40, 47,
 59, 62, 63, 108, 123, 128,
 129, 130, 131, 184, 239, 286,
 288.
 Browne, 156.

 Bruce, 236.
 Brutus, 108.
 Bryant, 167, 238.
 Buffum, 164.
 Bulfinch, 236.
 Bull, 186.
 Burchmore, 92.
 Burchstead, 260.
 Burgess, 95, 96.
 Burgoyne, 176.
 Burnett, 167.
 Burnham, 58.
 Burrill, 52, 237, 245, 254.
 Butler, 186.
 Buzzell, 63.
 Byam, 307.

 Cabot, 9, 27, 28.
 Caldwell, 44, 55, 240, 289.
 Capen, 64.
 Carleton, 169.
 Carlton, 58, 307.
 Carrington, 218, 232, 233,
 234.
 Carter, 6, 16, 36, 48, 53, 121,
 122, 125, 293.
 Cary, 3, 13, 17, 37, 125, 292,
 293, 294.
 Chadburn, 250.
 Chadwell, 237, 239, 240.
 Champney, 291.
 Chandler, 52.
 Chaplin, 294.
 Chapman, 26, 108.
 Charles I, 272, 300.
 Chase, 47, 191, 205.
 Chastellux, 14.
 Chauncey, 100.
 Cheever, 49, 65, 237.
 Chessman, 240.
 Chickerin, 138.
 Chickering, 142, 184.
 Chickeringe, 151.
 Chipman, 41.
 Clapham, 40.
 Clark, 40, 59, 186.
 Clarke, 184.
 Clerk, 78.
 Cleveland, 132.
 Clian, 235.
 Clifford, 238.
 Coates, 271.
 Coats, 64, 236, 238.
 Coburn, 306.
 Codman, 125, 292.
 Cody, 46.
 Coffin, 4, 160, 161.
 Cogswell, 245.
 Coke, 203.

- Colby, 58.
 Cole, 2.
 Coleborne, 139.
 Collins, 45, 79, 239, 240, 260, 261.
 Conant, 39, 160, 161.
 Cone, 175.
 Congreve, 282.
 Convers, 31, 33, 123, 288.
 Cook, 34, 39, 103, 114, 237, 242, 243.
 Coolidge, 34, 37, 125.
 Coombs, 3, 6, 16.
 Cooper, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 176, 284, 285, 286, 287.
 Copley, 283.
 Copp, 64.
 Corey, 164.
 Cortice, 301.
 Cortise, 302.
 Corwin, 163, 164.
 Cox, 122, 237.
 Cradock, 162, 163.
 Crafts, 49, 54.
 Craig, 134.
 Crane, 238.
 Crevecoeur, 171.
 Croade, 157.
 Crosby, 179, 287.
 Cross, 6, 47, 309.
 Crowninshield, 81, 83, 84, 85, 91, 92, 93, 96, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118.
 Cudworth, 159, 160.
 Cummings, 306.
 Cunningham, 58.
 Curtis, 167, 304.
 Cushing, 126, 185, 250.
 Cutler, 4, 165, 167, 176, 178, 179, 180, 183, 186, 204, 206, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232, 233.
 Cutter, 121, 124, 136, 286, 287, 289.
 Cutting, 40.
 Cutts, 35, 37, 133, 134, 281, 291, 294.
 Dabney, 97.
 Dacre, 299.
 Dalton, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29.
 Damer, 236.
 Dampney, 66.
 Dana, 9, 10, 36, 123, 124, 130, 288.
 Dane, 8, 165, 166, 179, 180, 181, 188, 195, 196, 203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 210, 212, 213, 214, 218, 219, 228, 232, 233.
 Danforth, 49, 65, 66, 126.
 Dauby, 144.
 Davenport, 163.
 Davis, 52, 108, 239.
 Dawes, 167, 178.
 Dean, 108.
 Deblois, 28.
 Degen, 290.
 Deland, 118.
 Denison, 297, 298.
 Dennison, 195.
 Dexter, 14.
 Dickson, 123.
 Disraeli, 80.
 Dodge, 45, 57, 78, 79, 176, 184.
 Dow, 240.
 Dowining, 157.
 Downing, 246.
 Drake, 250.
 Draper, 65, 266, 267.
 Driver, 44.
 Dudley, 50.
 Duer, 179, 222.
 Dummer, 43, 281.
 Dunham, 186.
 Dunn, 166.
 Dunthorne, 102, 113.
 Dutton, 291.
 Dwight, 28.
 Edecott, 143.
 Edes, 44.
 Edmands, 254, 255, 263, 264, 268.
 Ellery, 174, 191.
 Ellis, 239, 298.
 Ellsworth, 24.
 Elwell, 58.
 Emerton, 238.
 Endecot, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 150, 153, 155, 157.
 Endecote, 153.
 Endecott, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 168.
 Endicot, 143, 145.
 Endicott, 148, 156, 157.
 Endicutt, 150.
 Epps, 243.
 Estes, 260.
 Ewing, 179.
 Fairfield, 312.
 Farley, 250, 251.
 Farnham, 167.
 Farrington, 238, 240.
 Felker, 46.
 Felt, 91, 158, 160, 161, 162.
 Felton, 66, 67, 152, 153, 155, 156, 235, 237, 238, 266.
 Fenn, 240.
 Fernald, 67.
 Fesch, 104.
 Fish, 155.
 Fisher, 228.
 Fisk, 33, 304.
 Fitch, 224.
 Flint, 50.
 Floyd, 66.
 Foot, 187, 190, 196.
 Force, 167.
 Foster, 51, 237, 250, 306, 307.
 Fowler, 240, 309.
 Frame, 295, 302.
 Francis, 33, 36, 123, 124, 288, 289, 290.
 Frank, 237.
 Franklin, 171, 178, 216, 223, 231.
 Frazier, 6.
 Frink, 40, 128, 180.
 Frost, 35, 37, 119, 120, 121, 123, 284, 285, 286, 287.
 Frothingham, 239, 285.
 Frye, 302.
 Fuller, 128, 157, 175, 237.
 Fulton, 224.
 Gage, 79.
 Gardiner, 246, 291.
 Gardner, 38, 39, 51, 126, 127, 128, 240, 294.
 Gaskin, 164.
 Gates, 32, 34, 39, 40.
 Gedney, 156, 157.
 Geobegan, 122.
 George III, 248, 251.
 Gerry, 5, 19, 165, 170, 171, 174, 210.
 Gibbon, 273.
 Giles, 58.
 Gill, 250.
 Gilman, 14.
 Gilon, 51, 56.
 Girdler, 46, 47.
 Glover, 210.
 Goddard, 35, 120, 121, 286, 294.
 Goldsmith, 59.
 Goldthwait, 67.
 Goldthwaite, 127, 294.
 Gordon, 129.
 Gorham, 9, 10.
 Gould, 138, 296, 297, 298, 303, 304.
 Gove, 35, 120, 286.
 Grant, 237.
 Graves, 33, 37, 124, 125, 238, 260.
 Gray, 86, 125, 292, 293, 297.
 Grayson, 200, 233, 234.
 Greaves, 125.
 Green, 149.
 Greene, 209.
 Greenleaf, 2, 3, 5, 6, 13, 17, 21, 195.
 Grover, 67, 68.
 Hacker, 236.
 Hale, 306, 308.
 Hall, 123, 240, 287, 288.
 Ham, 235.
 Hammond, 291.
 Hancock, 8, 40, 130, 194, 250.
 Hanson, 181.
 Haraden, 132, 183.
 Hardy, 207.
 Harriman, 309, 310, 311.
 Harrington, 121, 286.
 Harris, 183, 184.
 Harwood, 238.

- Haskell, 45.
Hassam, 45.
Hastings, 32, 35, 36, 119, 120, 121, 122.
Hathorne, 151, 168.
Hauen, 69.
Hauthorn, 145.
Hawkes, 68, 69, 241, 242, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 255, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 264, 265, 266, 267, 270.
Hawks, 248.
Hawthorne, 139, 144.
Hayne, 196, 197, 201, 202, 234.
Hazard, 179.
Heath, 128.
Hemans, 32, 34, 35, 40, 42, 119.
Henley, 124, 290, 291.
Henry, 208.
Herrick, 308.
Hill, 38, 45, 124, 126, 131, 285, 286, 287, 289.
Hirst, 42, 43.
Hitchcock, 183.
Hitchings, 68, 237, 246, 255, 263, 264, 266.
Hitchins, 264.
Hoar, 229.
Hobby, 41.
Hodgdon, 108, 168, 169.
Hodge, 1, 5, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28.
Hodges, 51, 132.
Holt, 235.
Holten, 179, 181, 250, 251.
Holyoke, 41.
Homan, 235, 236, 237.
Hone, 68.
Hooper, 3, 4, 10, 13, 16, 17, 20, 28, 55, 79.
Houchin, 141, 142.
Hough, 39.
Houghton, 39.
Howard, 30, 68, 118, 195.
Howchin, 149.
Howe, 55, 305.
Howell, 191.
Howlett, 69, 246, 268.
Hubbard, 131, 300.
Huchinson, 156.
Hudson, 131, 238, 282.
Humphreys, 133, 134, 135, 136.
Huntington, 168.
Huse, 238.
Hutchins, 179, 180, 224, 264.
Hutchinson, 152, 176, 287.
Hutton, 103, 114, 282.
Hyer, 53.
Ireland, 120, 285.
Jackson, 3, 5, 6, 13, 14, 16, 19, 24.
Jacob, 235.
Jacobs, 34, 38, 127.
James II, 303.
Jarvis, 8, 9, 10, 35, 42, 43, 133, 134, 281.
Jefferson, 165, 191, 196, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 204, 207, 211, 213, 229, 230, 233, 234.
Jeffery, 243.
Jeffries, 303.
Jencks, 70.
Jenkins, 4.
Jepherson, 131.
Jewett, 49, 50.
Johnson, 3, 36, 51, 54, 82, 122, 208, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 247.
Jollies, 163.
Jones, 6, 13, 14, 16, 129, 239, 240.
Kamehameha, 106.
Kehew, 82.
Kendall, 185.
Kenrick, 123.
Kent, 287.
Keny, 155.
Kerr, 186.
Kidder, 35, 121.
Kilham, 201.
Killam, 308.
Kimball, 186, 305, 306, 308, 309.
King, 6, 9, 10, 41, 133, 134, 165, 166, 174, 191, 192, 195, 199, 204, 208, 211, 213, 229, 230, 233.
Kinsman, 131.
Kirk, 303.
Kittredge, 267.
Knight, 50, 54.
Knowlton, 59, 176.
Knox, 181, 204.
Kunkshamooshaw, 263.
Lamb, 131.
Lander, 134.
Langlye, 301, 302.
LaTouche, 179.
Lawrence, 91, 117.
Leach, 44, 46, 55.
Lear, 24.
Lechmere, 125, 292.
Lee, 3, 14, 15, 45, 92, 131, 207, 222, 232, 233, 234.
Lefaver, 44.
Lennon, 59.
Leonard, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300.
Leverett, 34, 37.
Lewis, 70, 71, 236, 261.
Libbey, 236, 237, 239.
Lincoln, 9, 19, 176, 203, 204.
Lindsey, 235, 237, 240.
Linnæus, 223.
Little, 1, 4, 6, 11, 17.
Lloyd, 236.
Locke, 286, 287.
Lockhart, 51.
Lord, 49, 299.
Loring, 120, 207.
Loudon, 107.
Lowell, 3, 5, 6, 8, 13, 125, 291, 292.
Lowis, 293.
Ludlow, 91, 117.
Lummus, 239.
Lyeurgus, 188.
Lye, 238, 239, 240.
Lynch, 239.
Lyons, 102, 113.
McCollom, 53.
McCourtland, 179.
MacGregor, 253.
McIntier, 307.
McKenzie, 56.
McKinstry, 134.
McLaughlin, 302.
McMaster, 292.
Madison, 92.
Mahew, 163.
Makepeace, 259.
Mann, 58.
Manning, 91.
Mansfield, 70, 71, 72, 75, 235, 236, 237, 243, 259, 272.
Marie Antoinette, 177, 225.
Marquand, 4, 6, 16.
Marsters, 46.
Martin, 127.
Maskelyne, 102, 103, 113, 114.
Mason, 160, 162.
Massey, 240.
Maule, 164.
Mavericke, 248.
Mayo, 34.
Meek, 236.
Meriam, 32.
Merriam, 167.
Merrick, 237, 238.
Miller, 57, 292.
Mitchell, 136, 308.
Monroe, 207, 229.
Montesquien, 15.
Moody, 236.
Moore, 108.
Morey, 164.
Morgan, 48.
Morris, 24.
Morse, 48.
Morton, 250.
Mottey, 248.
Moulton, 60, 164, 235, 238, 274.
Mudge, 237, 239, 240.
Mullett, 122.
Mulliken, 240.
Munroe, 235, 236, 239.
Murdock, 40, 130.
Nanapashemet, 263.
Napoleon, 83, 104, 105.
Nason, 194, 308, 311.
Needham, 164.
Newhall, 6, 73, 74, 75, 108, 185, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 243, 260, 266, 271.
Newman, 31, 32, 305, 306.
Newmarsh, 296.
Noah, 56.
Norrice, 139.
Norton, 126, 140, 158, 294.
Nurse, 242.
Nye, 49.
Ogden, 292.

- Oliver, 34, 38, 39, 75, 108,
 127, 128, 129, 185, 207, 209,
 235, 236, 237, 239.
 Organ, 239.
 Orne, 50, 132.
 Osborne, 51.
 Osgood, 55, 179, 181, 210.
 Otis, 6, 13, 210, 250, 251, 293.

 Page, 238.
 Paige, 30, 31, 36.
 Paine, 185, 293.
 Palfrey, 121.
 Palmer, 250, 282, 283, 287,
 301.
 Parker, 70, 75, 76, 271.
 Parris, 24.
 Parrott, 236.
 Parsons, 5, 6, 8, 17, 19, 20,
 59, 174, 179, 194, 216, 282.
 Parton, 236.
 Passmore, 129.
 Paul, 239.
 Payne, 236.
 Peabody, 215, 306.
 Pearce, 290.
 Pearly, 297.
 Pearson, 70, 76, 281.
 Pebodye, 302.
 Peck, 227, 240.
 Peele, 134.
 Pen, 139.
 Penhallow, 37.
 Pepperrell, 35, 42, 119, 133,
 281, 282, 283, 284.
 Pepys, 261.
 Perkins, 34, 39, 46, 108, 111,
 129, 235, 240, 293.
 Perley, 295, 304, 310.
 Perry, 38, 286.
 Peter, 80.
 Pettingill, 16.
 Phelps, 30.
 Phillips, 156, 240, 247.
 Pickering, 165, 168, 169, 179,
 208, 210, 230, 243, 249.
 Pickman, 132.
 Pierce, 287.
 Pierpont, 129.
 Pinckney, 198, 199, 204, 208.
 Pine, 293.
 Pinelli, 114.
 Pinson, 32.
 Plummer, 183, 266.
 Poland, 51.
 Pollard, 50.
 Pomeroy, 186.
 Pond, 57.
 Pool, 236, 249.
 Poole, 32, 34, 35, 167.
 Porter, 35, 40, 41, 119, 128,
 132, 133, 134, 144, 152, 176.
 Posey, 108.
 Potter, 50.
 Pranker, 252, 255.
 Pratt, 186, 237, 240.
 Prentice, 35, 121, 122, 286,
 287.
 Prescott, 40, 41.
 Prescott, 48, 229, 250.
 Price, 44, 305.

 Prince, 161, 184, 228.
 Proctor, 92, 269.
 Pronti, 114.
 Prout, 11.
 Punchard, 144.
 Putnam, 39, 70, 75, 132, 157,
 165, 168, 175, 176, 183, 184,
 186, 204, 206, 208, 210, 214,
 216, 223, 231, 233, 234, 291,
 292, 298.
 Purinton, 260.
 Purrington, 54.

 Quincy, 203, 210.
 Quonophit, 263.

 Rabardy, 49.
 Raddin, 274.
 Radin, 274.
 Radington, 302.
 Ramsdell, 237, 238, 239, 275,
 300.
 Rand, 120, 194, 285, 288.
 Randall, 185.
 Rantoul, 160, 195.
 Raphael, 114.
 Rathbone, 131.
 Rawson, 141, 142, 144, 149.
 Rea, 305.
 Read, 153, 157.
 Redington, 306.
 Reeves, 164.
 Rhodes, 237, 238, 239, 240,
 276.
 Rice, 184, 294.
 Richardson, 50, 131, 240.
 Rittenhouse, 179.
 Robins, 289.
 Robinson, 239, 240, 308.
 Roby, 70, 246, 269, 270, 272,
 273, 275, 276.
 Rochambeau, 14.
 Rogers, 37, 179, 238.
 Ropes, 41, 132.
 Rowe, 275.
 Royall, 42, 281, 290.
 Ruck, 296, 297.
 Rucke, 298.
 Ruggles, 290.
 Rumsey, 224.
 Rush, 223.
 Russell, 37, 50, 124, 125, 286,
 290, 291, 292.

 Sabine, 17, 138, 282.
 Saffin, 149.
 Safford, 203, 297, 299.
 St. Clair, 165, 167, 180, 207,
 222.
 St. John, 126.
 Salter, 140, 141.
 Saltonstall, 83.
 Sargent, 278.
 Sargeant, 278.
 Sargent, 165, 179, 181, 207,
 222, 239, 243.
 Savage, 35.
 Sawyer, 13, 14, 176, 302.
 Scarlet, 152.

 Scarlett, 157.
 Schuyler, 14.
 Scott, 253.
 Sealand, 236.
 Sedgwick, 290.
 Segur, 235.
 Serace, 108.
 Sever, 291.
 Sewall, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43,
 125.
 Sewell, 17.
 Shattock, 164.
 Shaw, 100, 235.
 Shay, 7, 17, 18.
 Sherman, 83.
 Sibley, 34, 39.
 Silsbee, 83.
 Simonds, 296.
 Simpkins, 293.
 Simrall, 214.
 Sinclair, 92.
 Sinoul, 177, 214.
 Skarlet, 155.
 Skinner, 235, 236, 238.
 Slocum, 194.
 Smith, 49, 54, 83, 108, 123,
 129, 168, 208, 232, 235, 278,
 288, 303.
 Soley, 291.
 Solon, 188.
 Soule, 237.
 Southwick, 164.
 Spaight, 191.
 Sparhawk, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34,
 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42,
 43, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123,
 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129,
 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135,
 136, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285,
 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291,
 292, 293, 294.
 Sparks, 83.
 Spence, 291.
 Spencer, 166.
 Spinney, 238, 239.
 Spooner, 132, 133, 164, 250.
 Sprague, 52, 277.
 Sproat, 176.
 Stanwood, 11, 238.
 Starling, 179.
 Stearns, 39, 40, 128, 131.
 Steuben, 181.
 Stevens, 307, 308.
 Stiels, 301.
 Stiles, 302, 306.
 Stimpson, 235.
 Stocker, 237, 238, 257, 278.
 Stone, 1, 50, 167, 203, 240.
 Story, 58, 91, 185, 197, 203,
 236.
 Stoughton, 34, 40, 131, 159.
 Striker, 260.
 Strong, 7, 9, 25.
 Strout, 108.
 Stuyvesant, 195.
 Sullivan, 10, 290, 291.
 Sumrell, 214.
 Surry, 169.
 Swain, 185.
 Sweetser, 238, 266, 277.
 Sweitzer, 266.
 Symmes, 31, 33, 108.

- Tafts, 70.
 Taleyrand, 15.
 Tapley, 238.
 Tarbell, 241, 242, 243, 244,
 245, 248.
 Tarbox, 235, 236, 237, 239,
 240.
 Tarvell, 149.
 Taylor, 60, 247, 250, 278.
 Teele, 285.
 Tenney, 14.
 Thomas, 4, 6, 16, 54.
 Thompson, 78, 108, 194.
 Thorndike, 160.
 Titcomb, 5, 195.
 Torrey, 141.
 Towne, 306, 307.
 Townsend, 236, 245.
 Tracy, 3, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 16,
 26.
 Trask, 139, 145, 155.
 Traske, 144, 151.
 Treadwell, 272.
 Trevett, 240.
 Trusler, 164.
 Tuck, 49.
 Tucker, 236, 237.
 Tuckerman, 293.
 Tufts, 36, 123, 124, 236, 285,
 287, 289.
 Tupper, 175, 208.
 Turner, 42, 82, 283.
 Tuttle, 237, 239, 278, 279.
 Twitchell, 302.
 Tyler, 293.
 Tyng, 125.

 Upton, 92.

 Valpey, 240.
 Vans, 236.

 Vassall, 37, 124, 290.
 Vaudreuil, 15.
 Veren, 164.
 Very, 82.
 Vinton, 300.
 Voltaire, 273.

 Wade, 297.
 Wait, 280.
 Walden, 235.
 Waldo, 35, 119.
 Walker, 120.
 Wallis, 176.
 Walton, 239, 252.
 Ward, 52, 81, 82, 97, 106,
 108, 116, 117, 132, 134, 158,
 159, 201, 204, 210.
 Warren, 210, 250.
 Warville, 13.
 Washington, 9, 11, 23, 86,
 168, 170, 171, 175, 226, 231,
 234, 250.
 Watson, 291.
 Watts, 37.
 Wayland, 227.
 Wayne, 207.
 Webster, 129, 187, 190, 192,
 194, 196, 203.
 Weeks, 40.
 Wellington, 39, 107, 120,
 129.
 West, 282.
 Weston, 164, 239.
 Wheeler, 236.
 Wheelwright, 16, 292.
 Whetcomb, 250.
 Whipple, 40, 130, 291.
 White, 28, 49, 126, 176, 177,
 182, 183, 214, 251.
 Whiting, 32, 34, 38, 39, 126,
 185.

 Whitney, 128, 261.
 Whittemore, 289.
 Whittier, 187.
 Whittredge, 176.
 Wigglesworth, 5, 6, 32, 33,
 34, 37, 38, 125, 126, 294.
 Wilde, 299.
 Wildes, 297.
 Williams, 34, 106, 162, 163,
 164, 240, 280.
 Wilson, 54, 124, 140, 179, 203,
 279, 285, 287, 289.
 Winchester, 34, 38, 126, 127.
 Winship, 123, 236.
 Winslow, 136.
 Winsor, 166.
 Winthrop, 122, 162, 250, 292.
 Wiswal, 148.
 Wiswall, 146.
 Witchel, 162, 113.
 Witham, 58.
 Witherspoon, 179.
 Wolfe, 292.
 Wood, 124, 289, 306, 307,
 308.
 Woodberry, 161.
 Woodbridge, 106.
 Woodbury, 54, 168.
 Woodhouse, 292.
 Woolson, 255.
 Worthing, 240.
 Wright, 52.
 Wyer, 24, 25, 124.
 Wyeth, 288.
 Wyman, 125, 236, 280.

 Yates, 219.
 Yell, 238, 239.

 Zach, 101, 112.

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